00141879

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
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BUCHANAN's HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

In TWENTY BOOKS.

CONTAINING

I. An Account of its ſeveral SITUATIONS; and the Nature of its SOIL and CLIMATE.

II. The Ancient NAMES, MANNERS, LAWS, and CUSTOMS of the Country, and what People inhabited the ISLAND from the very Beginning.

III. A Chronicle of all its KINGS, in an exact Series of Succeſſion, from FERGUS, the firſt Founder of the SCOTISH MONARCHY, to the Reign of King JAMES VI. of SCOTLAND, and Firſt, of ENGLAND.

The SECOND EDITION, Reviſed and Corrected from the LATIN Original,

By Mr. *BOND*.

In TWO VOLUMES.

Adorned with Curious CUTTS Engraven from the Original Paintings, by Mr. *White*, Mr. *Vertue*, &c.

LONDON:

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00141879

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOHN

EARL of *BRISTOL.*

MY LORD,

THE Book I offer to you contains the Hiſtory of *Scotland*, while it yet remained a Kingdom by itſelf. It was Dedicated by *Buchanan*, the original Author of it in *Latin*, to King *James* the Firſt of *England*, and Sixth of *Scot-*

land, under whom the two Crowns were firſt united. As that Union was afterwards interrupted and broken off, and but of late Years renewed again, ſo that *England* and *Scotland* form once more *that one* powerful Kingdom of *Great Britain*; the *Latin* Hiſtory has a Right and a Claim to be made free of our Language, that it may be read by almoſt every *Engliſhman*, ſince it relates to what is now a Part of our own Country, and when it is in that Language, it has a Right likewiſe of being offered to the Patronage of ſome *Engliſh* Nobleman, and therefore very properly to your Lordſhip's, who bore a Part in the Legiſlature at the Time, when the Act of Union was made. The Author of it (to ſay no more of him at preſent) was univerſally reputed one of the greateſt Scholars of that Age in which he flouriſhed, and wrote the *Latin* Tongue with ſuch genuine Purity, and in ſo elegant and ſo maſterly a Style, that he is recommended in many Parts of the

World

World to the Uſe of Schools, and read there among the ancient Claſſicks themſelves, for the very ſake of his Language. As to his Hiſtory, if he has any where interwoven in it ſome few Maxims and ſome little Narratives, that have appeared exceptionable, and that have not been ſo well and ſo generally approved (as indeed what Hiſtorian has not done the ſame more or leſs?) His is, at leaſt, the beſt Hiſtory of *Scotland*, that is extant, and, if I am not very much miſtaken, This, not to name many other Admirers of his, is ſomewhere mentioned to his Honour, in the Works of that celebrated and judicious *Engliſh* Critick as well as Poet, Mr. *Dryden*. This is another Reaſon why I the more particularly addreſs it to your Lordſhip than to any other Perſon: As the Book was written by a very learned Man, it deſerves, and it ought to be offered to one, that is a known Lover and Encourager of Learning.

DEDICATION.

Now, my Lord, I know you to have ever been a true Friend to all the liberal Arts and Sciences, and it is indeed no Wonder that *You* ſhould, ſince You have Your ſelf ſo great a Share of them; for the Study of polite Letters *Humanizes* the Poſſeſſor; there is a ſtrict and cloſe Similitude; and, if I may be allowed the Expreſſion, a Sort of Kindred between the Manners of Men and their Studies. Thus, my Lord, in Your Converſation it is to be found, why the Study of the beſt Arts has been properly called the Study of *Humanity*. For as they make the ſtrongeſt Impreſſion on our Behaviour, and form the moſt exquiſite Manners, ſo in Your Perſon we moſt plainly ſee, that the Man the moſt profitably active in all the ſhining Offices of Life, proceeds from his having been once the Man that made a ſerious and aſſiduous Application to polite Letters. Our renown'd Countryman, Sir *Francis Bacon*, makes in his admirable Eſſays a very

juſt

juſt Remark that confirms what I ſay. "*Hiſtories*, ſays he, make Men *wiſe*, "Poets *witty*, the Mathematicks *ſubtle*, "Natural Philoſophy *deep*, Moral *grave*, "Logick and Rhetorick *able* to *con-* "*tend*; *abeunt Studia* in *mores*." Hence it comes, that to be Learned, and to protect the Learned, are Hereditary Virtues in Your Lordſhip's Family. Mr. *William Hervey* was a ſingular Inſtance of this; for as Mr. *Hervey*'s Learning and Judgment provoked Mr. *Cowley* to write of them with the greateſt Praiſes; ſo Mr. *Cowley*'s Merits were always the moſt amply rewarded by the Munificence of Mr. *Hervey*; and excepting the Lord St. *Alban*, who was the *Mecænas* of that Age, Mr. *Hervey* at the ſame time that he was Mr. *Cowley*'s moſt intimate and familiar Friend, was that great and good Poet's beſt Patron; and that excellent Writer Doctor *Sprat*, late Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, in his accurate Account of Mr. *Cowley*'s Life, tells the World, "that the Elegy he wrote "on Mr. *Hervey*'s Death, was the firſt

" Occaſion of his being in Buſineſs.
" It brought him into the Acquaint-
" ance of Mr. *John Hervey*, the Bro-
" ther of his deceaſed Friend, from
" whom he received many Offices of
" Kindneſs thro' the whole courſe of
" his Life, and principally this, that
" by his Means he came into the Ser-
" vice of my Lord St. *Alban's*.

As they patronized Mr. *Cowley* one of the moſt *excellent Poets* of *Great Britain*, ſo *Buchanan*, one of the moſt *excellent Hiſtorians* of the *ſame Kingdom*, comes to You for Your Patronage and Protection. To Noblemen, out of whoſe Number are moſt frequently choſen the Heads and Rulers of flouriſhing Governments, Hiſtory, methinks, muſt be, above all things, the moſt uſeful as well as the moſt adorning Employment of the Mind. Travelling, in the trueſt and beſt Senſe and Meaning of the Word, has been treated upon by many Writers, and deſcribed to be, what it certainly is, a very

very great Accompliſhment; but travelling as one does by the Helps of Hiſtory, thro' ſeveral remote Ages and Æras of Time, as well as diſtant Places and Climates, is certainly a Qualification as much more noble and uſeful, as it is more extenſive. And truly it very frequently proceeds from looking thro' Hiſtories into the great Lights and Ornaments of different Ages and Nations, that the reading Nobleman makes his own Life a perfect Tranſcript of the Worth he reads, and becomes an illuſtrious Subject of Hiſtory himſelf proper to be read of, to be admired, and to be again imitated by others in ſucceeding Times. Therefore all Addreſſes of Works of this Nature may be properly ſaid to belong to ſuch Perſons whoſe illuſtrious Actions ſet them up as Patterns worthy of Imitation, and who reſemble in the Virtues of their Lives, thoſe great Examples that do principally grace Hiſtory itſelf. I know it is a cuſtomary way of thinking, that the moſt proper Perſons to be choſen for

Patrons

Patrons in ſuch caſes, would be from among Stateſmen or Generals that have ſtood eminently diſtinguiſh'd either in the Cabinet or the Field. But I muſt take leave to diſſent from what I cannot Help counting any better than a popular Error, becauſe the repreſentation of the Counſels of thoſe, and the Victories of theſe, is ſeldom ſo ſincere, faithful, or inſtructive, as it is ſplendid, pompous, and oſtentatious; and ſerves rather to ſhew the Rhetorick of the Writer, than to yield any Benefit to the Reader: Whereas the eminent Goodneſs and ſingular Virtues of other Noblemen in a more private kind, are apt *always* to excite in us a deſire of Imitation, and animate us *ſometimes* to the like Practices. Taking things in this Light, I ſhould not have acted the Part of an impartial Writer, if I had dedicated the following Sheets to one that was not of the moſt acknowledged Merit.

My

DEDICATION.

My LORD,

WITH that very Force of good Reaſon which has rendered You equal to the greateſt Stations, You have avoided them as diligently as many others have purſued them. You made it Your Choice as far as Your Quality would permit You, to live rather a private than a publick Life. Yet I have often heard, that when great Men concerned in the buſy World, have converſed and conferred with You, and deſired your Counſel and Advice in Affairs of Moment, they have always preferred Your Opinion to their own; and when any thing in particular has called for Your Aſſiſtance, You have exerted Yourſelf in the Service of Your Country, and have had a great Share of Merit on many Occaſions, which You have endeavoured to conceal. But it was impoſſible for You to conceal it; it grew known every where at *laſt* as it ſhould do; but *firſt*, where it principally ought, to the King, the Fountain from whence all Honour is derived.

ved. Hence it came to paſs, that, while others purſue Dignity with Toil, Your diſtinguiſhed Abilities and Services made Honour follow Your Merit, and a freſh Advancement among the Peerage went after You, as I may ſay, to Your Country Seat. This is indeed enjoying the true *Otium cum Dignitate*. But I muſt take the honeſt Liberty to ſay, that, as theſe Virtues of Yours exerciſed in ſo private a Manner are very ſingular in themſelves, ſo they might ſeem almoſt injurious, or at leaſt not eaſily excuſable to the Publick, if we did not know, that You only withdrew in Yourſelf One great Man from undertaking any State Offices, at a Time, when You had ſo many noble Contemporaries like Your ſelf to manage them, in Order to train and bring up others in Your own Family, to be like them and Yourſelf, that might in all Probability be wanted to ſucceed them.

My

DEDICATION.

My LORD,

YOU are peculiarly bleſsed with a beautiful Conſort, and a plentiful Iſſue, and ſuch a Family may very well be called one's little Country; and You have laid out all Your Care and Labour to improve that little Country for the Good and Advantage of the Great one. The young Ladies are curiouſly formed to add new Grace and Beauty to the *Britiſh* Court, as their Mother has done before them; and their Brothers, by Your Directions, exactly bred and inſtructed in ſuch a Manner, as to be highly uſeful and ornamental to the greateſt State in the Chriſtian World. By ſuch an elegant Courſe of Life as You marked out to them, they will, in all likelihood, while young, be invited to fill thoſe Places which others ſeek to gain in old Age, by a long Series of Fatigue, Study, Obſervation, Experience, and Intereſt. Hence it will be hard to know all the Virtues of my Lord of *Briſtol*, till thoſe Gentlemen, that were

modelled

modelled by him, bring them into Light, and have an Opportunity of ſhewing in their proper Stations, all the Accompliſhments which He taught them. Thus, my Lord, You ſerve the State without the Pomp of it: You have made it the private Buſineſs of Your Life, that Your Poſterity, and even all Your Acquaintance ſhould be Advantageous to the Publick; and it is the leaſt thing one can do, by way of a Return of Gratitude, to wiſh moſt heartily, as I indeed do, that You may live long to ſee the Fruits of Your Labours, to behold all Your Children enjoying the Poſts, flouriſhing in the Honours, which You have inſtructed them to deſerve, and that it may become the general Opinion, from thence, as it ought to be, that where a Nobleman, who is bleſſed with a large Family, acts the Husband, the Father, and the Friend, for the ſame great Purpoſes as You have done, his Virtues are not ſo properly to be called *Private* and *Domeſtick*, as *Publick* and *National*.

I wiſh

DEDICATION.

I wiſh You moſt heartily the Pleaſure of ſeeing this, and think my ſelf at the Height of my Ambition, in having got this Opportunity of declaring my ſelf with all Gratitude for Your former Favours,

My LORD,

Your LORDSHIP's

Moſt Obliged,

Moſt Obedient and

Moſt Humble Servant,

William Bond.

THE

EPISTLE DEDICATORY

TO

JAMES VI.

King of SCOTLAND, *and Firſt of* ENGLAND.

AFTER four and twenty Years Abſence, returning to my Native Country, I deſired nothing more than to review my Papers, that were diſpers'd, and many ways injur'd by the Iniquity of the Times: For I found, that the over Officiouſneſs of my Friends, to precipitate the Publication of what was yet unfit to ſee the Light, and that exceſſive Liberty which

Tranſcribers take to cenſure the Works of other Men, had altered many Things, and corrupted others, according to their ſeveral Humours. But whilſt I was endeavouring to remedy theſe Diſorders, the ſudden and unexpected Solicitations of my Friends broke my Meaſures; all of them, as if they had conſpired together, exhorting me to lay aſide things of leſs Weight, that rather delight the Ear than inſtruct the Mind, and apply my ſelf to write the Hiſtory of our Nation, as a Subject not only ſuitable to my Age, and ſufficient to anſwer the Expectation of my Countrymen; but deſerving great Commendation, and moſt likely to preſerve ones Memory to ſucceeding Ages. Amongſt other Reaſons, which I omit, they added, That though BRITAIN be the moſt famous Iſland in the World, and every part of its Hiſtory contain moſt remarkable Things; yet, ſcarce one was to be found in any Age, who durſt attempt ſo great a Work, or if he did, was able to accompliſh it. Neither was it the leaſt Inducement to this Under-

Undertaking, that I hoped my Pains herein would not be unſuitable, nor unacceptable to your Majeſty. For I thought it ſhamefully abſur'd, that your Majeſty, who in your tender Years, have read the Hiſtories of all Nations, and retain very many of them in your Memory, ſhould only be a Stranger at Home. Beſides, an incurable Diſtemper having made me unfit to diſcharge, in Perſon, the Care of your Inſtruction, committed to me, I thought that ſort of Writing, which tends to the Information of the Mind, would beſt ſupply the want of my Attendance, and reſolv'd to ſend your Majeſty faithful Counſellors from Hiſtory, that you might make uſe of their Advice in your Deliberations, and imitate their Virtue in your Actions. For there are amongſt your Royal Anceſtors, Men excellent in every Reſpect, of whom Poſterity will never be aſhamed; and, to omit others, your Majeſty will hardly find in Hiſtory, any HERO worthy of your comparing with our DAVID. And if the Divine Goodneſs was ſo

liberal to him, in thoſe moſt calamitous and wicked Times, we may with Reaſon hope, That Your Majeſty will be (as the Royal Prophet ſays) *A Pattern of all thoſe Excellencies, which Mothers deſire in their Children, when they give them their beſt Wiſhes*; and that this GOVERNMENT, which ſeems to be hurried on to *Ruin* and *Deſtruction*, may be ſupported, 'till the time ſhall come, when all Sublunary Things having finiſhed the Courſe appointed them by God's Eternal Decree, ſhall arrive at their deſigned Period.

Edinburgh Aug. 27.

GEORGE BUCHANAN.

THE

R. White sculpsit.

GEORGII BUCHANANI Scoti,
Poetæ, Historici Eximij Vera Effigies,
Ex Archetypo, quod in Musæo
D: Thomæ Povey, adservatur expressa.

THE

LIFE

OF

GEORGE BUCHANAN,

Written by himſelf two Years before his Death.

GEORGE BUCHANAN was born in *Lenox-Shire*, (commonly called the *Sheriffdom* of *Dumbarton*) in *Scotland*, ſcituate near the River, or Water of *Blane*, in the Year of our Lord 1506, about the beginning of *February*, in a Country Town within that Shire, of a Family rather Ancient than Rich. His Father died of the *Stone*, in the Flower of his Age; whilſt his Grandfather was yet alive, by whoſe Extravagance, the Family which was but low before, was now almoſt reduced to the extremi-

ty of Want. Yet ſuch was the frugal Care of his Mother, *Agnes Heriot*, that ſhe brought up five Sons and three Daughters to Mens and Womens Eſtate. Of the five Sons, *George* was one. His Uncle, *James Heriot*, perceiving his promiſing Ingenuity in their own Country Schools, took him from thence, and ſent him to *Paris*. There he applied himſelf to his Studies, and eſpecially to Poetry; having partly a natural *Genius* that way, and partly out of Neceſſity, (becauſe it was the only Method of Study, propounded to him, in his Youth.) Before he had been there two Years, his Uncle died, and he himſelf fell dangerouſly Sick; and being in extreme Want, was forced to go home to his Friends. After his return to *Scotland*, he ſpent almoſt a Year in taking care of his Health; then he went into the Army with ſome *French* Auxiliaries, newly arrived in *Scotland*, to learn the *Art Military:* But that Expedition proving fruitleſs, and thoſe Forces being reduc'd, by the deep Snows of a very ſevere Winter, he relapſed into ſuch an Illneſs as confin'd him all that Seaſon to his Bed. Early in the Spring he was ſent to St. *Andrews*, to hear the Lectures of *John Major*; who, tho' very old, read *Logick*, or rather *Sophiſtry*, in that Univerſity. The Summer after, he accompanied him into *France*, and there he fell into the Troubles of the *Lutheran Sect*, which then began to encreaſe: He ſtruggled with the Difficulties of Fortune almoſt two Years, and at laſt was admitted into the *Barbaran* College, where he was *Grammar* Profeſſor almoſt three Years. During that time, *Gilbert Kennedy*, Earl of *Caſſils*, one of the young *Scotiſh* Nobles, being

ing in that Country, was much taken with his Ingenuity and Acquaintance, ſo that he entertained him for five Years, and brought him back with him into *Scotland.*

AFTERWARDS having a Mind to return to *Paris* to his old Studies, he was detained by the King, and made Tutor to *James* his Natural Son. In the mean time, an Elegy made by him, at leiſure times, came into the Hands of the *Franciſcans*; wherein he writes, That he was ſolicited in a Dream by St. *Francis*, to enter into his *Order.* In this Poem there were one or two Paſſages that reflected on them very ſeverely, which thoſe ghoſtly Fathers, notwithſtanding their Profeſſion of Meekneſs and Humility, took more heinouſly, than Men (having obtained ſuch a Vogue for Piety among the Vulgar) ought to have done, upon ſo ſmall an occaſion of Offence. But finding no juſt Grounds for their unbounded Fury, they attacked him upon the Score of Religion, which was their common way of terrifying thoſe they did not wiſh well to. Thus, whilſt they indulg'd their impotent Malice, they made him, who was not well affected to them before, a greater Enemy to their Licentiouſneſs, and render'd him more inclinable to the *Lutheran* Cauſe. In the mean time, the King, with *Magdalen* his Wife, came from *France*, not without the Reſentment of the *Prieſthood*; who were afraid that the Royal Lady, having been bred up under her Aunt, the Queen of *Navarre*, ſhould attempt ſome Innovation in Religion: But this Fear vaniſhed upon her Death, which followed ſhortly after.

NEXT, there aroſe Jealouſies at Court about ſome of the Nobility, who were thought to have conſpired againſt the King; and, in that Matter, the King being perſuaded the *Franciſcans* dealt unſincerely, he commanded *Buchanan*, who was then at Court, (tho' he was ignorant of the Diſguſts betwixt him and that *Order*) to write a *Satire* upon them. He was loth to offend either of them, and therefore, tho' he made a Poem, yet it was but ſhort, and ſuch as might admit of a doubtful Interpretation, wherein he ſatisfied neither Party; not the King, who would have had a ſharp and ſtinging Invective; nor the *Fathers*, neither, who look'd on it as a capital Offence, to have any thing ſaid of them but what was *honourable*. So that receiving a ſecond Command to write more pungently againſt them, he began that *Miſcellany*, which now bears the Title of *The Franciſcan*, and gave it to the King. But ſhortly after, being made acquainted by his Friends at Court, that Cardinal *Beton* ſought his Life, and had offered the King a Sum of Money, as a Price for his Head, he eſcaped out of Priſon and fled for *England*. But there alſo, things were at ſuch an Uncertainty, that the very ſame Day, and almoſt with one and the ſame Fire, the Men of both Factions, (*Proteſtants* and *Papiſts*) were burnt; *Henry* the Eighth, in his old Age, being more intent on his own Security, than the Purity or Reformation of Religion. This Uncertainty of Affairs in *England*, ſeconded by his ancient Acquaintance with the *French*, and the Courteſie natural to them, drew him again into that Kingdom.

As

As ſoon as he came to *Paris*, he found Cardinal *Beton*, his utter Enemy, Embaſſador there; ſo that to withdraw himſelf from his Fury, at the Invitation of *Andrew Govean* he went to *Bourdeaux*. There he taught three Years in the Schools, which were erected at the publick Coſt: In that time he compos'd four Tragedies, which were afterwards occaſionally publiſh'd: But that which he wrote firſt, called *The Baptiſt*, was printed laſt, and next the *Medea* of *Euripides*. He wrote them in compliance with the Cuſtom of the School, which was to have a Play written once a Year, that the acting of them might wean the *French* Youth from Allegories, to which they had taken a falſe Taſte, and bring them back as much as poſſible to a juſt Imitation of the Ancients. This Affair ſucceeding, even almoſt beyond his Hope, he took more Pains in compiling the other two Tragedies, called *Jeptha* and *Alceſtes*, becauſe, he thought, they would fall under a ſeverer Scrutiny of the *Learned*. And yet, during this time, he was not wholly free from Trouble, being haraſſed between the Menaces of the *Cardinal* on the one ſide, and of the *Franciſcans* on the other. For the Cardinal had wrote Letters to the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, to apprehend him; but, providentially, thoſe Letters fell into the Hands of *Buchanan*'s beſt Friends. However, the Death of the King of *Scots*, and the Plague, which then raged over all *Aquitain*, diſpelled that Fear.

IN the interim, an Expreſs came to *Govean* from the King of *Portugal*, commanding him to return, and bring with him ſome Men, learned, both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues; that they might

might read the *Liberal Arts*, and eſpecially the Principles of the *Ariſtotelian-Philoſophy* in thoſe Schools which he was then building, with a great deal of Care and Expence. *Buchanan*, being addreſſed to, readily conſented to go for one. For, whereas he ſaw that all *Europe*, beſides, was either actually in Foreign or Domeſtick Wars, or juſt upon the point of being ſo, that one Corner of the World was, in his Opinion, likelieſt to be free from Tumults and Combuſtions: And beſides, his Companions in that Journey were ſuch, that they ſeemed rather his Acquaintance and Familiar-Friends, than Strangers or Aliens to him. For many of them had been his Intimates for ſeveral Years, and are well known to the World by their learned Works, as *Nicolaus Gruchius*, *Gulielmus Garentæus*, *Jacobus Tevius*, and *Elias Vinetus*. This was the reaſon that he did not only make one of their Society, but alſo perſuaded a Brother of his, called *Patrick*, to do the ſame. And truly the Matter ſucceeded excellently well at firſt, 'till in the midſt of our Enterprize *Andrew Govean* was taken away by a ſudden Death, which proved mighty prejudicial to his Companions. For, after his Deceaſe, all our Enemies, endeavoured at firſt to inſnare us by Treachery, and ſoon after, ran violently upon us, as it were with open Mouth; and their Agents and Inſtruments being great Enemies to the Accuſed, they laid hold of three of them, and haled them to Priſon; whence, after a long and loathſom Confinement, they were called out to give in their Anſwers; and, after many bitter Taunts, were remanded to Priſon again; and yet no Accuſer did appear in Court againſt

againſt them. As for *Buchanan*, they inſulted moſt bitterly over him, as being a Stranger, and knowing alſo, that he had very few Friends in that Country, who would either rejoice in his Proſperity, ſympathize with his Grief, or revenge the Wrongs offered to him. The Crime laid to his Charge was the Poem he wrote againſt the *Franciſcans*, which he himſelf before he went from *France* took care to get excuſed to the King of *Portugal*, neither did his Accuſers perfectly know what it was: For he had given but one Copy of it to the King of *Scots*, by whoſe Command he wrote it. They farther objected, *His eating of Fleſh in Lent*, tho' there is not a Man in all *Spain* but uſes the ſame Liberty: Beſides, he had given ſome ſly Side-blows to the *Monks*, which, however, no Body but a *Monk* himſelf could well except againſt.

MOREOVER, they took it heinouſly ill, that, in a certain familiar Diſcourſe with ſome young *Portugal* Gentlemen, upon mention made of the *Euchariſt*, he ſhould affirm, That, in his Judgment, *Auſtin* was more inclinable to the Party condemned by the Church of *Rome*. Two other Witneſſes (as, ſome Years after, it came to his Knowledge) *viz. John Tolpin*, a *Norman*, and *John Ferrerius* of *Sub-Alpine Liguria*, had witneſſed againſt him, that they had heard from divers creditable Perſons, *That* Buchanan *was not Orthodox, as to the* Roman *Faith and Religion.*

BUT to return to the Matter; after the Inquiſitors had wearied both themſelves and him, for almoſt half a Year; at laſt, that they might not ſeem to have cauſeleſly vexed a Man, of ſome Name

Name and Note in the World, they ſhut him up in a Monaſtery for ſome Months; there to be more exactly diſciplined and inſtructed by the *Monks*, who (to give them their Due) tho' very ignorant in all Matters of Religion, were Men otherwiſe neither bad in their Morals, nor rude in their Behaviour.

THIS was the time he took to form the principal part of *David*'s Pſalms into *Latin* Verſe. At laſt he was ſet at Liberty, and ſuing for a Paſs, and Accommodations from the Crown, to return into *France*, the King deſir'd him to ſtay where he was, and allotted him a little Sum for daily Neceſſaries, and Pocket Expences, 'till ſome better Proviſion might be made for his Subſiſtence. But he, tired out with Delay, as being put off, to no certain Time, nor on any ſure Grounds of Hope, and having got the Opportunity of a Paſſage, in a Ship then riding in the Bay of *Lisbon*, was carried over into *England*. He made no long Stay in that Country, tho' fair Offers were made him there; for he ſaw, that all things were in an Hurry and Combuſtion, under a very young King; the Nobles at Variance one with another, and the Minds of the Commons yet in a Ferment, upon the account of their Civil Combuſtions. Whereupon he returned into *France*, about the time that the Siege of *Metz* was raiſed. There he was, in a manner, compell'd by his Friends, to write a Poem concerning that Siege; which he did, tho' ſomewhat unwillingly, becauſe he was loth to interfere with ſeveral of his Acquaintance, and eſpecially with *Mellinus Sangelaſius*, who had compoſed a learned and elegant Poem on that Subject.

Subject. From thence he was called over into *Italy*, by *Charles de Coſſé* of *Breſcia*, who then managed Matters with very good Succeſs, in the *Gallic* and *Ligustic* Countries about the *Po*: He lived with him and his Son *Timoleon*, ſometimes in *Italy*, and ſometimes in *France*, the ſpace of five Years, till the Year of *Chriſt* One Thouſand Five Hundred and Sixty; the greateſt part of which time he ſpent in the Study of the Holy Scriptures, that ſo he might be able to make a more exact Judgment of the Controverſies in Religion; which employ'd the Thoughts, and took up all the Time of moſt of the Men of thoſe Days. 'Tis true, thoſe Diſputes were ſilenced a little in *Scotland*, when that Kingdom was freed from the Tyranny of the *Guiſes* of *France*; ſo he returned, thither and became a Member of the Church of *Scotland*.

SOME of his Writings, in former Times, being, as it were, redeemed from Shipwreck, were by him collected and publiſhed: The reſt, which are ſtill ſcattered up and down in the Hands of his Friends, he commits to the Diſpoſal of Providence.

BEING at this time in the Seventy Fourth Year of his Age, he ſtill attends the Education of *James* the Sixth King of *Scotland*, to whom he was appointed Tutor, in the Year 1565, and quite broken with the Infirmities of old Age, he longs for the deſired Haven of his Reſt.

G. B.

HE departed this Life at Edinburgh, *on the* 28th *Day of* September, Ann. Dom. 1582.

The

The Names of the KINGS *of* SCOTLAND.

1. Fergus 1.
2. Ferithar.
3. Mainus.
4. Dornadilla.
5. Nothatus.
6. Reutherus.
7. Reutha.
8. Thereus.
9. Josina.
10. Finnanus.
11. Durstus.
12. Evenus 1.
13. Gillus. *(Base Born)*
14. Evenus 2.
15. Ederus.
16. Evenus 3.
17. Metallanus.
18. Caratacus.
19. Corbred 1.
20. Dardanus.
21. Corbred 2. *Sirnamed* Galdus.
22. Luctacus.
23. Mogaldus.
24. Conarus.
25. Ethodius 1.
26. Satrael.
27. Donald 1.
28. Ethodius 2.
29. Athirco.
30. Nathalocus.
31. Findochus.
32. Donald 2.
33. Donald 3.
34. Cráthlinthus.
35. Fincormachus.
36. Romachus.
37. Angusianus.
38. Fethelmacus.
39. Eugenius 1.
40. Fergus 2.
41. Eugenius 2.
42. Dongardus.
43. Constantine 1.
44. Congallus 1.
45. Goranus.
46. Eugenius 3.
47. Congallus 2.
48. Kinnatellus.
49. Aidanus.
50. Kenneth 1.
51. Eugenius 4.
52. Ferchard 1.
53. Donald 4.
54. Ferchard 2.
55. Maldvinus.
56. Eugenius 5.
57. Eugenius 6.
58. Amberkelethus.
59. Eugenius 7.
60. Mordacus.
61. Etfinus.
62. Eugenius 8.
63. Fergus 3.
64. Solvathius.
65. Achaius.
66. Congallus 3.
67. Dongallus.
68. Alpinus.
69. Kenneth 2.
70. Donald 5.
71. Constantine 2.
72. Ethus.
73. Gregory.
74. Donald 6.
75. Constantine 3.
76. Malcolm 1.
77. Judulfus.
78. Duffus.
79. Culenus.
80. Kenneth 3.
81. Constantine 4. *Sirnamed*, The Bald.
82. Grimus.
83. Malcolm 2.
84. Donald 7.
85. Macbeth.
86. Malcolm 3.
87. Donald Banus 8.
88. Duncan.
89. Edgar.
90. Alexander 1. *Sirnamed*, The Sharp.
91. David 1.
92. Malcolm 4.
93. William.
94. Alexander 2.
95. Alexander 3.
96. John Baliol.
97. Robert Bruce.
98. David 2.
99. Edward Baliol.
100. Robert 2.
101. Robert 3.
102. James 1.
103. James 2.
104. James 3.
105. James 4.
106. James 5.
*107. Henry Stuart *and* Mary Stuart.
108. James 6.

* The Name of *Mary* is set before *Henry* in the Body of this *History*, because she reigned several Years before her Marriage with *Henry*, and also after his Decease.

THE

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

BOOK I.

WHEN I first determin'd to write the Famous Atchievements of our Ancestors, and after I had purged them from the Mixture of vain Fables, to vindicate them from Oblivion; I thought it conducive to my purpose, to recite from the very beginning, (as much as so long a Distance of Time; and *first* the Scarcity, *then* the Loss of Learned Monuments would permit,) what the Situation of the Countries were; what was the Nature of the Soil and Air; what were the ancient Names and Manners, and who were the first Inhabitants, of the Islands, called of old, *Britanny*; which are extended

tended between *Spain* and *Germany*, in a long Tract of Land toward *France*. *Albion* and *Ireland*, two of them, do far exceed the reſt in Bigneſs, and therefore of theſe two I ſhall ſpeak *firſt*; afterwards, as Conveniency ſerves, I will explain the *Site* and the Names of the reſt.

THE firſt, for Bigneſs, is *Albion*, which now alone retains the Name of *Britain*, formerly common to them all. Concerning its Breadth and Length, other Writers do, in effect, agree with *Cæſar*; namely, that the Length of it from *North* to *South* is 800 Miles; and the Breadth, where it is wideſt, which is (as ſome think) where it looks towards *France*; or, (as others ſay) from the Point of St. *David's* in *South-Wales*, to *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*, almoſt 200 Miles; from thence it narrows by degrees, till we come to the Borders of *Scotland*. The *Romans*, who, as yet, knew not the fartheſt Parts thereof, believed the *Iſland* to be *Triangular*, but when they proceeded a little farther, they found, that beyond *Adrian's* Wall, it extended it ſelf broader by degrees, and ran out far Eaſtward. This, in brief, concerning its *Bigneſs*.

THE Climate of *Britain* is more temperate than that of *France*, as *Cæſar* affirms, but the Climate of *Ireland* is milder than them both. The Air thereof is ſeldom clear, but commonly darkened with thick Miſts; the Winters are mild enough, rather rainy than ſnowy. The Soil brings forth Corn plentifully, and, beſides Corn, it produceth all ſorts of Metals. It is alſo very fruitful in Breeds of Cattel. They, who inhabit the extreme Parts of the Iſlands, which are more infeſted with cold, eat Bread made of Oatmeal; and, for Drink, they uſe a Wine or ſtrong Liquor made of Corn ſteeped in Malt: Some boil Whey, and keep it in Hogſheads under Ground for ſome Months, which is counted, by many of them, not only an wholſome, but a very pleaſant Drink. There was no Controverſy concerning the Name of *Britain* amongſt the Ancients, except that the *Greeks*, called it *Brettania*, the *Latins*, *Britannia*. Other Nations have their Appellation of it, ſome one, ſome t'other, at their Pleaſure. But of late ſome Men have ſtarted up, not ſo much deſirous of Truth as of Contention, who hoped to make themſelves famous by carping at other eminent Perſons; for they imagin'd that they muſt needs obtain a great Opinion of Learning amongſt the Vulgar, who dared to enter the Liſts againſt, and to combat with all Antiquity; and though the Diſpute was about a thing of no great Conſequence, yet, becauſe it concerned the very Name of their Country, they thought it worth contending for, with all their Might, as if the ancient Glory of the whole Nation

tion had lain at Stake. They ſay, that three ancient Names of the Iſland have their ſeveral Aſſertors, *viz. Prudania*, *Prytaneia*, and *Britannia*. * *Llud* contends with might and main for *Prudania*; *Thomas Eliot*, a *Britiſh* Knight, for *Prytaneia*, but very modeſtly; almoſt all other Nations do retain the Name of *Britain*.

LLUD, to maintain his Aſſertion for *Prudania*, uſeth the Authority of a certain old Paper-fragment, which Ruſt, Mouldineſs, and length of Time (and nothing elſe,) have almoſt made Sacred with him. Tho' he counts that Proof firm enough of it ſelf, yet he ſtrengthens it by Etymology; by the Writings of Poets; by the Country Dialect; and by the venerable Ruſt of Antiquity. But in the firſt place, I ask him, whence came that *Fragment*, on which he lays the Streſs and Weight of his Cauſe? When was it writ? Who was the *Author* of it? Or, what ſays it, that makes for his Aſſertion? Concerning the Name, the Time, the Author, all theſe (he may perhaps alledge) are uncertain, which proves, (he thinks) the Antiquity thereof. An excellent Proof, indeed! Where the Certainty, Credit, and Authority of the Teſtimony doth depend on Ignorance, Meanneſs and Obſcurity; and that which is made Uſe of to explain the Matter in Controverſy, hath more Intricacy and Weakneſs in it, than the Cauſe which it is brought to defend. Who is the Witneſs in this Caſe? I know not, (ſays he.) What then does he pretend to, in lieu of a Teſtimony? I know not that neither, (replies he) but this I have heard, that in that Fragment, it is called *Prudania*. But, prithee tell me, what is that *Prudania*? Is it a Mountain, or a River? A Village, or a Town? A Man, or a Woman? Here I am poſed too, (ſays he;) but I conjecture, that *Britain* is ſignified by that Name. Well then, let *Prudania* ſignifie *Britain*. Yet what doth this thy Fragment make for thee? I would aſk this Queſtion of thee, Whether it affirms *Prudania* to be the true Name of the Iſland, or elſe doth not rather upbraid their Ignorance, who aſcribe that falſe Name to it? Here too I am Nonpluſt, (ſays *Llud*;) but this I am certain of, that here is the Sound of a *Britiſh* Word, and the Force of the *Britiſh* Language doth appear, even in the very *Etymology* thereof. For *Prudania* is, as it were, *Prudcania*, which is in *Britiſh excellent Beauty*, from *Pryd*, ſignifying *Beauty*, and *Cam*, *White*: The Aſperity of the Word being ſomewhat mollified. But for that reaſon, it ſhould be cal-

* *Llud* or *Lloyd*, and *Eliot*, two Writers of *Britiſh* Antiquities, in *Hen.* 8. and Queen *Eliz.* Reigns.

led *Prudcamia*, not *Prudania*, which Word the *Bards* do pronounce *Pruda*, in their Country Speech. I ſhall not here ſpeak, how trivial, deceitful, and oftentimes ridiculous, this Enquiry after the Original of Words is. I paſs by *Varro*, and other Learned Men, who have been often laugh'd at upon this Account: I omit alſo the whole *Cratylus* of *Plato*, wherein he is guilty of the ſame Fault. I will only affirm this, that, before equal Judges, a Man may more eaſily prove, that the Word *Cambri* is derived from *Canis* and *Brutum*, a Dog and a Brute, than you ſhall perſuade me, that *Prudania* comes from *Prudcamia*. For by this means you may derive *Quidlibet* è *Quolibet*, as you pleaſe. And indeed, *Llud* himſelf ſhews, what little Confidence he puts in his own Proofs, when he calls in the *Bards* to his Aid, a Race of Men, I grant indeed, very ancient, but yet Antiquity affirms, they committed nothing to Writing. But of theſe I ſhall ſpeak more elſewhere.

Let us now come to the laſt Refuge of *Llud*: *Cæſar*, ſays he, who firſt mentioned the Name of this Iſland in *Latin*, called it *Britain*, whoſe Steps almoſt all *Latin* Writers having trod in, did not change the ſaid Name. Here *Llud* begins with a notorious Miſtake; that *Cæſar* was the firſt of the *Latins*, who called it by the Name of *Britain*; for before ever *Cæſar* was born, *Lucretius* makes mention of *Britain*; and *Ariſtotle*, amongſt the *Greeks*, long before him; and *Propertius*, not long after *Cæſar*, when he ſaith,

> *Cogor & in Tabula pictos ediſcere Mundos:*
> *Our Force of Art, in Maps, the Globe deſcrys,*
> *Where* painted Nations *meet our wond'ring Eyes.*

ſhews thereby, that in his Age, the Deſcription of the World in Maps, was wont to be faſtned to the Walls of Mens Houſes: I would ask your ſelf, Sir, do you indeed think, that *Cæſar*, who was ſo well skill'd in all ſorts of Learning, did never ſee the Deſcription of the World? Or, can you be perſuaded, that the *Iſland* of *Britain* alone, the greateſt in the whole World, then ſo famous both in the *Latin* and *Greek* Monuments, was omitted in thoſe *Maps*? Or, do you believe, that *Cæſar*, who was ſo inquiſitive to know the Affairs of *Britain*, as, What Men did inhabit that Country, then, and before his Time; What Animals and Plants did grow, or were bred therein; What were the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country; do you, I ſay, believe, that he, who had been ſo ſolicitous about thoſe things, would have neglected to ſet down the Name of the whole *Iſland*? Or, that he,

he, who, with ſo great Faithfulneſs and Diligence, gave right Names to the Cities of the *Gauls*, would deprive the *Britains* of their Ancient Glory? Upon the whole, I ſee no reaſon at all, why *Llud* ſhould think that the old Name of the Iſland was *Prudania*, (for he values himſelf much on the account of this Title,) unleſs Words do alſo contract Antiquity from the Ruſt of a Worm-eaten Paper. This is all I have to ſay againſt *Llud*, at preſent, who by home-bred Witneſſes, and by his own Dreams together, hath thought fit to oppoſe himſelf againſt the current Verdict of all the Learned Men that now are, or ever have been, in the World.

As for Sir *Thomas Elliot*, my Taſk will be eaſier with him; he, being induced not only by probable Conjectures, but alſo by ſome Authors, and thoſe not obſcure, thinks, that the Iſland was ſometimes called *Prytaneia*. He judged it not improbable, that an Iſland abounding with Plenty of all things, not only for the Neceſſities, but even the very Ornaments of Life, ſhould be ſo called. In this Caſe, if we ſhould weigh the reaſon of Names, *Sicily* rather deſerves the Title of *Prytaneia*, and ſo do ſome other Iſlands alſo; which go as far beyond *Britain* in the Fruitfulneſs of Soil, as they fall ſhort of it in the Extent of Territory. Beſides, in thoſe *Authors*, by whoſe Teſtimony the Name *Prytaneia* is confirm'd, it eaſily appears, that the Orthography is vitiated. As for *Stephanus*, there is the higheſt Inconſtancy in him. In the Word *Albion*, he ſays, that That is the Iſland of *Brettain*, following *Martian* therein, as he alledges. In the Words *Juvernia* and *Juverna*, it is writ *Prætanica*. Elſewhere, ſays he, in the Ocean are the *Brettiſh* Iſlands, whoſe Inhabitants are called *Brettains*. But *Martian* and *Ptolomy*, in theſe Words, make *P* the firſt Letter; if any one compare the Places, without doubt he will find that the Writing is corrupted, and that *Stephanus* himſelf was of Opinion, that *Brettania* ought to be writ by *B* the firſt Letter, and two *t*'s. *Eliot*, I believe, was not ignorant of this, and therefore, being content to adviſe his Reader, as much as he thought fit, what things Men, greedy of Praiſe, will ſcrape together for the Oſtentation of their Learning, he leaves the matter in Diſpute intirely to his Judgment. But *Llud*, that you may know his Diſpoſition more fully, of the *Three* Names of this large Iſland, approves *that moſt*, which hath the feweſt Aſſertors, *viz. Prudania*; next to that he commends *Prytaneia*. But he rejects *Britannia*, which Name was now famous grown thro' all Nations, and celebrated both in *Greek* and *Latin* Monuments, (as *Pliny* affirms) as corrupted by *Julius Cæſar*; and that a long time after, whom he falſely affirms,

(as hath been ſaid) to have firſt mentioned the Name of *Britannia* in *Latin*, and that he drew others with him into the ſame Error. But I can prove the Antiquity of the Word *Britannia*, by many clear and ample Teſtimonies, if that were the *matter* in diſpute; and that it was not corrupted by *Cæſar*, but delivered down to us, *pure* from Hand to Hand, by our Anceſtors, ſave that the Ancients were wont to write it with a double *T. T. (Brittania;)* And therefore it was, as I ſuppoſe, that *Lucretius* made the firſt Syllable of the Word *Britain* long in Verſe; but now the *Latins* leave out one *T*, which is ſtill retained in the word *Britto*. The *Greeks*, who write *Brittania*, come neareſt to the Pronunciation of the Country Speech, which the *Britons* themſelves, and all their Neighbours, do yet retain. For the neighbouring *Gauls* call all *Britiſh* Women *Bretta*; and *Bretter*, with them, is to ſpeak *Britiſh*: And a Promontory in *Aquitain* is commonly called *Cape-Bretton*; and both ſorts of *Scots*, *(i. e.)* both the *Albians* and the *Hibernians*, ſpeak ſo too; only with this difference, that they who delight in the *German* Dialect, do ſometimes uſe the Tranſpoſition of Letters, and pronounce *Berton* for *Breton*. But *Dionyſius Aſer* in that Verſe,

Ωκεανὸ κέχυ᾽ ψυχρὸς ῥόος· ἔνθα Βρετανοὶ.

Where mentioning the *Bretanes* to inhabit near the cold Surges of the Ocean, in putting away one *T.* in the word Βρεταν-, he hath uſed a Poetical Liberty, (as he hath alſo done in the word Σκυθῶν for Σκυτθῶν,) by an Eliſion of the Letter . Here the Conſent of ſo many Nations, almoſt from the very beginning of Governments, both among themſelves, and with the Ancients, as well *Greeks* as *Latins*, will have greater Weight with me, than all the Hodge-podge Traſh of *Llud*, raked by him out of the Dunghil, on purpoſe to be ridicul'd, and preſerv'd only for Ignominy; and, tho' they have a confident Patron, to urge them to give in a falſe Teſtimony againſt Antiquity, yet to make their aukward Appearance they have not dared. Let him ſhew, if he can, what Author ever wrote *Prudania* before *Ariſtotle*: Let him turn and wind himſelf as he pleaſes, he will never be able to do it; ſeeing, ſome Ages after *Ariſtotle*, 'tis certain, that the *Bards* committed nothing to Writing. Away then with that (ſhall I ſay?) vain-glorious, or may I not rather ſay ſenſeleſs, Boaſt of Antiquity, of which no Argument, no Footſtep, no nor the leaſt Print of any Footſtep can be found.

AMIDST

AMIDST this diverſity of Opinions, and the various Manners and Cuſtoms of Speech, *Llud* thinks it moſt adviſeable always to look to *Antiquity*, and the Country-manner of Speech, as a Pole-Star; and, by that, to direct the whole Courſe of his Language: For my part, I would not much diſſent from him, if that, which was in ancient Uſe, and therefore thought certain, might be always obſerved and kept. But there are ſeveral Reaſons why that cannot be done.

FIRST, Becauſe, in every Language, 'tis very difficult to find out the original Words; and therefore 'tis more adviſeable, in this caſe, to follow the Cuſtom of the Learned, than by a vain and ridiculous Labour, always to ſearch after Originals, as after the Fountain of *Nilus*; eſpecially ſince the Original of Words depends not on the Judgment of the wiſer Sort, but on the Pleaſure of the Vulgar; who, for the moſt part, are rude and unpoliſh'd, and therefore anxiouſly Curioſity to inquire after their Judgments, is a piece of needleſs Curioſity; and, if you ſhould find out what they mean, it would not be worth your Labour. For, as in the Generation of all other things, which either grow naturally of themſelves, or elſe are invented by Men for the Uſe of Life; the firſt Embryo's are very imperfect, and come forth leſs acceptable, not only for Uſe, but even for Sight; yet afterward, by Culture, they wax gentle, and are made amiable by due Treatment. 'Tis ſo in Language, which, taking its firſt Riſe from Men rude and impolite, came forth harſh, rugged, and uncouth; then, by Uſe, it gradually puts off its natural Horror and Unpleaſantneſs, becoming more gentle and ſweeter to the Ear, and more eaſily inſinuating it ſelf into the Mind of Man. And therefore, *in this caſe*, (*if in* any caſe at all) I think ſomething is to be indulg'd to the Cuſtom of Men more polite than others; and that ſuch a Pleaſure, which is neither uncomely nor ungraceful, as far as it is not hurtful to Mens Manners, is not to be deſpiſed. But if any one is born under ſuch an ill Conſtellation, that he rather affects the Language of *Cato* and *Ennius*, than of *Cicero* and *Terence*; and when *Corn* is found out, yet had rather feed on *Maſt* ſtill, my Vote is, *Much good may it do him.* But this our preſent Diſpute is not concerning the Purity and Elegancy of the *Latin* Tongue, for it does not come within the Compaſs of it, to know how the *Britons* of former Ages founded their Letters or their Words. My whole Endeavour is, to ſhew, how the *Latins* pronounced the *Britiſh*, not how the *Britiſh* pronounced the *Latin* Tongue. For my part, I had rather be ignorant of the doting Fables of the old *Britons*, than forget that little of the *Latin* Tongue, which I imbibed when

I was a Youth. And I have no other Reaſon for leſſening my Diſguſt when I find the ancient *Scotiſh* Language dying away by degrees, but this one Conſideration, which I own is very pleaſing to me, and it is this; that while we baniſh thoſe wild barbarous Sounds, we borrow harmonious ones from the *Latin*, and ſubſtitute them in their room. And in this Tranſmigration of Languages, if one muſt needs yield to another, Good-now, of the Two, let us paſs from Ruſticity and Barbariſm, to Culture and Humanity; and, by our Choice and Judgment, let us put off that Uncouthneſs which accrued to us by the Infelicity of our Birth. And if our Pains and Induſtry can avail any thing in this Caſe, let us beſtow them all this way, *viz.* To poliſh, as much as we can, the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, which the better part of the World hath publickly received; and, if there be any Soleciſms or Flaws ſticking thereto, from the Contagion of barbarous Languages, let us do what we can to purge them away.

BESIDES, this over-anxious Diligence about foreign Names, eſpecially in transferring them into another Language, can never be kept, neither is it expedient that it ſhould: For what Language hath not theſe Letters and Sounds, which cannot fully be expreſſed by the Characters of another Tongue? What Nation, beſides the *German*, can pronounce the Letter W? Who can give that Sound to the Letters *D. G. P. T. X.* and *Z.* in *Latin*, which the *Spaniards*, the *Britons*, and part of the *Scots*, do?

BECAUSE of this Abſurdity of Sound, as I ſuppoſe, it is, that *Pliny*, reckoning up the Cities of *Spain*, denies, that ſome of them can be well pronounced in the *Latin* Tongue: Some he calls ignoble, and of barbarous Appellation; Others, he ſays, cannot be ſo much as named without grating the Ear. What, I beſeech you, would *Llud* do in this caſe, if he were to write the Hiſtory of *Britain* in *Latin*? With all his Ruſt of Barbariſm, I believe, he would ſcarce know how to pronounce the genuine Names of the *Britons*. For ſeeing he vexes himſelf ſo much how he ſhould write *Lud*, either *Lhuyd*, or *Llud*, or elſe bare *Ludd*, neither of which can be written, pronounced, or heard amongſt *Latiniſts* without Regret. If he retains the true Sound, he will make not a *Latin*, but a ſemi-barbarous Oration: But if he bend foreign Words to the Sound of the *Latin*, he will commit as great a Treſpaſs, as *Cæſar* is ſaid to have done in the Word *Britannus*. What then ſhall we do, to pleaſe ſo captious and ſo moroſe a Perſon as *Llud*? Shall we call the Iſland *Prudania*, rather than *Britannia*? *Llud* himſelf, who is ſo ſe-

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vere a Cenſor of others, will not exact this of us; He will permit it to be called *Prudania*, from *Pruda* But if any one dare to pronounce and call it *Britannia*, or *Brettannia*, he'll lay about him, and accuſe him preſently of violating ſacred Antiquity, of corrupting and contaminating the ancient and ſincere Language; and of turning it into an effeminate and ſoft Pronunciation, from a robuſt and maſculine Sound. What ſhall we do in this Caſe? May we not take leave to brighten ſome Expreſſions, and reſcue them from the Gloom of Antiquity by changing their Air? Or, if we muſt not change, yet, pray, may we not poliſh ſome rough Words, and ſoften them a little from their Harſhneſs and Barbarity, that they may be more tunable and agreeable to the Ears of Men? We ſee our Anceſtors have done this in the Words *Morini*, *Menmaruſa*, and *Armorici*; ſo that if we cannot make thoſe Words *Latin-Denizons*, yet at leaſt we may imitate the Garb and Similitude of the *Latin* in them. But, I ſee, *Llud* will not allow us that Liberty. He calls us back to the auguſt Antiquity of the *Prudany*'s, and forbids us to divert in the leaſt from *Bards* and *Sanachys*. But the ancient *Greeks* and *Latins* were never ſo ſtrait-laced: For when the Rigor of their ancient Speech began a little to remit, there was none amongſt them who had rather pronounce *Famul* and *Volup*, than the Words which were ſubſtituted in their rooms; and they uſed a very great Liberty in tranſlating *Latin* Words from *Greek*, and *Greek* from *Latin*. Who ever blamed the *Latins*, for turning *Polydences* into *Pollux*, *Heracleis* into *Hercules*, *Aſclepios* into *Æſculapius*? Or, who hath reproved the *Greeks* for calling *Catulus*, *Catlus*; and *Remus*, *Romus*? Nay, what did the *Greeks* do, in tranſlating barbarous Words into their own Language? Did they ever make any Scruple to turn *Al*, a *Punick* Termination, into *As*, in the end of Words? If a Man pronounce *Annibas* for *Annibal*, muſt he (forſooth) preſently tread under foot the Majeſty of all Hiſtory? Muſt he be ſaid to corrupt the Truth, or to do a notorious Injury to the *Punick* Language? See how the Deſire of Humanity and Politeneſs, which was eminent amongſt the ancient *Saxons*, and the *Danes*, who paſſed over later into *Britain*, differs from *Llud*'s uncouth and ſlovenly Affectations. They being rude and ignorant of all Learning, when they came to Men that uſed a barbarous and broken kind of Language, were ſo far from ſuffering themſelves to be infected with their Soleciſms; that, on the contrary, when they had once taſted of the Sweetneſs of the *Latin* Tongue, they pared away much of the Roughneſs which they had brought upon it: They render'd ſome harſh

Words ſo ſmooth, as to make them leſs offenſive to the Ear, ſuch as are *Oxonia* and *Roffa*, for *Oxonfordia* and *Raufcheſtria*, and many others, which *Llud* himſelf does not pretend to contradict. And he allows himſelf the ſame Liberty in many other Words, tho' he is ſo ſevere and ſo obſtinate a Critick in this one Word *Britannia*. But now he ſtiffly oppugns the ancient Cuſtom of all Nations, for a new, obſcure, and uncertain Word. I warrant you he means for Example the Royal Name of *Llud*, of a *Daniſh* Original, and kept as a *Palladium* to this very Day, ſhould not be buried in Oblivion. To prevent which, *Llud* manages a Conteſt againſt the general Conſent of Mankind, the Antiquity of Time, and even againſt Truth it ſelf.

THERE is yet alſo another Obſervation to be made upon the Word *Britannia*, that foreign Writers make it the Name of the whole Iſland; but the *Britons* and *Engliſh*, who have written the *Britiſh* Hiſtory, ſometimes agree with foreign Writers, in their Appellation of it; and ſometimes they call only that part of the Iſland *Britain*, which was a *Roman* Province; and that variouſly too, as the Event of War changed the Borders; ſometimes they made the Wall of *Adrian*, ſometimes that of *Severus*, the Limits of their Empire: The reſt, which were without thoſe Walls, they ſometimes termed Barbarous, ſometimes outlandiſh People. *Bede*, in the beginning of his firſt Book, writes thus: *Wherefore the* Picts, *coming into* Britain, *began to inhabit the* North *Part of the Iſland*; *for the* Britons *inhabited the* South. He ſays alſo, Chap. 34. Aidan *was King of the* Scots, *who inhabit* Britain. And Lib. 4. Chap. 4. writing of the Return of *Colman* out of *England* into *Scotland*, he ſays, *In the mean time* Colman, *who was of* Scotland, *leaving* Britain: And elſewhere, *Then they began for many Days, to come from the Country of* Scotland *into* Britain. And farther, Oſwald *was ſlain near the Wall that the* Romans *had built, from Sea to Sea, to defend* Britain, *and to repel the Aſſaults of the Barbarians*. The ſame Form of Speech is found in the ſame Author, *Lib.* 2. *Chap.* 9. *Claudian* doth not ſeem to be ignorant of this manner of Speech, peculiar to the *Britons*, when he writes, That the *Roman* Legion, which curbed the fierce *Scot*, lay between the *Britons*, *i. e.* oppoſite to the *Scots*, that it might cover the *Britons* from their Fury, in the fartheſt Part of *England*, and Borders of *Scotland*. *William* of *Malmsbury*, and *Geoffry* of *Monmouth*, none of the obſcureſt Writers of *Britiſh* Affairs, do often uſe this kind of Speech, in whom a Man may eaſily take Notice, that That only is called *Britain*, which is contained within the Wall of *Severus*. Though this Matter

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be ſo clear to them, that no Man can be ignorant of it, yet it hath produced great Miſtakes amongſt the Writers of the next Age, what ſome have affirmed in their Works, *i. e.* That *Alured*, *Athelſtan*, and ſome other of the *Saxon* Kings, did ſometimes reign over the whole Iſland; when yet, 'tis clear, they never paſſed beyond the Wall of *Severus*. For when they read, That they held the Empire of all *Britain*, they preſently thought, that they were Maſters of the Iſland, and had it wholly in their own Hands.

WE may obſerve the ſame likewiſe from the conſtant way of uſing thoſe Names *Britannus* and *Britto*; for all the old *Greek* and *Latin* Writers call the whole Iſland *Britannia*, and all its Inhabitants *Britains*, without making any Diſtinction. The firſt, that I know, of the *Romans*, who called them *Brittons*, was *Martial*, in that Verſe,

Quam veteres bracchæ Brittonis pauperis.

——The old Trouſes of *Britton* poor.

THE Vulgar commonly call the Inhabitants of the *Gallick* Peninſule, *Brittons*, tho' *Gregory* [a] *Turonenſis* always calls it *Britain*, and its Inhabitants *Britains*. The *Romans* do conſtantly call their Provincials *Britains*, tho' their Provincials themſelves like the Name of *Brittons* well enough. Both Names have one *Radix* and one Original, *viz. Britannia*; and as they both ſpring from one and the ſelf ſame Root, ſo they both ſignifie one and the ſelf ſame thing. And that the Verſes of *Auſonius* the Poet do plainly ſhew.

[b] *Silvius ille bonus, qui carmina noſtra laceſſit:*
Noſtra magis meruit diſticha Britto bonus.

Silvius hic bonus eſt. Quis Silvius? Iſte Britannus.
Aut Britto hic non eſt Sylvius, aut malus eſt.

[a] Biſhop of *Tours*.

[b] This Epigram was made by the Poet againſt one *Silvius*, Sirnamed *Bonus*, of *Little-Britain* in *France*, againſt whom he had a Pique, (and, it ſeems, againſt the whole Nation of the *Britains* for his ſake.) He takes an occaſion to jeer him from the Ambiguity of his Sirname *Bonus*, which ſignifies alſo *good* in *Latin*, and (by the Figure *Antiphraſis*) *evil*, as here ſometimes it is taken. This Author makes it a *Dodecaſtich*, whereas later Interpreters have divided it into ſix Diſtichs, (but all of one Subject, according to the Poet's Mind, expreſſed in the Firſt of them. They are not here quoted for the Sarcaſms contained therein, (and therefore are not here tranſlated,) but only to ſhew, that, in this Poet's time, (who lived under *Gratian* the Emperor, about *Anno Chriſti* 390. *Britto* and *Britannus* were Terms ſynonymous.

Sylvius

Silvius eſſe Bonus Britto, ferturque Britannus,
Quis credat civem degeneraſſe Bonum?

Nemo bonus Britto eſt. Si ſimplex Silvius eſſe
Incipiat, ſimplex deſinet eſſe bonus.

Silvius hic bonus eſt: Sed Britto eſt Silvius idem.
Simplicior res eſt dicere, Britto malus.

Silvi, Britto Bonus, quamvis homo non bonus eſſe
*Ferris, nec ſe quis jungere * Britto bono.*

They who contend, that the *Britons* were a Colony or the *Gauls*, do ſay, that *Hercules* begat a Son on *Celto*, a *Gallick* Virgin, called *Britannus*, from whom the Nation of the *Britons* had their Original. *Pliny* placeth this Nation near to the *Morini*, the *Atrebates*, and the *Geſſoriaci*. Neither are there wanting ſome *Greek* Grammarians to confirm it; as *Suidas*, and he, who wrote the Book called *Etymologicum Magnum*. *C. Julius Cæſar*, and *C. Cornelius Tacitus*, ſeem to have been of the ſame Opinion; and ſo do other *Latin* Writers alſo, not unlearned, yet not ſo famous as thoſe two. Beſides, the Religion, Speech, Inſtitutions and Manners of ſome Nations, inhabiting near the *Gallick* Sea, do evince the ſame thing; from whence the *Britons* were, in Opinion, tranſplanted by whole Colonies, and the *Morini* by little and little quite extinguiſhed. The Word *Morinus* ſeems to draw its Etymology from *More*, which, in the old *Gallick* Tongue, ſignifies the Sea. *Venta*, called in old *Latin*, *Venta Belgarum*, (becauſe inhabited by the *Gallo-Belgæ*) *i. e. Wincheſter*; and *Icenum* derived from *Icium*: Theſe Names make it very probable, that their Colonies tranſported with them into a foreign Soil their own Country Terms in the place of a Sirname; and at their very Entrance, meeting with the *Britons*, whom they acknowledged to be their Off-ſpring, they brought them home, and did, as it were, maintain them at their own Houſes. For *Morinus* amongſt the old *Gauls*, ſignifies *Marinus*: And *Moremaruſa*, *Mare Mortuum*: Tho' *Gorropius* hath almoſt ſtol'n from us thoſe two laſt Names, whilſt he is ſtudious to extol his *Advatici* beyond meaſure. Neither can the *Aremorici*, or *Armorici*, deny that they are of our Stock; for we have ample and clear Teſtimonies, both old and new, as Pledges thereof. Becauſe *Ar*, or *Are*,

* The Printed Books read *Britto & homo*, which is ſcarce Senſe; and therefore *Vinetus* hath amended it, *Britto bono*.

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is an old *Gallick* Prepoſition, which ſignifies *At*, or *Upon*; as if we ſhould ſay, *At* or *Upon* the Sea, *i. e.* Maritime. And *Moremaruſa* is derived from *More*, *i. e. Mare*, the Sea; the laſt Syllable being long, after the manner of a *Greek* Participle. As for *Aremorica*, or *Armorica*, (he that cannot know them at firſt hearing, muſt be wholly ignorant of the old *Gallick* Tongue) they alſo ſignifie Maritime; and ſo *Strabo* interprets them, who in *Greek* always renders them *Apoceanitæ*. *Cæſar* writes thus of the *Armoricks*, *Lib* 5. *That great Forces of the* Gauls, *out of the Cities called* Armoricæ, *were gathered together to oppoſe him.* And *Lib.* 7. *Out of all the Cities near the Ocean, which, according to their Cuſtom, are called* Armoricæ. And *Lib.* 8. *And the other Cities ſituate in the extreme Parts of* France, *near the Sea, called* Armoricæ. As often as *Cæſar* makes mention of theſe Cities, he always adds, *Which are ſo called*; but he ſo adds it, that it rather ſeems an Epithet, or Sirname of a Place, than its proper Name. Neither is that found to be the Name of a City in any other authentick Writer, yet that Word is ſpread far and near in that Coaſt, *viz.* from *Spain* to the *Rhene*; and amongſt all Writers, I find *Pliny* alone to ſeem not to underſtand the Force of the Word; for he thinks that all *Aquitain* was ſometimes ſo called. But enough of it at preſent, more may be ſaid of the *Gallick* Tongue hereafter.

THE moſt ancient Name of the Iſland is thought to be *Albion*; or, as *Ariſtotle*, or rather *Theophraſtus*, in the Book intituled, *De Mundo*, writes it *Albium*. But that Name is rather taken out of Books, than uſed in common Speech, unleſs amongſt the old *Scots*; who, as yet, call themſelves *Albinick*, and their Country *Albin*. Many think, that the Name was given to it, becauſe the white Rocks did firſt appear to them, as they ſailed from *France*. But it ſeems to be very abſurd to me, to fetch the Original of a *Britiſh* Name from the *Latins*, there being then ſo rare a Commerce between barbarous Nations. Others are of Opinion, that the Name was given by *Albion* the Son of *Neptune*, whom they feign to have been ſometimes King of *Britain*: A bold Fiction, and having no Ground from Antiquity to ſupport it; yet ſome are not aſhamed to name the Kingdom ſo, upon ſo weak a Foundation as that of a near Appellation. For I ſee no other Foundation in Hiſtory, which might occaſion this Fable. Amongſt the *Greeks*, 'tis true, *Diodorus Siculus* and *Strabo* have made mention of *Albion* and *Bergion*; of the *Latins*, *Cato*, *Hyginus*, and *Mela*; from whom we may gather, that *Albion* and *Bergion*, the Sons of *Neptune*, being *Ligurians*, infeſted the Highways with Robberies, which lead from the

Country

Country of the *Albicans* into *Italy*. Theſe Men, when *Hercules*, after he had conquered *Geryon*, was returning out of *Spain*, fought to rob him of his Prey, and maintained ſo ſharp a Fight with him, that he, being almoſt deſperate, (as old Story ſays,) was forced to implore the Aid of *Jupiter*, who ſent down a Shower of Stones to relieve his Son; and that the Field of Stones remained to Poſterity as a Teſtimony of that Fight. I will not deny, but that both the Iſland, and the Robber too, took its Name from *Album*. But this I ſay, that *Album* was a common Name amongſt many Nations, and that it ſignified with them, not only Colour, but Height too. And *Feſtus Pompeius* affirms, that what the *Ligurians* call *Alba*, the *Sabins* call *Alpa*; from whence the *Alps* had their Name, becauſe they are white with continual Snow. For my part, as I aſſent concerning the one, that *Alba* and *Alpum* were ſynonymous amongſt the Ancients, and I give the Authority not of *Feſtus* only, but of *Strabo* alſo, to ſupport my Opinion; ſo I alſo judge, the *Alps* were ſo called, rather from their Height than their Whiteneſs. My Reaſons are, firſt, becauſe *Alba* is the Name of many Cities in *Italy*, *France* and *Spain*, which are all ſcituate on Hills, or near them: And beſides, becauſe *Strabo* acknowledges, that thoſe Names, *Alba*, *Alpa*, *Alpia*, *Albionia*, *Albici*, without any difference, are derived from the ſame Root, in the Signification of Height; and therefore he ſhews, that they are moſt uſed, where the *Alps* begin to grow high. Hence, in *Liguria*, there is *Albingaunum*, and *Album Intimelium*; and among the *Iapodes* there is an high Hill, where the *Alps* do end. There are other Places, which may ſeem to be named from their height. In *Italy* there is the River *Albula*, riſing in the Mountains of *Etruria*, and the Waters called *Albulæ* flowing down from the *Tiburtine Mountains*. In *Gallia Narbonenſis* there are the *Albici*, a mountainous People. In *Germany* there is the River *Albis*, ariſing from the the Mountains of *Bohemia*. In *Aſia*, the River *Albanus* flows down from *Mount Caucaſus*, and the *Albanians* dwell about the ſame Mountain. By which Inſtances it will appear to be a Truth, that *Album* is not a Word of *one*, but *many* Nations; and in all the Places which I have named, their height doth not render them always, or unchangeably, white; yea, ſome Months they are not white at all. The Names of the *Ligurian* Giants do alſo confirm this Conjecture, *Albion* and *Bergion*, both of them, as I judge, being named from their Tallneſs. What the Ancients thought of the Word *Album*, I have ſaid enough. That the *Germans* call High, *Berg*, is known to all: And there is a Place in *Pliny* that ſhews, it was anciently uſed in the ſame Senſe amongſt

amongſt the *Gauls*, in his third Book, which I am of Opinion muſt be thus read; whence *Cato* affirms, the *Bergomates* to have had their Original: They diſcover themſelves by their Names to be ſcituated more highly, than happily; therefore *Albion* and *Bergion*, Men, it ſeems, far taller than their Neighbours, in confidence of their Strength, did commit Robberies in thoſe Coaſts of *Liguria*, whom *Hercules*, travelling that way, ſubdued by Force of Arms. But none of the Ancients ever affirmed, that they reigned in *Britain*, and the *then* State of the *Gallick* Affairs makes it very improbable, that it ſhould be ſo; and it is likely, that the State of *Britain* was not much more quiet; in which Land the great *Albion* left a famous Kingdom, that he might play the Robber at home. I, tho' I do not much differ from their Opinion, who aſſert, That *Albion* was ſo called from *Album*; ſo I think the Occaſion of the Name was not from the Colour, but from the Height of the Mountains: They who impoſed that Name were, I believe, ſomething inclined thereunto by comparing *England* with *Ireland*, there being but a narrow Sea between them: For they ſeeing one Shore to be altogether mountainous, and the other depreſſed, level, and ſpread into Campagne or open Fields, they called the firſt *Albion*, from its Height: But whether they gave any Name to the ſecond, from its low Scituation, the Length of Time, and the Negligence of the Inhabitants in recording ancient Affairs, hath made uncertain. Beſides, this alſo adds Strength to my Opinion, that the Name of the Iſland, derived from *Album*, whether *Albion*, or *Albium*, remains in *Scotland* to this very Day, as in its native Soil; neither could it ever be extirpated there, notwithſtanding ſo many Changes of Inhabitants, Kingdoms, Languages, and the Viciſſitude of other things. Theſe things ſeem true, or at leaſt probable to me; yet if any Man can inform me better, I will eaſily be of his Opinion.

HITHERTO of the ancient Names of the Iſland: The next thing is, to explain the Scituation of the Countries. The *Engliſh* Writers have plainly and clearly enough deſcribed their own ſeveral Counties: But *Hector Boetius*, in his Deſcription of *Scotland*, hath delivered ſome things not ſo true, and he hath drawn others into Miſtakes, whilſt he was over-credulous of thoſe, to whom he committed the Inquiry after Matters, and ſo publiſhed their Opinions rather than the Truth. But I ſhall briefly touch at thoſe things which I am aſſur'd of; and thoſe which ſeem obſcure and leſs true, I will correct as well as I can.

ENGLAND, as far as concerns our preſent purpoſe, is moſt conveniently divided by four Rivers, two running into

into the *Iriſh* Sea, *viz. Dee* and *Severne*; and two into the *German* Sea, *i. e. Thames* and *Humber*. Between *Dee* and *Severne* lies *Wales*, being diſtinguiſhed into three ſeveral Regions. Between *Severne* and *Thames*, lies all that part of *England* which is oppoſite to *France*. The Countries interjacent between *Thames* and *Humber*, make the third part; and the Countries reaching from *Humber* and *Dee* to *Scotland*, make up the fourth.

BUT *Scotland* is divided from *England*, firſt, by the River *Tweed*; then, by the high Mountain *Cheviot*; and where the Mountain fails, then by a Wall or Trench newly made, and afterwards by the Rivers *Eske* and *Solway*. Within thoſe Bounds, from the *Scotiſh* Sea to the *Iriſh*, the Counties lie in this Order. Firſt *Merch*, in which the *Engliſh* do now poſſeſs *Berwick*, ſcituate on the left ſide of the *Tweed*. On the *Eaſt* it is bounded with the *Firth* of *Forth*. On the *South* with *England*. On the *Weſt*, on both ſides the River *Tweed*, lies *Tiviotdale*, taking its Name from the River *Tiviot*: It is divided from *England* by the *Cheviot*-Hills. After this, lie three Counties not very great, *Liddiſdail*, *Euſedail*, and *Eskdail*, being ſo called of three Rivers which have an Affinity in the Sound, *viz. Lidal*, *Eue*, and *Eske*. The laſt is *Annandale*, taking its Name from the River *Annand*, which divides it almoſt in the middle, and, near to *Solway*, runs into the *Iriſh* Sea.

Now to return again to *Forth*; on the *Eaſt* it is bounded by *Lothian*. *Cockburnes Path* and *Lamormoore*-Hills divide it from *Merch*. Then, bending a little to the *Weſt*, it touches *Lauderdale* and *Twedale*; the one ſo called from the Town *Lauder*, the other from the River *Tweed*, dividing it in the middle. *Liddiſdale*, *Nithiſdale*, and *Clideſdale*, do border on *Twedale* on the *South* and *Weſt*. The River *Nith* gives Name to *Nithſdale*, running through it into the *Iriſh* Sea. *Lothian* was ſo named from *Lothus*, King of the *Picts*. On the *North-Eaſt* it is bounded with the *Forth*, or *Scotiſh* Sea, and it looks towards *Clideſdale* on the *South-Weſt*. This Country does far excel all the reſt, in the Civility of its Inhabitants, and in plenty of all things for the Uſe of Life. It is watered with five Rivers, *Tine*, both the *Eskes*, (which before they fall into the Sea join in one Chanel,) *Leith* and *Almond*. Theſe Rivers, ariſing partly from the *Lamormoore* Hills, and partly from *Pentland*-Hills, diſgorge themſelves into the *Firth* of *Forth*. *Lothian* contains theſe Towns, *Dunbar*, *Hadington*, *Dalkeith*, *Edinburgh*, *Leith*, and *Linlithgoe*. More to the *Weſt* lies *Clidſdale* on both ſides the River *Clid*; which, by reaſon of its Length, is divided into two Sheriff-

Sheriffwicks. In the uppermoſt of them there is an Hill, not very high, yet out of it Rivers run into three divers Seas, *Tweed* into the *Scotiſh*, *Annand* into the *Iriſh*, and *Clyd* into the *Deucaledonian*-Seas. The moſt eminent Cities in it, are *Lanerick* and *Glaſgo*. *Kyle* on the *South-Weſt* is adjoining to it; beyond *Kyle* is *Galloway*. It is ſeparated from *Nithſdale* by the River *Clyd*, bending almoſt wholly to the *South*, and that remaining part of *Scotland* is alſo covered by its Shore.

IT is all more fruitful in Cattle than Corn; it hath theſe Rivers running into the *Iriſh* Sea, *Ure* or *Ore*, *Dee*, *Kenn*, *Cree*, and *Luſs*; it hath ſcarce any great Mountains, but only ſome ſmall Hills in it; between which, the Water, ſtagnant in the Valleys, makes abundance of Lakes, by which, in the firſt Showers after the Autumnal Æquinox, the Rivers are encreaſed, which bring down an incredible Quantity of Eeles, which the Inhabitants take in Weels made of Oſier Twigs, and, ſalting them, get no ſmall Profit thereby. The Boundary of that ſide is the Mul of *Galloway*, under which, in the Mouth of the River *Lus*, is a Bay, which *Ptolemy* calls *Rerigonius*. The Bay commonly called *Loch-Rian*, and, by *Ptolemy*, *Vidogara*, flows into it on the other ſide from the *Firth* of *Clyd*. The Land running betwixt thoſe Bays, the Inhabitants do call *Rinns*, *(i. e.)* the Edge of *Galloway*: They alſo call *Nonantum*, the *Mul*, *(i. e.)* the Beak, or Jaw: But the whole Country is called *Galloway* (for *Gallovid*, in old *Scotiſh*, ſignifies a *Gaul.)*

BELOW *Loch-Rian*, on the back ſide of *Galloway*, there lies *Carrick-Bailiery*, gently declining to the *Firth* of *Clyd*. Two Rivers paſs through it, *Stinſiar* and *Girvan*, both of them having many pleaſant Villages on their Banks. Between the Rivers there are ſome ſmall Hills, fruitful for Paſture, and not unfit for Corn: 'Tis all not only ſelf-ſufficient with Land and Sea-Commodities, but it alſo ſupplies its Neighbours with many Neceſſaries. The River *Down* ſeparates it from *Kyle*, which ariſeth from a Lake of the ſame Name, wherein is an Iſland with a ſmall Caſtle. *Kyle* follows next, bordering upon *Galloway* on the *South*, and on the *North-Eaſt* on *Clidſdale*; on the *Weſt* it is ſeparated from *Cuningham* by the River *Irwyn*; the River *Aire* divides it in the middle. Near it is ſituated *Air*, a Town of great Trade; the Country in general abounds more with valiant Men, than with Corn or Cattle; for the Soil is poor and ſandy, and that ſharpens the Induſtry of the Inhabitants; and their Parſimony confirms the Strength both of their Bodies and Minds. After *Air*, *Cuningham* runs on the *North*, and doth, as it were, juſtle out and ſtreighten the *Clyd*, and brings it into the

Compaſs but of a moderate River. The Name of the Country is *Daniſh*, and, in that Language, ſignifies *the King's Houſe*; which is an Argument, that the *Danes* did ſometimes poſſeſs it. Next is *Renfrew*, ſcituate at the *Eaſtern* part thereof; ſo called from a little Town, wherein they were wont to celebrate their Conventions; 'tis commonly called the Barony of *Renfrew*. Two Rivers, both of them called *Carth*, divide it in the midſt. After the Barony of *Renfrew*, *Clidſdale* is ſtretched out on both ſides of the River *Clyd*, and, in regard of its Largeneſs, is divided into many Juriſdictions. It pours out many famous Rivers, on the left Hand, *Even* and *Duglaſs*, which run into *Clyd*; and on the Right, another River called *Even*, which divides *Lothian* from *Sterlingſhire*. Theſe two Currents take the common Appellation of Rivers, inſtead of a proper Name, as in *Wales*, the River called *Avon* doth, in a diverſe Dialect. The River *Even* or *Avon*, ſeparates the County of *Sterling* on the *South* from *Lothian*; on the *Eaſt* the *Firth* of *Forth*, until at laſt, being leſſened, it is reduced to the proper Size of a paſſable River, and admits of a Bridge near *Sterling*. There is but one memorable River which divides this Country, called *Carron-Water*, near which there are ſome ancient Monuments. On the left Hand of *Carron*, there are two ſmall Hills or Barrows, made of Earth by Man's Hand, (as the thing it ſelf ſhews) commonly called *Duni pacis*, (*i. e.*) Emblems of Reconciliation. But about two Miles lower, on the ſame River, there is a round Edifice made without any Lime, but ſo formed with ſharp Stones, that part of the upper Stone is, as it were, mortaſſed into the lower; ſo that the whole Work, mutually conjoined, ſuſtains it ſelf with the Weight of the Stones, from top to bottom, growing narrower and narrower by Degrees. The top of it is open: The common People have ſeveral Fancies, according to their divers Humours, concerning the Uſe and Author of this Structure. For my part, I once conjectured, that it was a Temple of the God *Terminus*; which, they ſay, was wont to be built round and open at top: And the *Duni pacis* near adjoining, ſeemed ſomewhat to ſtrengthen my Conjecture, as if a Peace had been made there, of which theſe Hills are a Monument, becauſe there the *Romans* terminated the Bounds of their Juriſdiction and Empire; neither could any thing have altered my Opinion, unleſs I had been informed by creditable Perſons, That, in a certain Iſland, there are many Edifices in other reſpects like the Structure which I have ſpoken of, but that they are greater, and not ſo compact. There are alſo two Chapels in *Roſs* of the like Shape. Theſe things made

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me ſuſpend my Opinion, and to judge that theſe were *Monuments* or *Trophies* of ſome famous Deeds, placed, as it were, at the fag-end of the World, that they might be preſerved from the Injury and Fury of Enemies. But whether theſe were *Trophies*, or (as ſome think) *Sepulchres* of famous Men, I believe they were Monuments conſecrated to be perpetuated to Poſterity, but built by rude and unskilful Workmen, after the Similitude of the *Chapel* erected at *Carron*. On the right ſide of *Carron*, the Ground is generally plain and level, only there is a little Hill in it, almoſt in the mid-ſpace between the *Duni pacis* and the Chapel; and juſt there, at the bending of the Angle, ſome Remains of an ancient City appear to this very Day. But the Foundation of the Walls, and the Deſcription of the Streets, partly by reaſon of Countrymens plowing up the Ground, and partly, by plucking out the ſquare Stones to build ſome rich Mens Houſes thereabouts, are quite blended and confuſed. Engliſh *Bede* expreſly calls this place *Guidi*, and places it in the very Angle of the Wall of *Severus*. Beſides him, many famous *Roman* Writers make mention of this Wall; yea, ſeveral Footſteps thereof do yet appear, and many Stones are dug out, with Inſcriptions containing a Gratulation of Safety and Victory, received by the Centurions and Tribunes of the *Romans*, or elſe ſome Funeral Epitaphs are engraven therein. And ſeeing the Wall of *Severus* is ſeldom leſs diſtant than 100 Miles from *Adrian*'s Wall, (as the Remains of both do ſhew) which was built by him before; *Engliſh* Writers betray their great Ignorance, either in not underſtanding the *Latins*, who have delivered theſe things down to us; or elſe their Careleſneſs, who have written that ſo confuſedly, which is ſo plainly recorded: However it be, the thing is worthy, if not of a ſharp Reprehenſion, yet of a light Admonition, at leaſt; eſpecially, ſince by the Monuments lately ſpoken of, and by *Bede*'s Engliſh Hiſtory too, it plainly appears, That once the Boundary betwixt the *Britons* and the *Scots* was there. Thoſe who fancy *Maldon* to be ſcituate here, are the ſame Men, who affirm, That the Chapel or Structure we ſpoke of, was the Temple of *Claudius Cæſar*; but they are hugely miſtaken in both, ſeeing *Maldon*, a Colony of the *Romans*, is above 300 Miles diſtant from that place, if we may believe *Ptolomy*, and the *Journal* of *Antoninus*. *Cornelius Tacitus* doth plainly confute this their Miſtake, as in all his other Narrations, ſo eſpecially, when he ſays, that the *Romans* having loſt *Maldon*, fled to the Temple of *Claudius Cæſar* for Safety. But that Structure, whether it were a *Cha-*

pel or *Temple* of *Terminus*, or elſe a Monument of ſome other thing, having no Doors, nor ſign of any, and being open alſo at top, for the caſting in of Stones, can ſcarce contain, much leſs ſhelter, ten Soldiers. Moreover, about forty Years after the Expedition of *Claudius Cæſar* into *Britain*, *Julius Agricola* was the firſt of the *Roman* Generals who penetrated with his Army into thoſe parts; Beſides, *Adrian* alſo, fifty Years after *Agricola*, ſetled the Bounds of the *Roman* Province, between the Rivers *Tine* and *Eske*, by making a Wall, of which, divers Footſteps in many places do yet remain. But *Septimius Severus*, about the Year of our Lord 210, entering into *Britain*, built a Wall 100 Miles beyond the Limits made by *Adrian*, from the *Firth* of *Clyd* to the Conflux of *Forth* and *Avon*, of which, many clear and evident Tokens yet remain. Beſides, we never read in ancient Writings, that the chief Seat of the *Picts* was at *Maldon*, but at *Abernethy*; there was their Royal, and alſo Epiſcopal, Seat, which was afterwards tranſlated to St. *Andrews*. And if it be demanded, what moved the *Romans* to draw a Colony thither, and how they maintained it in a Soil ſo barren, and (at that time) woody, uncultivated, and obnoxious to the daily Injuries of the fierceſt of their Enemies; I ſuppoſe, they will anſwer, (for I ſee not what elſe they can ſay,) that it was ſupplied from the Sea, for then Ships came up to the very Gates of the City; tho' againſt the Stream of *Carron Water*. If that were true, then the Grounds lying on both ſides the *Forth*, muſt needs be overwhelmed with the Inundations of the Ocean, and muſt therefore be barren, which alone, in that Tract, ought to have born Corn. But this is yet a more difficult Queſtion; That ſeeing the Sea-water did run on both ſides the *Forth*, why the *Romans* did not *there* make their Boundary-Wall, rather than unneceſſarily carry it many Miles farther?

BEYOND the County of *Sterling* lies *Lennox*, divided from the Barony of *Renfrew* by *Clyd*, and from the County of *Glaſgow* by the River *Kelvin*; from the County of *Sterling* by Mountains, and from the Stewarty of *Menteath* by the *Forth*; at length it is terminated in the Mountain *Grampius*, or *Grantsbain*, at the foot of which, through an hollow Valley, *Loch-Lomund* ſpreads it ſelf, which is twenty four Miles long, and eight broad; it contains above twenty four Iſlands; beſides a multitude of other Fiſhes, it hath ſome of a peculiar kind, very pleaſant to eat, they call them *Pollacks*. At length, breaking out towards the South, it pours out the River *Leven*, giving Name to the whole Country, and near the

Caſtle

Caſtle of *Dumbarton*, and a Town of the ſame Name, falls into *Clyd*. The farthermoſt Hills of Mount *Grampius*, do heighten the extreme parts of *Lennox*, being divided by a ſmall Bay of the Sea, called *Loch-Ger*, from its ſhortneſs. Beyond that, there is a Bay much larger, called *Loch-Long*, from the River *Long*, falling into it; that is the Boundary between *Lennox* and *Cowel*. *Cowel* it ſelf, *Argyle* and *Knapdale* are divided into many parts, by reaſon of ſeveral narrow Bays of the Sea running down into them, from the Firth of *Clyd:* There is one Bay, or Loch, more eminent than the reſt, among them called *Loch-Finn*, obtaining its Name from the River *Finn*, which it receives into it; it is above fifty Miles in length. There is alſo in *Knapdale* a *Loch* called *Loch-Awe*, in which there is a ſmall Iſland, and a Caſtle, that is fortified. The River *Awe*, or *Owe*, iſſues out from that Loch, which is the only River in that Country, that empties it ſelf into the *Deucaledonian* Sea.

BEYOND *Knapdale*, to the South-Weſt, there runs out *Cantyre*; *i. e.* The Head of the Country; it ſtands over againſt *Ireland*, from which it is divided but by a narrow Sea: It is not ſo broad as it is long; and it is joined to *Knapdale* by ſo narrow an *Iſthmus*, or Neck of Land, that it is ſcarce a Mile over; and that ſpace too is nothing but Sand, ſo plain and level, that ſometimes Seamen, to make their Voyages ſhorter, do hale their ſmall Veſſels, called *Birlings*, over it, from one ſide of *Loch-Tarbet* to the other.

LORN touches *Knapdale*, it borders immediately on *Argyle*, and reaches as far as the Country of *Abyr*, commonly called *Loch-Abyr:* It is a plain Country, and not unfruitful; where the Mountain *Grampius* is loweſt, and more paſſable, that Country is called *Braid-Albin*, which is as much as to ſay, *The higheſt part of* Scotland; and where the loftieſt Pic, or Top of all is, that is called *Drum-Albin*, i. e. *the Back of* Scotland, and not without cauſe; for from that Back, there run down Rivers into both Seas, ſome into the North or *German*, others into the South or *Deucaledonian* Sea. For from *Loch-Earn* it pours out the River *Earn*, towards the South-Eaſt, which falls into the River *Tay*, about three Miles below *Perth*. From this River, the Country called in Highland, or old *Scots* Language, *Strath-Earn*, takes its Name, being ſituate on both ſides of its Banks. For the Highlanders uſe to call a Country, lying at the fall of Rivers, *Strat*. Between the Mountains of this Country and the *Forth*, lies the Stewarty of *Menteath*, taking its Name from the River *Teath* which runs through the middle

of it. Next to *Menteath* ſtand the Mountains called *Ocel*-Hills, a great part of which, as alſo of the Country lying at the Foot of them, is reckoned within the Stewarty of *Strath-Earn*; but the reſt of the Country, even unto the *Forth*, Man's Ambition hath divided into ſeveral Stewarties, as the Stewarty of *Clacman*, of *Culroſs*, and of *Kinroſs*. From theſe Stewarties and the *Ocel*-Hills, all the Country lying between the *Forth* and the *Tay*, grows narrow like a Wedge, Eaſtward even to the Sea; and it is all called by one Name *Fife*, a Country ſelf-ſufficient with all Neceſſaries for the uſe of Life: It is broadeſt where *Loch-Leven*, and the River *Leven*, running through it, do divide it; and from thence it narrows on each ſide, till you come to the Town of *Cárail*; it affords but one remarkable River, and that's called *Leven*. Its whole Shore is ſtor'd with abundance of Towns, of which the moſt remarkable for the Study of the Arts is St. *Andrews*, which the Highlanders call *Fanum Reguli*: More to the Inland, almoſt in the middle of the Country, lies *Cowper*, the Shire or Aſſize Town, whither the reſt of the Inhabitants of *Fife* come for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. Where it touches *Strath-Earn* ſtands the Town of *Abernethy*, the ancient Royal Seat of the *Picts*. Here the River *Earn* falls into the *Tay*.

As for the *Tay* it ſelf, that breaks out from *Loch-Tay*, which is in *Braid-Albin*; (a Loch twenty four Miles long) it is without queſtion the greateſt River in *Scotland*; for winding about towards the *Grampian*-Hills, it touches upon *Athol* a fruitful Country, ſituate in the very woody Paſſages of Mount *Grampius*. That part of it which is extended into a Plain, at the foot of the Mountain, is called the *Blare* of *Athol*, which Word ſignifies a Soil bare of Trees.

BELOW *Athol*, on the right ſide of the River *Tay*, ſtands the Town of *Caledonia*, which yet retains its ancient Name, though vulgarly called *Dunkelden*, (i. e.) an Hill full of Haſel-Trees. For thoſe Trees, growing thick in ſuch unmanured places, and ſhadowing the Country, like a Wood, gave Name both to the Town, and alſo to the People thereabouts. For the *Caledons*, or *Caledonians*, heretofore one of the moſt famous Nations amongſt the *Britons*, made up one part of the Kingdom of the *Picts*, as we may be informed by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who divides the *Picts* into two Tribes; *i. e.* the *Caledones* and the *Vecturiones*, though at this Day there is hardly any Token left of either of thoſe two Names.

TWELVE Miles below *Dunkelden*, on the ſame Right-hand Bank of the *Tay*, ſtands *Perth*, otherwiſe called St. *Johnſtons*.

ſtons. And on the Left-bank of the *Tay*, below *Athol*, towards the Eaſt, ſtands *Gowry*, a Country abounding with rich Corn-fields.

BELOW *Gowry*, between the *Tay* and the *Esk*, is extended *Angus*, or, as the *Highlanders* call it, *Æneia*; ſome call it *Horeſtia*, or, according to the Engliſh Dialect, *Foreſtia*. In it there are theſe two Cities, *Cowper*, and that which *Bœotius*, to gratifie his Countrymen, ambitiouſly calls *Deidonum*, but, I think, the old Name thereof was *Taodunum*, *i. e. Dundee*, from *Dune*, *i. e.* an Hill ſituated by the River *Tay*; for at the foot of that Hill the Town is built.

FOURTEEN Miles beyond the *Tay*, in a direct Line along the Shore, we meet with the Town of *Aberbrothock*, ſometimes called *Abrinca*. Then follows the Promontory, called *Red-head*, which ſhews it ſelf at a very great diſtance. The River *South-Esk* runs through the middle of *Angus*; and the *North-Esk* divides it from the *Mearns*. The *Mearns* is, for the moſt part, a plain and level Country, till it toucheth Mount *Grampius*, beyond the little Town of *Fordun*, and *Dunotter*, a Caſtle belonging to the Earls of *Marſhal*: Then it grows lower and lower, declining towards the Sea. Beyond *Mearn*, towards the North, is the River *Die*, commonly called *Diemouth*; and about a Mile beyond it, is the River *Don*. Upon the *one*, there ſtands *Aberdone*, a Town famous for Salmon-fiſhing; and upon the *other*, ſtands *Aberdee*, (for ſo 'tis called in old Records) where the Biſhop's-See is, and alſo a flouriſhing Univerſity: But now adays both Towns are diſtinguiſhed only by the Names of Old and New *Aberdene*.

FROM this narrow Front, between thoſe two Rivers, begins *Marr*, which growing wider and wider by degrees, extends it ſelf ſixty Miles in length, even unto *Badenach*. *Badenach* is all full of Hills and Mountains, which ſends forth Rivers into both Seas.

ABYR borders upon *Badenach*, it declines gently towards the *Deucaledonian* Sea; a Country (for a *Scotiſh* one) very much abounding with all Land and Sea-Commodities: As it is fruitful in Corn and Paſture, ſo it is alſo very pleaſant by reaſon of its ſhadowy Groves, and the delightful Fountains, Brooks and Rivulets, which glide along through it. As for the multitude of Fiſh, hardly any County in *Scotland* can compare with it: For, beſides the plenty of freſh-water Fiſh, which ſo many Rivers afford, the Sea alſo contributes its Dole of Salt-water ones; piercing, in a long Chanel, through the level part of the Country, and there being ſomewhat curbed and pent in by the higher Boundary of the Land,

for ſome ſpace, at length it diffuſes and ſpreads it ſelf abroad again, repreſenting the Form of a *Meer*, or rather *Loch*. Hence 'tis called *Abyr*; i. e. in our Country Language, *A Road for Ships:* They give alſo the ſame Name to the Country thereabouts; thoſe that affect to ſpeak after the *Engliſh* Mode call both, *i. e.* that Bay of the Sea and the Country too, *Loch-Abyr*, but in that they miſtake and talk without Grounds. Theſe three Counties *Abyr*, *Badenach* and *Marr*, do take up all the Breadth of *Scotland* between the two Seas, the *Deucaledonian* and the *German*.

ON the North, next to *Marr*, ſtands *Buchan*, divided from it by the River *Don*; it ſtretcheth out it ſelf farthest of any County in *Scotland*, into the *German* Sea. It is rich in Paſture, and in a good Breed of Sheep; and is able to maintain it ſelf with all Conveniencies for the Support of Life. The Rivers in it abound with Salmon; and yet (which is ſtrange) there is one of its Rivers, called *Ratra*, that hath not a Salmon in it. On the Shore of *Ratra*, there is a ſtrange kind of Cave, and I cannot omit deſcribing the Nature of it. The Water in it drops down from a natural Vault or Arch, and is turned into Pyramids of Stone, ſo that if Men were not conſtantly cleaning it, the whole Space, to the very Roof, would be quickly petrified and filled up as one continued Solid. The Stone thus concreted is of a middle Nature, between Stone and Ice; for it is friable, and never arrives at the Hardneſs and Solidity of Marble. When I was at *Tholouſe*, about the Year of our Lord 1544, I was informed by credible Perſons, that there was a Cave in the neighbouring *Pyrenæan* Hills, altogether like this in *Scotland*.

BEYOND *Buchan* to the North, lie two ſmall Counties, *Boin* and *Ainy*, which reach to the River *Spey*, that ſeparates them from *Marray*. As for the River *Spey*, that hath its riſe in the Ridge of Hills in *Badenach*, of which I have made mention before, and not far from the Fountain thereof, is a Loch, which ſends forth a River called *Lochtee*, which rolls it ſelf into the Weſt-Sea. At the Mouth of it there was once (as they ſay) a noble Town, called *Inner-Lochtie*, borrowing its Name from the Loch aforeſaid. The Truth is, if you conſider the Nature of the neighbouring Soil, and the Conveniency of Tranſporting and Carriage by Sea, it is a place very fit for a Mart-Town: And our ancient Kings, tempted and invited by thoſe Conveniencies, made their abode there for ſome Ages, in the Caſtle of *Evonia*, which ſome falſely perſuade themſelves to be *Dunſtafnage*; for the Rubbiſh and Ruins of that Caſtle are yet to be ſeen in *Lorn*. There are ſome ſmall Counties, lying betwixt *Buthan* and the

the West-Sea, but having scarce any thing remarkable in them, I shall not waste time to describe them.

BEYOND the *Spey*, even unto the River *Ness*, there follows *Murray*, heretofore (as 'tis thought) called *Varar*. Between those two Rivers, (the *Spey* and the *Ness*) the *German* Ocean doth (as it were) drive the Land backward to the West, and so, with a vast Bay, abridges the Largeness of it. This whole Country (for the Bigness of it) abounds with Corn and Pasturage; but as for Pleasantness, and the Profit arising from Fruit-trees, it bears away the Bell from all the other Countries in *Scotland*. It hath two eminent Towns in it, *Elgin* and *Inverness*: *Elgin* stands on the River *Lossie*, and as yet retains its ancient Name. *Inverness* is situate by the River *Ness*, which issues out of *Loch-Ness*, a Loch twenty four Miles long; the Water in it is almost always warm, and all the Year long 'tis never so cold as to freeze; nay, in the sharpest Winter that is, if Flakes of Ice are put into it, they will quickly be thawed by the Warmth of its Waters.

BEYOND *Loch-Ness* towards the West, there are only eight Miles of Continent, interjacent; so small a portion of Ground hinders the Conjunction of the two Seas, and consequently the making of the rest of *Scotland* an Island; for all that space of Land, which lies betwixt that narrow Neck and the *Deucaledonian* Sea, is cut off from the rest by several Bays of the Sea, breaking into it.

That part of the Country, which lies beyond *Loch-Ness*, and those narrow Streights, or Neck of Land, before mentioned, is wont to be divided into four Provinces or Shires, *viz. Ross*, *Strath-Navern*, *Sutherland*, and *Caithness*; [* *Navern*, or, as commonly called, *Strath-Navern*, taking its Name from the River *Navern*] beyond the Mouth of *Ness*, where it disembogues it self into the *German* Sea, lies *Ross*, which runs out into the Sea with very high Promontories, as the Name it self shews, for *Ross*; in the *Scotish* Dialect, signifies a Promontory. This Province hath more of length, than breadth, in it, for it reaches from the *German*, quite home to the *Caledonian* Sea: Where it is mountainous, 'tis barren and untilled; but the Plains scarce yield to any part of *Scotland* for Fruitfulness. It hath also many pleasant Valleys in it, which are watered with Rivers, full of Fish, together with several *Lochs*, well stored with Fish. But the greatest of them all is *Loch-Loubrun*. From the *Deucaledonian* Sea,

* This Clause, betwixt the two Crotchets, seems to have been inserted *here* by the Mistake of the Transcriber; for the whole of it is mentioned by and by, in its proper place.

the Shore grows ſomewhat narrower, and turns back towards the North-Eaſt: From the oppoſite Shore, the *German* Sea, making its way between the Clefts of high Rocks, within Land, expands it ſelf into a ſpacious Bay, which affords a ſafe Harbour, and Road, for Ships, againſt all Storms; for the Paſſage into it is not dangerous, and when you are once entred, even the greateſt Ships that are, may be ſecure from all Injury of Wind and Weather.

AT the fartheſt Point of *Roſs*, towards the North, lies *Navern*, ſo called from the River *Navern*, which the Vulgar, following the Propriety of their Country Speech, call *Strath-Navern*. *Roſs* bounds it on the South; the *Deucaledonian* Sea waſheth it Weſt and North; and on the Eaſt it reaches to *Caithneſs*.

SUTHERLAND is ſo interjected between the three laſt mentioned Provinces, that it borders on them all, and, in ſome Quarter or other, touches them all: For on the Weſt of it lies *Strath-Navern*; on the South and Eaſt *Roſs*; and on the North *Caithneſs*. The Inhabitants there, according to the Nature of the Soil, are more given to Paſturage than Tillage. I know no remarkable thing in it, ſave only that it hath ſome Mountains of white Marble, (a rare Miracle, in ſo cold a Country) which yet are of little or no uſe to the Inhabitants, becauſe that luxuriant Humour, which affects Curioſity, hath not yet reached to this Place.

CAITHNESS is the laſt Province of *Scotland*, towards the North, in which Coaſt *Strath-Navern* alſo meets it. Theſe two Countries do contract the Breadth of *Scotland* into a narrow Front. In that Front, there are three high Promontories: The higheſt of them all is in *Strath-Navern*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Orca*, or *Tarvedrum*, now *Farrow-Head*; the other two are in *Caithneſs*, but not ſo high as the former; *i. e. Vervedrum*, now called *Hoia*, *i. e. Strathy-Head*; and *Betubium*, (*Dunsbey-Head*) falſely called by *Hector Bœotius*, *Dume*; ſome call it *Duncans-Bei*, from which Word, ſome Letters being ſubſtracted, the word *Duns-Bei* ſeems to be derived. At the foot of the Hill there is a ſmall Bay, which little Veſſels, coming from the *Orcades*, uſe as an Haven or Port. For a Bay of the Sea is *there* called *Bei*: And this Creek, or Bay, being called by the neighbouring Inhabitants the *Bei* of *Duncan*, or *Donach*; from both thoſe Words conjoined, the Country Language hath formed *Dunis-Bei*.

IN this Tract, *Ptolomy* places the *Cornavii*, (or *Caithneſs*-men) ſome Similitude of which Name does yet remain, for they commonly call the Caſtle of the Earls of *Caithneſs*, *Gernica*; for

for thoſe whom *Ptolomy*, and other Foreigners call *Cornavii*, the *Britons* call *Kernici*. And ſeeing he places the *Cornavii*, not in this Tract only, but even in a far diſtant part of the Iſland, *viz. Cornwal* in *England*; they, who retain the old *Britiſh* Speech, do yet call the ſame Perſons, *Kernici*: And, perhaps, 'tis no abſurd Conjecture, to imagine, that the *Cornovalli* are ſo called for *Kernicovalli*, (*i. e.*) the *Kernic-Gauls*; nay, in the very midſt of the Iſland, ſome Marks, tho' obſcure ones, of that Name ſeem to have remained. For *Bede* writes, that the beginning of the Wall of *Severus* was not far from the Monaſtery of *Kebercurnig*; whereas there is now no ſign of a Monaſtery in thoſe parts; but there remains not far from thence, the half-ruined Caſtle of the *Duglaſſes*, called *Abrecorn*: Whether both of thoſe Words, or only one of them, be corrupted from *Kernicus*, I leave to the Reader to judge.

It remains now, that I ſpeak ſomething concerning the *Iſlands* of *Scotland*, (which part of the *Britiſh Hiſtory* is perplex'd with abundance of Miſtakes.) But omitting the Ancients, who have delivered nothing certain on this Subject, I ſhall only inſiſt on what the *Writers* of our Times have more truly and plainly acquainted us with. Of all the Iſlands, which do, as it were, begirt *Scotland*, they make three Claſſes or Ranks, the *Weſtern*, the *Orcades*, and the *Zealandiſh*, or *Schetland*, Iſlands.

Those are called the *Weſtern* Iſles, which lie between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, on the Weſt of *Scotland*, in the *Deucaledonian* Sea, and reach almoſt to the Iſles of *Orkney*, or *Orcades*. They, who have written of the *Britiſh* Affairs, either now, or in the Age before us, call them *Hebrides*, a new Name, of which there is not any Sign, or any Original, in *ancient Writers*. For, in that Tract of the Sea, ſome Authors place the *Ebudæ*, or *Æmodæ*, but with ſuch Inconſiſtency amongſt themſelves, that they ſcarce ever agree in their Number, Situation, or Names. *Strabo* (to begin with the moſt ancient) may be the better excuſed, becauſe he followed uncertain Report, that part of the World being not fully diſcovered, in his time. *Mela* reckons the *Æmodæ* to be ſeven, *Martianus Capella* makes the *Acmodæ* to be as many; *Ptolomy* and *Solinus* count the *Ebudæ*, five; *Pliny* numbers the *Acmodæ* to be ſeven; and the *Ebudæ* thirty. I, for my part, think it fit to retain the Names moſt uſed by the *Ancients*, and therefore I call all the *Weſtern* Iſles *Ebudæ*; and I purpoſe to deſcribe the Site, Nature, and Commodities of every one of them, as out of *later*, ſo out of *ſurer*, Authors.

In

IN performing this Task, I will principally follow *Donald Monro*, a pious and diligent Perſon, who travelled in Perſon over all thoſe *Iſlands*, and viewed them ocularly. They lie diſperſed in the *Deucaledonian* Sea, being above three hundred and odd in Number. The *Kings of Scotland* were Maſters of them, time out of mind, until *Donald*, the Brother of *Malcolm* the Third, yielded up the Poſſeſſion of them to the Kings of *Norway*; that, by his Aid, he might forcibly ſeize upon the Crown of *Scotland*, to which he had no Right. The *Danes* and *Norwegians* enjoyed them about one hundred and ſixty Years, until, being overcome in a great Battle, they were outed of them by *Alexander* the Third, King of *Scotland*. Theſe Iſlanders either confiding in their Strength, or elſe egg'd on and induc'd by Sedition, have ſometime endeavoured to vindicate their Liberty, and to ſet up *Kings* of their own; for of late *John* of the Family of the *Donalds*, as well as others before him, uſurped the Name of King. In their Diet, Habit, and the whole Adminiſtration of their Domeſtick Affairs, they uſe the ancient Parſimony. Hunting and Fiſhing afford them Food. They boil their Fleſh in Water poured either into the Paunch, or into the Skin, of the Beaſts they kill; and in Hunting they ſometimes eat raw Fleſh, when the Blood is ſqueezed out. The Broth of boiled Fleſh-meat is their Drink. They ſometimes drink Whey very greedily in their Feaſts, after it hath been kept, in proper Veſſels, for ſome Years. That kind of Drink they call *Blandium*; but, for the moſt part of them, they drink Water. They make their Bread of Oats and Barley, (for they have no other Grain growing in thoſe Parts) which is not unpleaſant to the Taſte; and, by frequent Uſe, they are very expert at making and moulding of it. In the Morning they eat a little of it, and ſo go a Hunting; or, if they have any other Work to do, they are content with that light Breakfaſt, and faſt till the Evening. They uſe Party-colour'd Garments, and eſpecially ſtriped Plads. Of all Colours they love the Purple and the Blue moſt. Their Anceſtors wore Party-colour'd Plads, variouſly ſtriped, which Cuſtom ſome of them do ſtill retain; but, now-a-days, many of them wear their Apparel of a dark brown Colour, almoſt like *Heath*: that ſo, lying in the *Heath-buſhes*, they may not, in the Day-time, be diſcovered by their Cloaths. Being rather looſely wrapp'd, than cloſely cover'd, with this ſort of Blanketing, they endure the fierceſt Weather, even in the open Air; and ſometimes they ſleep in them, tho' cover'd all over with Snow. In their Houſes they alſo lie on the Ground, only they lay under them *Fern* or *Heath*, which they place with their Roots downward, and

their

their Bruſh upwards, ſo prettily, that their Beds are almoſt as ſoft as a Feather-bed, but far more wholſom. For *Heath* being naturally a very great Drier, doth exhauſt ſuperfluous Humours, and reſtores Vigor to the Nerves, after it hath freed them from ſuch noxious Gueſts; ſo that they who lie down in the Evening weary and faint, in the Morning riſe up nimble and ſprightly. They are all of 'em very regardleſs of their Bed-Ticks and Coverlets, nay they affect an uncouth Slovenlineſs in that particular; for, if any Occaſion, or Neceſſity, cauſe them to travel into other Parts, when they go to Bed they throw the Bed and Blankets of their Hoſts on the Ground, and wrap themſelves up in their own Garments, and ſo go to ſleep: The Reaſon they give is, leſt ſuch barbarous Effeminacy (for ſo they call it) ſhould taint and corrupt their native and inbred Hardineſs. In War they cover their Bodies with Iron Helmets and a Coat of Mail, made of Iron Rings, reaching almoſt down to their Anckles. Their Weapons are Bows and Arrows, for the moſt part *hooked*, the Iron Barbs ſtanding out on both ſides, which cannot be drawn out of the Body they pierce, unleſs the Orifice of the Wound be made very wide; ſome of them fight with broad Swords and Pole-axes. Inſtead of a *Trumpet* they uſe a *Bag-Pipe*. They are much given to *Muſick*, but on Inſtruments of a peculiar kind, called *Clarſhacks*; of which ſome have Strings made of Braſs-Wire, others of Guts, which they ſtrike either with their long Nails, or with a Quill. Their only Ambition is, to deck their *Fiddles* with very much Silver and Jewels. The meaner Sort, inſtead of Jewels, uſe *Chryſtal*. They ſing Songs, not unelegant, containing commonly the Elogies of valiant Men; and their *Bards* uſually treat of no other Argument. Their Language is ſomewhat like the old *Gauliſh*.

THESE Iſlands of *Scotland*, which uſe the ancient Tongue, and are called the *Weſtern* or *Ebudæ* Iſles, are uſually reckoned thus. The firſt of them is *Mana*, by ſome falſly called *Mona*, but by the Ancients *Eubonia*; *Paulus Oroſius* calls it *Mevania*, or rather *Menavia*, for in the old Language 'tis called *Manim*. The laſt Age call'd the Town in it *Sodora*, in which the Biſhop of the Iſlands had his See. It is a Province almoſt equally diſtant from *Ireland*, from *Galloway* in *Scotland*, and from *Cumberland* in *England*; it is twenty four Miles long, and eight broad.

THE next Iſle ariſing in the *Firth* of *Clyde* is *Alſa*, or *Ailze*, an high and precipitous Rock, excepting only one plain Paſſage into it. It is uninhabited almoſt all the Year; but only at certain Seaſons, a great number of Skiffs and Buſſes flock thither

thither to fiſh for Cod and Whiting. It abounds with Conies and Sea-Fowl, but eſpecially with *Soland-Geeſe*. It is almoſt equally diſtant from *Carrick* on the *South-Eaſt*, from *Ireland* on the *South-Weſt*, and from *Cantyre* on the *North-Weſt*. The Iſle of *Arran* is ſcituate twenty four Miles from *Ailze*, inclining towards the *North*, it is twenty four Miles long and ſixteen broad; 'tis full of high craggy Mountains, ſo that only its Sea-Coaſts are inhabited; where it is loweſt the Sea breaks into it, and makes a great Bay, the Entrance of which is ſhut in by the Iſland *Molas*, *i. e. Lamlach* or *Lamlaſh*. So that by reaſon of the height of the Mountains, which break the force of the Wind, it is, within, a very ſafe Harbour for Shipping; and there is ſuch plentiful Fiſhing in thoſe Waters, which are perpetually calm, that, if the Inhabitants catch more than what will ſerve them for one Day, they throw them again into the Sea, as into a ſafe Trunk or a Fiſh-pond, to be thence taken out at their Pleaſure.

NOT far from *Arran* lies a ſmall Iſland called *Flada* or *Fladda*, which is full of Rabbets. *Boot* Iſle, being eight Mile long, and four broad, is ſcituate more within the *Firth* of *Clyde*, and is eight Miles diſtant from *Arran* aforeſaid, on the *North-Eaſt*. On the *North-Weſt* 'tis diſtant from *Argyle* about half a Mile; on the *Eaſt*, from *Cunningham*, ſix Miles. 'Tis all in a manner Low-Land, and ſo, very convenient for Corn and Paſturage. It hath but one Town in it, bearing the Name of the Iſland; and in it an old Caſtle named *Rothſey*. It hath alſo another Caſtle at the Bay, called in the Country Language *Cames*, or *Keames* Caſtle. On the *South-Weſt* of it is the low Iſland *Mernoch*. It is fruitful enough, and well cultivated for a Place of its Bigneſs; it is a Mile long, and half a Mile broad. Farther ſtill within the *Firth* of *Clyde*, are the two *Cumbras*, the greater and the leſs, at a ſmall diſtance one from another; the greater abounding with Corn, the leſs with Fallow Deer.

FROM the Promontory of *Cantyre*, a little more than a Mile, lies *Avona*, now *Sanda*, called *Portuoſa*, *i. e.* fit for a Port; it got that Name from being a Road for Ships; for when the *Danes* poſſeſſed thoſe Iſlands, their Fleets went thither for Shelter. From the ſame Promontory to the *South-Weſt*, over-againſt the *Iriſh* Shoar ſtands *Rahglin*; as alſo four Miles from *Cantyre*, is a ſmall Iſland called *Cara*; and not far from thence *Gega*, ſix Miles long, and a Mile and a half broad.

THE Iſland of *Jura* is diſtant twelve Miles from *Gaga*, being in length twenty four Miles: Its maritime Parts are inhabited well enough, but being woody in the inland Parts, it

it abounds with ſeveral ſorts of Deer. Some think it was anciently called *Dera*, which in the *Gothic* Language ſignifies a *Stag*. Two Miles diſtant from *Jura* lies *Scarba*, in length from *Eaſt* to *Weſt* four Miles, in breadth one; 'tis inhabited but in few places. The Tide is ſo violent between [illegible] and *Jura*, that there is no Paſſage neither with Sails nor Oars, but at certain Seaſons only.

AFTER this there are many Iſlands of leſs Note ſpread up and down, as *Bellach* or *Geniſteria*, *Gewraſdil*, *Lunga*, both the *Fiola*'s or *Fiolaſs*'s; alſo the three *Garvillans*, diſtinguiſhed by reſpective Sirnames; then *Culbrenin*, *Dunconnel*, *Luparia*, *Belhac*, *Whoker*, *Gavin*, *Luing*, *Seil*, and *Suin*; theſe three laſt named are fruitful enough in Corn and Cattel, and are under the Juriſdiction of the Earls of *Argyle*. The next to theſe is *Slata*, or *Sleach*; ſo called becauſe Tiles, named *Slats*, are hewn out of a Rock, which it contains. Then follow *Naoſg*, *Eaſdale*, *Schanni*, and the Iſle called *Tyan*, from an Herb which is prejudicial to Fruits, not unlike *Guild* or *Looſe-ſtrife*, but that 'tis of a more dilute Colour than *Uridich* and the *Rye* Iſland. Then *Dow*, *i. e.* the black Iſland; and the Iſland *Egliſh*, or of the Church and *Triarach*; after theſe follow the Iſlands *Ard* or *High*, *Iſhol*, *Green*, *Heath*, as alſo *Tree*, *Goat*, *Coney*-Iſles, and that which is called the Iſland of the *Otioſi* and *Eriſ-bach*; as alſo *Liſmore*, in which was the formerly Biſhop of *Argyle*'s See; it is eight Miles in length, two in breadth; in it there are found Metals, beſides the Commodities common to other Iſles. Then ſucceed *Ovilia*, and *Siuna*, *Ilan na Port*, and *Geirach*; as alſo *Falda*, the Iſle of *Cloich*, *Gramry*; the Iſlands *More*, *Ardieſcara*, *Muſadil*, and *Bernera* heretofore called the Holy Sanctuary, the Noble *Yew-Iſle*, *Molochaſgar* and *Drinacha*, which is all covered over with Thorns, Elder, and the Ruins of great Houſes; then another Iſle *Drimach*, which is full of Wood; alſo *Ramſay* and *Karrera*.

THE greateſt of the *Weſtern* Iſlands next to *Jura*, is *Yla*; which is twenty four Miles long, and ſixteen broad; it is extended from *South* to *North*; and is very fruitful in Cattel, Corn, Deer, and Lead: There is a River of freſh Water in it, called *Avonlaggan*, as alſo a Bay of Salt Water, in which are ſeveral Iſlands; beſides, it hath a Lough of freſh Water, in which there is an Iſland called *Finlagan*; which heretofore was the chief of all the Iſlands, in which the Prince of the Iſlanders, aſſuming the Name of *King*, was wont to dwell. Near to that, but leſs, is the Iſland called *Ilan na-Covihaſlop*, called alſo the Iſland of Council; for there was a Court in it, where fourteen of the chief Men ſate daily for

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the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and determining Matters of Controverſy; whoſe great Equity and Moderation procured Peace, both foreign and domeſtick; and as a Concomitant of Peace, the Affluence of all things. Between *Ila* and *Jura* there is ſeated a ſmall Iſland called *Rock* Iſle, taking its Name from an Heap of Stones there; moreover on the *South* ſide of *Ila* lie theſe *Iſlands*, *Chourna*, *Maalmori*, *Oſrim*, *Bridi*, *Corſhera*, the Iſland *Iſhol*, *Immerſi*, *Bethick*, *Texa*, *Gearach*, *Naoſg*, *Rinard*, *Cana*, *Tarskeir*, *Achnar*, the Iſle *More*, the Iſland reſembling the Figure of a Man, the Iſland *Jean*, and the *Stachabadda*; at the *Weſt* Corner of *Yla* ſtands *Overſa*, there alſo the Sea is very raging, not paſſable for Ships but at certain Hours. The Iſland *Channard*, and toward the *North-Weſt* are ſcituate *Uſabreſt*, and *Tanaſt*, *Naomph*, and the Iſland *Banni*; eight Miles from *Yla*, more toward the *North*, lies *Overſa*, next to it *Porcaria*, and half a Mile from *Overſa* lies *Collonſa*.

BEYOND *Collonſa* to the *North* lies *Mull*, twelve Miles diſtant from *Yla*. This Iſland is twenty four Miles in length, and as many in breadth; 'tis craggy, yet not wholly barren of Corn. It hath many Woods in it, and great Herds of Deer, and a Port ſafe enough for Ships; over againſt *Icolumkill*, it hath two large Rivers full of Salmon, beſides other leſs Rivers, not without Fiſh; it hath alſo two Loughs, in each of which are ſeveral Iſlands, and Caſtles in them all. The Sea, breaking into it in divers places, makes four Bays, all abounding with Herrings. On the *South-Weſt* is ſeated *Calaman*, or the Iſland of *Doves*; on the *North-Eaſt* ſtands *Erra*; both theſe Iſlands are commodious for Cattle, Corn, and Fiſhing.

THE Iſland of *Icolumkill* is diſtant from them two Miles; it is two Miles long, and above a Mile broad, fruitful in all things, which that Climate can produce; and famed for as many ancient Monuments, as could be well expected in ſuch a Country; but it was made yet more famous by the ſevere Diſcipline and Holineſs of St. *Columbus*. It was beautified with two Monaſteries, one of *Monks*, the other of *Nuns*; with one *Curia*, or (as they call it,) a Pariſh Church, and with many Chapels, ſome of them built by the Magnificence of the *Kings* of *Scotland*; and others by the petty Kings of the Iſlands; in the old *Monaſtery* of St. *Columbus*, the Biſhops of the Iſlanders placed their See; their ancient Manſion-Houſe, which was before in the Iſle of *Man*, being taken by the *Engliſh*. There remains as yet, among the ancient Ruins, a Church-yard, or Burying-place, common to all the Noble Families which dwelt in the *Weſtern Iſlands*.

There

There are three Tombs in it more eminent than the reſt, at a ſmall diſtance one from another, having little Shrines looking towards the *Eaſt*, built over them. In the *Weſt* part of each of them there is a Stone with an Inſcription, declaring whoſe Tombs they are; the middlemoſt of them hath this Inſcription; *The Tombs of the Kings of* Scotland; for it is reported that forty four of the *Scotiſh Kings* were buried there: In that on the Right-hand, there is this Title carved, *The Tombs of the Kings of* Ireland; for four Kings of *Ireland* are ſaid to be interred there: That on the left ſide is inſcribed, *The Tombs of the Kings of* Norway; for Report ſays, that eight *Kings* of that Nation were intombed there. In the reſt of the Cœmetery, the eminent Families of the Iſlands have each their Tombs a-part. There are ſix Iſlands adjacent to it, ſmall indeed, yet not unfruitful, which have been given by ancient *Kings*, and by the Princes of the Iſlanders, to the Nunnery of St. *Columbus*.

The Iſland *Soa*, though it hath convenient Paſturage for Sheep, yet its greateſt Revenue is from the *ſitting* and *hatching* of Sea-fowl, and eſpecially from their Eggs. The next to that is *Nuns-Iſland:* Then *Rudana*; after that *Reringa*; after which follows *Skanny*, diſtant half a Mile from *Mull*; it hath one Pariſh in it, but the Pariſhioners live moſtly in *Mull:* The Shore abounds with Coneys. A Mile from *Skanny*, ſtands *Eorſa*. All theſe are under the Juriſdiction of the *Monks* of St. *Columbus* his Monaſtery.

Two Miles from *Eorſa*, ſtand *Ulva*, which is five Miles long, and for its Bigneſs, fruitful in Corn and Paſturage. It hath an Haven very commodious for Galleys, Long-boats, or Berlins. On its *South-ſide* lies *Colvanſa*, the Soil thereof is fruitful, and it hath a Wood of Haſel in it. Almoſt three hundred Paces from it, is ſituate *Gomedra*, two Miles long, and a Mile broad, running out from *South* to *North*. Four Miles from *Gomedra*, on the *South*, ſtands *Staſa*, both of theſe two laſt named Iſles having many good Havens in them. Four Miles from hence, toward the *North-Weſt*, are the two *Carniburghs*, the greater and the leſs, ſo fortified round about with the Precipices of Rocks, and a moſt rapid Current, beſides, that their natural Strength being aſſiſted by Art, they are impregnable. A Mile from theſe, is an Iſland whoſe Soil is almoſt all black, as being cemented out of old rotten Wood and Moſs mixt together. They dry the Turff of it for Fewel, and therefore 'tis called *Turff-Iſland*; for ſo they there call that ſort of Earth, which the *Engliſh* call *Moſs*. Then ſucceeds *Lunga*, two Miles in length, and *Baca* half leſs than it.

From

FROM thence towards the *Weſt*, about ſix Miles diſtance, ſtands *Tirriſs*, in length eight Miles, in breadth three; of all theſe Iſlands, moſt abounding with all things neceſſary to maintain Life; for there is plenty of Cattel and Corn; they alſo get much by Fiſhing, and the Breed of Sea Fowl. There is in it a Lake or Lough of freſh Water, and an old Caſtle, as alſo an Haven, not unſafe for Galleys and Long-boats. Two Miles from hence ſtands *Gunn* Iſle, and at an equal diſtance from *Gun*, *Coll*, twelve Miles long, two broad, a very fruitful Iſle. Not far from thence is *Calſa*, which is almoſt all covered with Wood. After that, two Iſlands follow, ſir-nam'd *Green*, the greater and the leſs. And as many lie, of the ſame Sir-names, over-againſt the Promontory of *Mull*. Not far from this lye two Iſlands, ſir-named *Glaſſæ*, *i. e.* Sky-blew, then *Ardan Rider*, *i. e.* the high Iſland of the Horſeman: Next *Luparia*, or the Iſland of Wolves; after this is the Iſland *More*; from the Iſland *Coll*, toward the *South* there is extended from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, *Rum*, ſixteen Miles long, ſix broad; and becauſe it is inhabited but in few places, the Sea-fowl almoſt every where lay their Eggs up and down in the Fields; ſo that in the Spring one may take up as many of them as one pleaſes. In the high Rocks of *Rum*, the Soland Geeſe, ſpoken of before, are taken in great abundance. Four Miles from thence to the *South-Eaſt* is the Iſland *Naich*, or of Horſes, and half a Mile from thence is *Muick*, for its Bigneſs, abounding with all Neceſſaries. Falcons build their Neſts there; and it hath alſo a Port convenient enough for Shipping. Not far from it are *Cana*, and *Egg* Iſle, ſmall, yet fruitful Iſlands; the latter abounding with Soland Geeſe.

THEN there is *Soavretail*, fitter for Hunting than any other Commodities of Life. Thence from *North* to *South* is extended *Sky*, the greateſt of all the Iſlands about *Scotland*, as being in length forty two Miles; in breadth ſometimes eight, ſometimes twelve; in many places it is full of Mountains, which abound with Woods, and thoſe Woods are full of Paſtures. The Champion is alſo fruitful of Corn and Cattle; and, beſides other Cattle, it is famous for a large Breed of Mares. It hath five great Rivers in it, all very full of Salmon; beſides many leſs ones, not without Salmon neither. The Sea penetrating on every ſide into the Land, makes many Bays of Salt-water there; of which three are moſt eminent, beſides thirteen others, all full of Herrings. It hath alſo a Lough of Freſh-water in it, and five Caſtles. This Iſland, in the old *Scotch* Dialect, was called *Skianacha*, *i. e.* Winged, becauſe the Promontories, between which the Sea made its Influx,

Influx, ſtretched out themſelves, as ſo many Wings; but it is now by Uſe come to be called *Sky*, *i. e.* a Wing.

About *Sky* there lie ſcattered ſome ſmaller Iſlands, as *Oranſa*, full of Corn and Cattle; and *Nagunner* having plenty of Woods and Conies; as alſo *Paba*, infamous for Robbing, where Thieves, lurking in the Woods, way-lay Travellers as they paſs: Then comes *Scalpa*, ſituated eight Miles from it to the *North-Weſt*; beſides other Commodities, it hath great Herds of Deer in its Woods. Between the Mouth of *Loch-Carron* and *Raarſa*, lies *Crouling*, a Port ſafe for Ships. And from *Scalpa*, two Miles towards the *North*, lies *Raarſa*, ſeven Miles long, and two broad; it hath Woods of Beech-trees in it, and many Deer in them. Half a Mile from it, is *Rona*, which is quite covered over with Woods, and Heath. It hath a Port in its inmoſt Bay, noted for Pyracy, as being very commodious to ſurprize Sea-Paſſengers. And in the Mouth of the Bay, (which, from its Shallowneſs, is called *Gerloch*) there is an Iſland of the ſame Name. From *Rona*, ſix Miles towards the *North*, lies *Fladda*. Two Miles from *Fladda*, is *Trouta*, and on the *South* ſide of *Sky*, *Oranſa*: A Mile from thence lie little *Buia*, then great *Buia*; and after them five ſmall Iſlands of no Note; after them follows *Iſhol*, fruitful in Corn; and near it is *Ovia*, then *Askerma*, and *Linadel*; and eighty Miles from *Sky* to the *North-Weſt* lie, *Linga*, *Gigamena*, *Bernera*, *Megala*, *Paba*, *Flada*, *Scarpa Vervecum*, *i. e.* of *Weathers*, *Sandrera*, and *Waterſa*, which, beſides other great Conveniencies, hath a Haven capable of holding many, and thoſe very great, Ships; whither at certain Seaſons of the Year, a great Company of Fiſher-men flock together, from the Countries round about. Theſe nine laſt Iſlands are under the Government of the Biſhop of the Iſlands. Two Miles diſtant from *Waterſa*, lies *Barra*, ſeven Miles in length, extending it ſelf from the *South-Weſt* to the *North-Eaſt*, not unfruitful in Corn, but moſt noted for Cod and Whiting Fiſhery: A Bay of the Sea makes an Influx into it, at a narrow Mouth; but within it is broader and alſo round. It hath one Iſland in it, and therein a ſtrong Fort or Caſtle. In the *North* part of *Barra*, there ariſeth an Hill full of Graſs from top to bottom; on the top of it riſeth a Spring of freſh Water, which flowing down in a Rivulet, carries with it into the neighbouring Sea, ſome ſmall Animals, as yet ſhapeleſs; which in ſome ſort, though not very plainly, repreſent thoſe Shell-fiſh we commonly call *Cockles*. This part of the Shore, to which the Borderers retire, they call the great *Sanda*; becauſe when the Sea ebbs, the Sand is uncovered for a Mile and more;

there they dig up great Shell-fish, and the People thereabout believe it to be as a Seminary of those shapeless Fish, which the forenamed Drill carries down from its Fountain; and that they are either produced there, or at least grow bigger in the Sea.

BETWEEN *Barra* and *Uyist*, lie these small Islands following, *Orbansa*, *Ovia* or *Eoy*, *Hakerset*, *Garulinga*, *Flada*, *Buiia* the greater, and *Buiia* the less, *Haia*, *Heldisay*, *Gega*, *Linga*, *Fara*, *Fuda*, *Heath Island*. From these, towards the *North*, lies *Uyist*, thirty Miles long, and six broad. The Tide flowing into this Island in two places, represents the appearance of three Islands, but when it ebbs, it again grows into one: There are many Lakes of fresh Water in it, the biggest of which is three Miles long. The Sea, wearing away the Land, hath made itself a Passage into this Lough; neither can it be excluded by the Inhabitants, no not by a Jitty or Bank of sixty Foot high, but that it insinuates it self between the Stones, not well compacted together, and there often leaves some small Sea-fish behind. There is a Fish taken in it, in other respects like a Salmon, save that his Belly is white, and his Back black, and he is without Scales like to Salmon. Moreover, there are in it abundance of Loughs of fresh Water. It hath Caves in it covered with Heath, which are lurking places for Robbers. There are five Parish-Churches in it for the Performance of holy Duties.

EIGHT Miles from thence, towards the *East*, lies *Helscher Vetularum*, so called, as I suppose, because it belongs to the Nuns of the Island of *Icolumkill*. A little farther towards the *North* appears *Havelschyer*, to which at certain Seasons of the Year many *Sea-Calves*, [or *Seals*] do resort, and are there taken. About sixty Miles beyond that, to the *North-West*, stands *Hirta*, very fruitful in Corn, Cattle, and especially in Sheep, which are here fatter, than in any other of the Islands. The Inhabitants are ignorant of all Arts, and especially of Religion. After the Summer Solstice, the *Lord* of the Island sends thither his *Proctor* or *Steward*, to gather his Rent or Tribute; and, with him, he sends a *Priest* to baptize all the Children, which were born the Year before; but if the *Priest* come not, then every Man baptizeth his own Children; they pay to their Lord a certain number of *Sea-Calves*, and of *Muttons*, dried in the Sun, and also of Sea-Fowl. The whole Island doth not exceed a Mile in length, and it is almost of equal breadth, neither can any part of it be seen from any neighbouring Island, besides three Mountains which are on the Shore, and these cannot be discerned neither, but from the highest places of other Islands. In those Mountains there are Sheep exceeding beautiful, but

by

by reaſon of the Violence and Rapidity of the Sea-Current, and Tide, they can ſcarce be come at, by any Body.

BUT to return to *Uyiſt*; on the *North* Promontory thereof, there is ſituate the Iſle *Valey*, a Mile broad and two Mile long. Between that Promontory and the Iſle *Harrick*, theſe Islands are interjacent, ſmall indeed, but not unfruitful, *viz.* *Soa*, *Stromoy*, *Pabaia*, *Bernera*, *Eriſay*, *Keligera*, *Saga* the leſs, *Saga* the greater, *Hermodra*, *Scarvay*, *Gria*, *Linga*, *Gillan*, *Hea*, *Hoia*, *Ferelaia*, *Soa* the leſs, *Soa* the great, *Iſa*, *Senna* the leſs, *Senna* the great, *Tarranſa*, *Slegana*, *Tuema*, and, above *Harick*, *Scarpa*; and due *Weſt*, there are ſeven Iſlands, at fifty Miles diſtance above *Lewis*, which ſome call *Flavanæ*, others the *Sacred*, or Sanctuary Iſlands; they ariſe up into Graſſy Mountains, but are quite uncultivated; neither are there in them any four-footed Beaſts, but only wild Sheep, which the Hunters catch, but eat them not when they have done For they eſteem the Fat more palatable than the Fleſh; for the Fleſh is ſo unpleaſant, that no Man will eat it, unleſs he is forced to it by Extremity of Hunger.

FARTHERMORE, almoſt in the ſame Tract, nearer to the *North*, lie *Garvellan*, *i. e.* the craggy Iſland, *Lamba*, *Flada*, and *Kellaſa*, the two *Berneraes*, the great and the ſmall, *Kirta*, *Buiia* the little, *Buiia* the great, *Vexa*, *Pabaia*, and *Sigrama* the great, or *Cuniculariа*, ſo called from its plenty of Conies, *Sigrama* the leſs, and the Iſland of *Pigmies*; in this laſt there is a Chapel, where the bordering People do believe that *Pigmies* were heretofore buried; for many Strangers, digging deep into the Earth, have found, and yet do find, little and round Heads, and the ſmall Bones of other Parts of human Bodies, that don't in the leaſt differ from the ancient Reports concerning *Pigmies*.

IN that Shore of the Iſland *Lewis*, which looks toward the *South-Eaſt*, two Bays of the Sea break into the Land, one of which they call the South, the other the *North* Lough; both of them yield abundance of Fiſh, to thoſe who take pains to catch them, and that during the whole Year. From the ſame Shore of *Lewis*, more to the *South*, ſtands *Fable* Iſle, then *Adams* Iſle, then the Iſle of *Lambs*; as alſo, *Huilin*, *Viccoil*, *Havera*, *Laxa*, *Erin*, the Iſle of *Icolumkill*, *Toray*, *Iffert*, *Scalpa*, *Flada*, and *Shevy*. At the *Eaſt* ſide of this Iſland there is a ſubterraneous Paſſage, arched at top, longer than a Man can ſhoot an Arrow into: Under which Vault, ſmall Ships uſe to ſhelter themſelves, making to it, by Sails or Oars, to avoid the Violence of the Tide, which rages at the neighbouring Promontory, with a huge Noiſe, to the extreme Terrour and Danger of

the Mariners. More to the *Eaſt*, lies an Iſland which they call *Schan Caſtle*, a Place naturally fortified, abounding with Corn and Fiſh, and alſo affording ſufficient Proviſion to the Inhabitants by Eggs of Sea-Fowl, which there make their Neſts.

AT the Shore, where *Loch-Brien*, or *Broom*, opens to the Land, lies the Iſle *Eu*, which is almoſt all covered with Woods, and good for nothing but to harbour Thieves in, to rob Paſſengers. More to the *North* is the Iſland *Gruinorta*, being alſo full of Woods, poſſeſſed by Robbers and Pyrates. And looking towards the ſame Coaſt, is an Iſland, named the Iſland of *Cleirach*, which, beſides Paſturage, abounds with the Eggs of Sea-Fowl. Next to that, is *Afulla*, and then *Harary* the greater; then *Harary* the leſs; and nigh it, the *Iſland of Horſes*, or *Naſtich*; and near that again, the Iſle *Mertaika*. Theſe eight Iſlands are ſituate before the Mouth of the Bay, which is vulgarly called *Lough-Broom*, or *Brian*. At ſome diſtance from theſe Iſlands, which lie before *Lough-Broom*, *Harrick* and *Lewis* run toward the *North*: They are ſixty Miles in length, and ſixteen in breadth: Theſe make but one Iſland, for they are not diſtinguiſhed by the Arms of the Sea, that flow into it, but by the Meers of the Land, and the Poſſeſſions of their ſeveral Lairds: But that part, which is expoſed to the South, is wont to be called *Harray*. There was a Monaſtery in it called *Roadilla*, built by *Maccloyd* of *Harray*. The Soil is fruitful of Corn, but it yields its Increaſe rather by digging, than plowing: Its Paſtures are very fit for Sheep, eſpecially one very high Mountain, which is green with Graſs, even to the very top. *Donald Monro*, a Learned and Pious Man, relates, that when he was there, he ſaw Sheep (for that kind of Cattle) very old, wandring up and down without any certain Owner: And the Number of them is increaſed from hence, that neither Fox, Wolf, or Serpent, was ever ſeen there; though great Woods lie betwixt this part and *Lewis*, which breed many Stags, but low ones, and their Bodies are of no large ſize. In this part of the Iſland, is a River very full of Salmon. In the *North* part lies *Lewis*, inhabited enough towards the Shore. It hath four Pariſh-Churches in it, one Fort, ſeven great Rivers, and twelve ſmaller, all of them, according to their bigneſs, full of Salmons; in many places the Sea penetrates into the Land, and there diffuſes it ſelf into Bays, all abounding with plenty of Herrings. There is alſo great plenty of Sheep, which wander freely amongſt the Thickets, and Heath-buſhes: The Inhabitants drive them into a narrow place, like a Sheep-fold, and there, every Year, they

they ſheer them, after the ancient Cuſtom. The Champion part of the Country abounds with Heath-buſhes, in which the Earth is black at top, occaſioned by Moſs, that is matted as it were in with rotten Wood, gathered together for many Ages, even a Foot thick. This upper Cruſt, being [redacted] into long and ſlender Turfs, and dryed in the Sun, ſerves for Firing, inſtead of Wood: The next Year after, the naked Ground, being dunged with Sea-weed, is ſown with Barley. In this Iſland there is commonly ſo great a quantity of Whales taken, that ſometimes (as the old *Inhabitants* relate) twenty ſeven, ſome very great, ſome ſmaller, fall to the ſhare of the Prieſts for their Tithes. There is alſo a great Cave in this Iſland, in which, when the Tide is out, the Water is yet two Fathom deep; but when the Tide is in, 'tis above four Fathom. There Multitudes of People, of both Sexes, and of all Ages, ſitting on the Rocks, with Hooks and Lines, do promiſcuouſly catch all ſorts of Fiſh, in great abundance.

THERE is a ſmall Iſland, about ſixty Miles from *Lewis*, to the *North-Eaſt*, of a low and plain Soil, and well inhabited; its Name is *Rona*; the Inhabitants thereof are rude Perſons, and without almoſt any Religion at all. The Laird of it aſſigns a certain Number of Families to inhabit and till it, and he allows them a ſufficiency of great and ſmall Cattle, whereby they may live well, and pay their Tribute too; that which is above their own Proviſion, they ſend every Year to *Lewis*, to their Landlord, who lives there; they commonly pay him, in the Name of a Tribute or Rent, a great quantity of Barley-meal, ſewed up in the Skins of Sheep, (for that kind of Grain grows plentifully amongſt them,) Muttons and Sea-fowl dried in the Sun, as much as remains, as a Surpluſage of their yearly Proviſion; and if the Multitude of *Heads* doth abound, they ſend alſo the ſupernumerary Perſons to their Landlords. So that theſe, in my Judgment, are the only Perſons in the whole World, who want nothing; but have all things to Satiety. And beſides, being ignorant of Luxury and Covetouſneſs, they enjoy that Innocency and Tranquillity of Mind, which others take great Pains to obtain, from the Precepts and Inſtitutions of wiſe Men. And this they have from their Ignorance of Vices; neither doth any thing ſeem to be wanting to their great Happineſs, but that they do not underſtand the Excellency of their Condition. There is in this Iſland, a Chapel, dedicated to St. *Ronanus*, where (as old Men ſay,) there is a Spade always left, with which, if any one die, there is always a place marked out, and prepared for his Grave; more-

over in this Iſland, beſides other Fiſhery, many *Whales* are alſo taken.

SIXTEEN Miles from thence, towards the *Weſt*, lies the Iſland *Suilkyr*; a Mile long, which brings forth no Graſs, no not ſo much as Heath, only it hath black Rocks, ſome of which are covered with black Moſs. Sea-fowl do commodiouſly lay their Eggs, and hatch them there. Before the young are fledg'd enough to fly away, the neighbour Iſlanders ſail thither from *Lewis*, and they allow themſelves eight Days time, more or leſs, to cull or gather them up, until they load their Skiffs with their Fleſh dried in the Sun, and alſo with their Feathers. In this *Iſland* alſo, there is a rare kind of Bird unknown in other Parts, called *Colca*, it is little leſs than a Gooſe, ſhe comes every Year thither, and there hatches and feeds her young, till they can ſhift for themſelves. About that time, her Feathers fall off of their own accord, and ſo leave her naked; then ſhe betakes her ſelf to the Sea again, and is never ſeen more, till the next Spring. This alſo is ſingular in them, their Feathers have no Quills, or Stalks, but cover their Bodies with a gentle Down, which has no hard Nibs belonging to it.

NEXT follow the *Orcades*, lying ſcattered in the *North* of *Scotland*, partly in the *Deucaledonian*, and partly in the *German Seas*. Concerning the Name of them, Writers, both ancient and modern, do well enough agree; but the reaſon of the Name, no Man (that I know) hath explained. Neither doth it appear, who firſt poſſeſſed them: All ſay, that they were of a *German Original*, but from what Nation of *Germany*, they ſay not: If we may form a Conjecture from their Speech, both heretofore and now, they uſe the *Gothick Language*. Some think they were *Picts*, induced by this Argument, that the Sea, dividing them from *Caithneſs*, is called the *Pentland* (or *Pictland*) *Sea*, or Firth. They judge alſo, that the *Picts* themſelves were of the Race of the *Saxons*, grounding their Opinion chiefly on the Verſes of *Claudian*, in his ſeventh *Panegyrick*, which run thus:

——Maduerunt Saxone fuſo
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum ſanguine Thule,
Scotorum Tumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

Engliſhed thus:

The Orcades *were moiſt with* Saxon *Gore*;
Warm with the Blood of Picts *flow'd* Thule's *Shore*,

And

And whilſt its Head, each Scotchman's *Tomb appears,*
Icy Juverna *all diſſolves in Tears.*

BUT their Error may eaſily be refuted, partly out of *Bede* the *Anglo-Saxon*, who, affirming, that the *Britons* ſung the Praiſes of *God* in five ſeveral Languages, reckons the *Pictiſh* to be one; but if the *Picts* had then ſpoke the *Saxon* Language, he would not have diſtinguiſhed it from the *Saxon*; (which then the *Engliſh* uſed, without Corruption;) and partly alſo, out of thoſe very Verſes of *Claudian*, where he expreſly declares; That the *Picts* were a different People from the *Saxons*; for, he ſays, that the *Orcades* were the Country of the *Saxons*; and *Thule*, of the *Picts*; but whatſoever their Original was, in this our Age, they uſe a Language different both from *Scotch* and *Engliſh*, but very near the *Gothiſh*. In their daily Converſation, the common People do as yet retain much of their ancient Parſimony, and therefore they are very ſound in Mind, and healthy in Body. Few of them die of Diſeaſes, but almoſt all of them, of old Age; and their Ignorance of Delights and Pleaſures contributes more to the maintaining of their Health, than the Skill and Diligence of *Phyſicians* doth to others. The ſame Parſimony makes much, both for the Elegancy of their Beauties, and the Tallneſs of their Stature. They have but a ſmall Increaſe of Corn, except only of Oats and Barley: Out of which they extract both Bread and Drink too. Of Animals, which herd together, they have Sheep, Kine, and divers Goats, ſo that they have abundance of Milk, Butter, and Cheeſe among them: They have alſo an innumerable Company of Sea-fowl, of which, and of Fiſhes, their Diet doth, for the moſt part, conſiſt. There is no venomous Creature there, no, nor any one deformed to look upon. They have little Horſes, in ſhew contemptible, but ſtrong enough, for all Uſes, even beyond Belief. They have never a Tree growing, no, nor Shrub neither, beſides Heath; which happens, not ſo much from the Fault of the Soil, or Air, as the Lazineſs of the Inhabitants, as doth eaſily appear by the Roots of Trees, which, in many Places, are there digged out of the Earth. As often as Foreigners import any Wine thither, they drink it greedily, even to Exceſs. They have an ancient Cup, or Goblet among them, which (to procure the greater Authority to their Carouſings) they ſay, did belong to St. *Magnus*, who firſt inſtructed them in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion. It ſo far exceeds the Bigneſs of other Drinking-bowls, that it may ſeem to have been a Re-

lick of the Feaſt of the *Lapithæ*. They try an Experiment with it upon their Biſhops, at their firſt coming to them; he that can drink up a whole one, at one Draught, (which ſeldom happens) they count him a very *Nonſuch* of a Man; and do look upon it as an happy Omen and Preſage, that the Crop of the following Years will be ſuperabundant. From which Practice of theirs, a Man may eaſily conjecture, that their Parſimony which I ſpoke of, proceeds not ſo much from Reaſon and Choice, as from Penury and Want; and the ſame Neceſſity which produced it at firſt, perpetuated and tranſmitted it to their Poſterity; till the Neighbour-Nations being corrupted by prevailing Luxury, their ancient Diſcipline was, by Degrees, weakned and impaired, and they alſo gave up themſelves to charming Pleaſures and Delights; and being thus inclin'd to Luxury, they were hurried on to it, by their Commerce with Pyrates; who, not daring to land on the Continent, becauſe it was full of Inhabitants, took in freſh Water at theſe Iſlands; and there, either chang'd their Wine, and other Merchandize, for the Proviſions of the Country; or elſe ſold them to the Iſlanders at a low Price: And the Iſlanders being few in Number, and unarmed too, and diſperſed alſo in the tempeſtuous Sea, that they could not convene to aſſiſt one another, being conſcious of their own Weakneſs, either did receive, or, at leaſt, did not reject Security, brought home to their Doors, eſpecially, it being mix'd with Gain and Pleaſure to boot, which are its uſual Companions. But this Pollution of Manners did moſtly infect the great ones, and the *Prieſts*. Among the *Vulgar*, many Tokens of their former Moderation do yet remain. The Sea is there very raging and tempeſtuous, which is cauſed, not only by the Violence of Winds, and the Poſition of the heavenly Conſtellations: But alſo by the Meetings of contrary Tides, raiſed up, and flowing in from the *Weſt* Ocean, and making ſuch a Conflict between the Streights of the Land, that the Surges, occaſioned thereby, ſometimes meeting, oppoſite one to another, and being all impetuouſly whirled together, cannot be paſſed, neither by Oars nor Sails: If any Mariners dare come too near, one of theſe three Miſchiefs befals them. They are either driven back, with a forcible Violence, into the Sea; or elſe by the Rapidity of the foaming Waves, they are daſhed upon Shelves and Rocks: Or laſtly, are ſwallowed up by the rolling *Vortices* of the ingulphing Waters. There are only two Seaſons, wherein theſe *Streights* are paſſable; either, when, upon the falling back of the Tides, the Conflict of Waters ceaſing, the Sea is thereby calmed; or elſe when it comes in a full Chanel,

to

to the height of its Increaſe at Spring-Tides, that Force languiſhing, on both ſides, which raiſed and made the Waters tempeſtuous and ſtormy; the Ocean, as it were, ſounding a Retreat to its Storms, and thereupon the mountainous Surges do retire (if I may ſo ſpeak) into their own proper Caverns and Receſſes.

MOREOVER, *Authors* do not agree concerning the Number of the *Orcades*; *Pliny* reckons them to be forty; others, about thirty; but *Oroſius* comes neareſt the Truth; he makes them thirty three, of which thirteen are inhabited; the reſt not; but left to feed Cattle. For many of them are low, and ſo narrow in Compaſs, that, if they ſhould be tilled, they would ſcarce maintain above one Perſon or two. Some of them ſhew like bare Rocks, or elſe ſuch as are covered but with a rotten kind of black Moſs.

THE biggeſt Iſle of the *Orcades*, is call'd by many of the Ancients *Pomona*; at this Day they call it the *Main-land*, becauſe it exceeds the reſt ſo much in Bigneſs; for it is thirty Miles long; it is well inhabited, for it hath twelve Pariſh Churches, and one Town beſides; which the *Danes*, who were long Maſters of the *Orcades*, called *Cracoviaca*; we *Scotchmen*, call it by a corrupt Name, *Kirkwall*. In this Town there are two Caſtles of a reaſonable Bigneſs, ſtanding near together, one belonging to the *King*, the other to the Biſhop. And between them is a *Church*, magnificent enough for thoſe Places; Between the *Church* and the Caſtles, there are frequent Buildings on both Sides, which the Inhabitants call two Cities, one the *King's*, the other the *Biſhop's*. The whole Iſle runs out into Promontories, between which the Bays of the Sea making an Influx, do afford ſafe anchoring for Ships, and here and there a good Port. In ſix ſeveral Places of this Iſland there are Metals, *i. e. White* and *Black Lead*, ſo good, that there are not better in all *Britain*. This Iſland is about twenty four Miles diſtant from *Caithneſs*. The *Pictiſh* Sea, called *Pentland* Firth, running between them; of whoſe Nature we have ſpoken before.

IN that narrow Sea, there are many ſcattered Iſlands, of which *Strom-oy*, not unfruitful for the Bigneſs of it, is diſtant from *Caithneſs* but a Mile, but they do not reckon that amongſt the *Orcades*, becauſe of its Propinquity to the *Britiſh* Shore; and becauſe the *Earls* of *Caithneſs* have always been *Lords* of it. Sailing from hence towards the *North*, we meet with *South Ranalds*, or *Ranals-Oy*, the firſt of the *Orcades*, which is ſixteen Miles from *Dungſby-head*; Skiffs and ſmall Ships paſs over in two Hours from it, to this Iſland, the Tide being with them, though there be no Wind, ſuch is the

the Violence of this Current. This Iſland is four Miles in Length, and it hath a convenient Port, Sirnam'd St. *Margaret's Hope*. A little *Eaſtward* of it are two ſmall Iſlands, uninhabited, and left for Cattle to paſture in. They call them in their Country Speech, the *Holmes*, that is, Graſſy Plains ſituate by Waters. To the *North*, is the Iſland *Burra*, and two *Holmes* between *That* and *Mainland*. From *Burra* toward the *Weſt*, there lie three Iſlands in order, *Souna*, *Flata* and *Fara*; and beyond them, *Hoia*, and *Valis* or *Waes-Iſle*, which ſome make two, others but one Iſland, becauſe about both the Equinoctis (at which times the Sea doth moſt tempeſtuouſly foam and rage) the Tide falling back, and the Lands being bared, they ſtick together, and are joyned by a narrow Neck of Land, and ſo make one Iſland; but upon the return of the Tide, and the Sea coming afreſh between them, they again repreſent the form of two. In this Iſland are the higheſt Mountains of all the *Orcades*. *Hoia* and *Waes Iſle* are extended ten Miles in Length, and from *Ranalſa*, they are diſtant eight Miles; from *Duncansby* or *Dungisby*, in *Caithneſs*, above twenty Miles. On the *North* is the Iſland *Graniſa*, ſituate in a very narrow Arm of the Sea. For *Hoia* is diſtant from the neareſt Promontory, which is that of *Pomona*, or *Mainland*, only two Miles. Theſe are the Iſlands ſituate in the very Streights, between *Mainland* and *Caithneſs*. The *Weſt* ſide of *Mainland* looks to the open Sea, no Iſlands or Rocks appearing there: From its *Eaſt* Promontory it runs a little out into the Sea; *Coupins-Oy*, almoſt covers it on the *North*. Nearer the Shore is *Siapins-Oy*, ſomewhat inclining to the *Eaſt*, ſituate over-againſt *Kirkwall*, two Miles diſtant, it ſelf being ſix Miles long. On the *Weſt* part of *Mainland*, lies *Rows-Oy*, ſix Miles in Length. From thence toward the *Eaſt* ſtands *Egliſa*, or *Eglis-Oy*, where Fame Reports, that St. *Magnus* was buried. From hence to the *Southward*, lie *Wyer-Oy*, and *Greſs-Oy*, and not far from thence *Weſter-Oy*, which is eighty Miles diſtant from *Schetland*. *Papa*, and *Stronza*, are alſo eighty Miles diſtant from *Schetland*. Almoſt in the middle of the Paſſage between them lies *Fara*, or *Fair Iſle*, which is conſpicuous and viſible both from the *Orcades*, and from *Schetland* too; for it riſes into three very high Promontories, ſurrounded with lofty Rocks, every way inacceſſible, ſave that toward the *North Eaſt*, it being a little lower, affords an Harbour ſafe enough for ſmall Ships. The Inhabitants thereof are very poor; for the Fiſhermen, which Sail that way every Year, coming to fiſh from *England*, *Holland*, and other Countries near the Sea, do plunder and carry away what they pleaſe.

THE

THE next after it, is the greateſt Iſland of the *Schetlandiſh*, and therefore the Inhabitants call it the *Continent* or *Mainland*; it is ſixty Miles in Length, and in ſome places ſixteen in Breadth; it ſpreads it ſelf into many ſmall Promontories: Two of them I ſhall name, the one long, but narrow, running to the *North*; the other broader, running to the *South-Eaſt*. The maritime parts of it are, for the moſt part, inhabited; but to the inward parts no Animal comes but Fowl. Some few Years ſince, the Inhabitants endeavoured to form Plantations, farther than their Anceſtors had done, but the Succeſs did not anſwer. Their Wealth is from the Sea, for it lies convenient for Fiſhing on every Side.

TEN Miles farther toward the *North*, is the Iſle *Zeal*, or *Yell*, above twenty Miles long, and eight broad; ſo uncouth a Place, that no Creature can live therein, unleſs he be born there. A Merchant of *Breme* is reported to dwell in this Iſland, who doth import all ſorts of foreign Wares (which the Inhabitants have need of) in great Abundance. Between this *Iſland* and *Mainland*, lie theſe ſmall Iſlands, *Linga*, *Orna*, *Bigga*, *Sanctterry*. About nine Miles beyond it, to the *North*, ſtands *Vuiſt*, extended above twenty Miles in Length, and ſix in Breadth. It is of a plain and level Soil, neither is it any otherwiſe unſightly to the Eye, but that it is ſurrounded with a very raging Sea. Between this and *Yell*, lies *Via*, *Vra*, *Linga*; beyond it toward the *Weſt*, are the *Skerrys* and *Burra*; on the *Eaſt* is *Balta*, *Honnega*, *Fotlara*, or *Pheodor-oy*, ſeven Miles long, diſtant ſeven Miles from *Vuiſt*, and eight from *Yell*; 'tis over-againſt the *Streights* which divide *Vuiſt* from *Yell*. Then many Petty Iſlands lie on the *Eaſt* ſide of the *Mainland*, as *Mecla*, the three *Eaſtern Skirrys*, *Chualſa*, or *Whals-Oy*, *Noſtvada*, *Braſa*, and *Muſa*; the *Weſt* ſide is ſurrounded by the *Weſtern Skirrys*, *Rotti*, *Papa* the leſs, *Vemendru*, *Papa* the greater, *Vallu*, *Trons* Iſle, *Burra*, *Hara* the greater, *Hara* the leſs, and amongſt them lie intermingled almoſt as many *Holmes*, or *Plain Iſlands*, for Paſturage only.

THE *Schetlanders* live after the ſame manner, as the *Iſlanders* of the *Orcades* do, ſave that, as to their Houſhold Proviſion, they are a little more hardy. Their Apparel is after the *German* Faſhion, which, according to their Abilities, is not uncomely. Their Incomes ariſe from a ſort of Cloth, which they make very thick, and ſell to the *Norwegians*; as alſo from Oil, preſs'd out of the Inwards of Fiſhes; from their Butter, and from their Fiſheries: They fiſh in ſmall Veſſels of two Oars, which they buy of the *Norwegians*. Part of the Fiſh which they catch they Salt, and part they dry

dry in the Wind. Out of thoſe being ſold, they raiſe up a Sum of Money to pay their *Tribute*, and to provide Houſes, where they dwell, and Houſhold Stuff, ſo that a great part of their Livelihood ariſes from thence. They who ſtudy Neatneſs in their domeſtick Utenſils, are accuſtomed to have ſome Plate in their Houſes. They uſe Meaſures, Numbers and Weights, after the *German* Faſhion. Their Language is alſo *German*, or almoſt the ancient *Gothick*. They know not what it is to be drunk, only every Month they invite one another, and on thoſe days they are innocently merry and jocund, without thoſe Brawls and other Vices, which are occaſioned by Drunkenneſs; for they perſuade themſelves that this Cuſtom contributes much for the maintaining of mutual Friendſhip. The Firmneſs of their Health appeared in one nam'd *Lawrence* in our Age, who, after he was an hundred Years old, married a Wife. And when he was an Hundred and forty, he uſed to fiſh with his *Skiff*, even in a very rough and raging Sea; he died but lately, not by the Shock of any grievous Diſeaſe, but only by the Infirmities and Languiſhings of old Age.

THE

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK II.

WHEN I endeavour'd to retrieve the Memory of *Britiſh* Affairs, for above two thouſand Years paſt, many Impediments offered in Bar to my Deſign; amongſt which this was the chief, that there were for a long time no Monuments of *Learning* in thoſe Countries, from which the Knowledge of our *Original* was to be derived; and when Letters came, though but late, into play, they were nipp'd almoſt in the very Bud; for I may ſafely affirm, that all the Nations, which hitherto have ſeated themſelves in *Britain*, came thither from *France*, *Spain* and *Germany*. The *French* firſt of all received the writing Characters of Letters from

from the *Marſellian Greeks*, by which they uſed to make up their Accounts, and to ſend Letters one to another. Alphabets, or the Figures which every Letter bore, were *Greek*, but the Language was *Gallick*. But they did not commit their Laws, and the Rites of their Religion, to writing; no not in *Julius Cæſar*'s time; and much leſs did they record their noble Exploits, which yet, 'tis mighty probable, were very conſiderably great; and thoſe things which were either acted, or ſuffered, or elſe undergone in *Italy*, *Germany*, *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Græcia*, and *Aſia*, had been buried likewiſe in the ſame Oblivion, (ſo that Poſterity would never have come to the Knowledge of them,) if *foreign* Writers had not recorded and tranſmitted them down to us. I confeſs, in *Spain*, the *Greeks* had the uſe of Letters; and before them, the *Phœnicians*, who inhabited the Shore of the *Mediterranean* Sea: But of the *Barbarians*, only the *Turdetani* (as *Strabo* writes) had any Knowledge of them. But as for any ancient Writer, there was yet none that I know of. For *Varro*, *Pliny*, and if there were any other *Latin* Authors, who touched any thing, by the by, concerning the firſt Inhabitants of *Spain*, they confirm their Opinions therein, rather by bare Conjectures, than the ſolid Teſtimony of Writers: In that part of *Britain* which *Cæſar* viſited, there were no ancient Records at all; and among the farther inland Inhabitants, which were ſtill more barbarous, they were much leſs to be expected. So that when he asked them concerning the *Origin* of their *Nation*, and its moſt ancient Inhabitants, as he writes, they return'd him no certain Anſwer at all.

AFTER *Cæſar*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, an Author both faithful and diligent, tho' the *Roman Navy* had then courſed about *Britain*, and had diſcovered all its inmoſt Roads and Receſſes, could however find out nothing of certainty, nothing that he would venture to commit to Poſterity. Moreover *Gildas*, who lived above four hundred Years after *Tacitus*, doth affirm, that what he writes was not from any Monuments of Antiquity, of which he could find none at all, but from Reports abroad that he gather'd beyond Sea. As for *Germany*, that Country was furniſhed with Learning laſt of all; but ſeeing ſhe had nothing to produce out of old Records, which could be avouched for Truth, according to her wonted Ingenuity in other Caſes, ſhe coined no Fictions of her own, to obtrude upon the World. So then, they who affirm, that they deduce the Original of the *Britons* from old *Annals*, muſt firſt tell us, who tranſmitted down thoſe *Annals* to us? As alſo, where they have been concealed ſo long? And how they came down uncorrupted to us, after ſo many

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ny Ages? In this caſe, ſome fly to the *Bards* and *Sanachies*, as the Preſervers of ancient Records, but very ridiculouſly; which will be more clearly underſtood, if I explain what kind of Men theſe were, to whom they would have Credit to be given, in Matters of ſo great Moment, and thoſe ſo obſcure too, and ſo remote from our Memory. Firſt *Strabo* and *Ammianus* deſcribe to us very plainly what the *Bards* were, both before, and alſo in their Times. But *Lucan* doth it very clearly and diſtinctly, as far as ſuits our preſent Purpoſe, in theſe Verſes,

Vos quoque qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas,
Laudibus in longum, Vates, diffunditis ævum,
Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina, Bardi.

Engliſhed thus:

Ye Bards, *ſuch valiant Souls, as fall in War,*
Perpetuate with Rhimes, and Praiſes rare.

BUT the very oldeſt of them were altogether ignorant of Letters, neither did they leave any Records of ancient Matters behind them.

THE other were *Bardlings* or *Sanachies*, (as they call them) which were maintain'd by the Chiefs of the ancient Clans, and by ſome wealthy Men beſides, one a piece, on purpoſe to recite Verſes (by Heart) ſacred to the Memories of their Patrons, and the Atchievements of their Anceſtors, from their very firſt Riſe. But theſe too, having no Learning at all, let any Man judge what Credit is to be given to them, whoſe Hopes and Subſiſtence did totally depend upon ſoothing and flattering others. Beſides, tho' all that they deliver were moſt true, yet ſmall would be the Advantage to the *Writer* of an *Hiſtory*: Laſtly, let us conſider, how often the *Writers* of ſuch famous Deeds as are paſt, are found in manifeſt Miſtakes; how often they themſelves waver, doubt, fluctuate, and are at a loſs; how vaſtly ſome of them differ from others, and how many even are found contradicting themſelves. If ſuch Errors are incident even to thoſe who ſeek after Truth, with great Labour and Study, what can we hope for, from ſuch other Perſons, who being without Learning (by which they who caſually miſtake, may be better informed, and thoſe who miſtake on purpoſe, may be confronted,) put their whole Truſt in their Memory alone? I might alledge, that the Memory is oftentimes impaired by Diſuſe; it is weakned by Age; or wholly loſt by ſome Diſ-

caſes. Beſides, if they have a Deſire to pleaſe their Patrons, (as it often comes to paſs) or, on the contrary, if they have a mind to croſs them; or, if the Paſſions of Anger, Hatred, or Envy intervene, (which pervert the Judgment) who can affirm any thing for Truth upon ſuch Mens Authorities? Or, who would take the Pains to refute it, though improv'd falſe? Or, who would deliver down for *certain*, what he received from ſuch *uncertain* Authors? Wherefore, where the old Writers are ſo generally ſilent (concerning Matters of Antiquity) who were all ſo egregiouſly ignorant, even of things acted in their own Times, there being nothing aſſuredly true and ſincere, I count it more modeſt, to be ſilent in what one knows not, than by deviſing Falſhoods to betray ones own Ignorance, and to ſlight and deſpiſe the better Judgments of other Men.

IT follows then, that there was ſo great a Scarcity of *Writers* amongſt all the Nations of the *Britons*, that, before the coming in of the *Romans*, all things were buried in the profound Darkneſs of an univerſal Silence; inſomuch, that we can get no Information of what was acted, even by the *Romans* themſelves, otherwiſe than from *Greek* and *Latin* Monuments; and as for thoſe things which preceded their coming, we may rather believe their Conjectures, than our own Fictions. For what our *Writers* have delivered, every one concerning the Original of his own Sept or Nation, is ſo abſurd, that I ſhould have counted my time loſt to go about to refel it, unleſs there were ſome who delighted in ſuch Fables, as if they were as true as Goſpel, and ſo prided themſelves with the Ornaments of other Mens Feathers.

MOREOVER, the Diſagreement of later *Writers* makes a great Acceſſion to the Difficulty of this Task, for they deliver ſuch Repugnancies, that a Man cannot well tell whom to follow; nay, there is ſuch an Abſurdity amongſt them, that all of them ſeem to deſerve no other Notice but that of Contempt. Neither do I ſo much wonder at the Silence of the *Ancients* in a matter ſo obſcure, or the Diſagreements among *later* Writers in feigning Falſhoods; as I do at the agreeing Impudence of ſome few: For they write of thoſe Times in which all things were dubious and uncertain, with ſo much Poſitiveneſs and Confidence, as if their Deſign was rather to court and tickle the Reader's Ear, than to ſhew the leaſt regard to Truth in their Narratives.

FOR in thoſe early Times, when the Uſe of Tillage was not common, neither among the *Britons*, nor many other Nations; but all their Wealth conſiſted in their Cattle, Men had no Regard to their Subſtance, which was very ſmall, be-

cauſe they were either expelled from their Habitations by ſuch as were more powerful than themſelves; or, they themſelves drove out the weaker; or elſe they ſought out better Paſture for their Cattle in wild and deſert Places: Upon one or other of theſe Grounds they eaſily changed their Dwellings; and the Places they removed to, ſoon got new Names with their new Maſters. Beſides, the Ambition of the wealthier Sort added much to the Difficulty, who, to perpetuate their Memory to Poſterity, called Countries, Provinces, and Towns by their own Names. Almoſt all the Cities in *Spain* had two Names; the Names of the Inhabitants in it, and alſo the Names of the Cities and Countries therein, received frequent Alterations. Not to ſpeak of *Egypt*, *Greece*, and other remote *Countries*.

Sæpius & nomen poſuit Saturnia tellus.

Fair Italy *(ſays Fame,)*
Full oft hath chang'd her Name.

ADD hereunto, that thoſe Nations, who live in the ſame *Country*, have not always the ſame *Names*. That which the *Latins* call *Hiſpania*; the *Greeks*, *Iberia*; the Poets *Heſperia*; St. *Paul* in his Epiſtle, *Theodoret* and *Sozomen* in their Hiſtory, call *Spania*, *i. e. Spain*. The Name of the *Greeks*, ſo celebrated by the *Latins*, and all Nations of *Europe*, is more obſcure than the *Greeks* themſelves. The *Hebrews* and *Arabians* keep their old Words, almoſt in all Nations, which were not ſo much as heard of by other People. *Scot* and *Engliſh* are the common Names of the *Britiſh* Nations, which, at this Day, are almoſt unknown to the ancient *Scots*, and *Britons*; for they call the one *Albines*, the other *Saxons*. And therefore 'tis no wonder, if, in ſo great an Uncertainty of Human Affairs, as to the Names of Men and Places; *Writers*, who were born at ſeveral times, far diſtant one from another, and having different Languages, and Manners too, do not always agree amongſt themſelves. Though theſe things have occaſioned Difficulties great enough, in ſearching out the firſt Original of Nations; yet ſome of the Moderns too, being acted by a Principle of Ambition, have involved all things in more thick and palpable Darkneſs. For, whilſt every one would fetch the *Original* of his Nation, as high as he could; and ſo endeavour to ennoble it by deviſed Fables, by this immoderate Licence of coining Fictions, what do they but *obſcure* that, which they ought to *illuſtrate*? And, if at any time they ſpeak *Truth*, yet, by their frequent and ridiculous Untruths, at other times, they

detract from their own Credit; and are so far from obtaining that Esteem, which they hoped for, that, by reason of their Falshoods, they are laughed at, even by those whom they endeavoured to cajole into an Assent.

To make this plain, I will first begin, as with the *ancientest* Nation, so from the most notorious and impudent Falshood. They who compiled a *new History* of the ancient *Britons*, having interpolated the Fable of the *Danaides*, proceed farther to feign, that one *Diocletian*, King of *Syria*, begat 33 Daughters on his Wife *Labana*; who killing their Husbands on their wedding Night, their *Father* crowded them all together into one Ship, without any *Master* or *Pilot*; who, arriving in *Britain*, then but a Desert, did not only live solitarily in that cold Country, and not very full of Fruits growing of their own accord neither; but also by the Compression of *Cacodæmons*, forsooth, they brought forth *Giants*, whose Race continued 'till the Arrival of *Brutus*. They say the Island was called *Albion* from *Albine*, and that *Brutus* was the Nephew's Son of *Æneas* the *Trojan*, and the Son of *Æneas Sylvius*. This *Brutus* having accidentally killed his Father with a Dart, it was looked upon as a lamentable and piteous Fact by all Men; yet, because it was not done on purpose, the Punishment of Death was remitted, and Banishment either enjoined, or voluntarily undertaken by him. This Parricide having consulted the Oracle of *Diana*, and having run various Hazards thro' so many Lands and Seas, after ten Years arrived in *Britain*, with a great number of Followers; and by many Combats having conquered the terrible Giants in *Albion*, he gain'd the Empire of the whole Island. He had three Sons, (as they proceed to Fable) *Locrinus*, *Albanactus*, and *Camber*, between whom the Island was divided; *Albanactus* ruled over the *Albans*, afterwards called *Scots*; *Camber* over the *Cambrians*, *i. e.* the *Welsh*: They both governed their several Precincts (as Viceroys) yet so, as that *Locrinus* had supreme Dominion; who, being Ruler of the rest of the *Britons*, gave the Name of * *Loegria* to his part. Later Writers, that they might also propagate this fabulous Empire as much as they could, do make this Addition to it, that *Vendelina* succeeded her Father *Locrinus*; *Madanus*, *Vendelina*; *Menpricius*, *Madanus*; and *Ebrancus*, *Menpricius*; which later, of twenty Wives begat as many Sons, of which nineteen went over into *Germany*, and by Force of Arms conquered that Country; being assisted by the Forces of their Kinsman, *Alba Sylvius*; and from those Brothers the

* An old Name for *England*.

Country

Country was called *Germany*. Theſe are the things which the *Britons*, and after them, ſome of the *Engliſh*, have deliver'd concerning the firſt Inhabitants of *Britain*.

HERE I cannot but ſtand amazed at their Deſign, who might eaſily, and without any Reflection at all, have imitated the *Athenians*, *Arcadians*, and other famous *Nations*, and have called themſelves *Indigenæ*, ſeeing it would have been no Diſgrace to them to own that Origin, which the nobleſt and wiſeſt City in the whole World counted her Glory; eſpecially, ſince that Opinion could not be refuted out of ancient *Writers*, and had no mean *Aſſertors* beſides; yet, that they had rather forge Anceſtors to themſelves, from the *Refuſe* of all Nations, whom the very Series of the Narration itſelf did make ſuſpected, even to the unskilful Vulgar: and alſo none of the Ancients, no, not by the meaneſt Suſpicion, did confirm. Beſides, if that had not pleaſed them, ſeeing it was free for them, (as ſome of the *Poets* have writ) to have aſſumed honourable Anceſtors to themſelves, out of any old Books; I wonder in my Heart what was in their Minds, to make choice of ſuch, of whom all their Poſterity might juſtly be aſhamed. For what great Folly is it, to think nothing illuſtrious or magnificent but what is profligate and flagitious, or, at leaſt, but a ſize below it; yet ſome there are, that value themſelves, among the ignorant, upon the ſcore of ſuch Trifles; as for *John Annius*, a Man, I grant, not unlearned, I think he may be pardoned, ſeeing Poets claim a Liberty to celebrate the Original of Families, and Nations, with the Mixture of Figments; but 'tis not equal to allow the ſame Privilege to thoſe who undertake, profeſſedly, to write an Hiſtory.

TO begin then fartheſt off: What is more abhorrent from all Belief, than that a few *Girls*, without the Help of Men to manage their Veſſel, ſhould come from *Syria*, through ſo many Seas, which Voyage, even now a-days (when Men have attain'd, by Uſe and Cuſtom, more Skill in Navigation) is yet hazardous, (tho' with a brave and well-furniſhed Navy) to the fag end, as it were, of the World, and into a deſolate Iſland too; and there to live without Corn or Fruits of Trees? Nay, that ſuch Ladies of a Royal Stock ſhould, not only barely maintain their Lives, in ſo cold a Climate, deſtitute of all things, but alſo ſhould bring forth Giants; and that their Copulations, or Marriages, might not ſeem unſuitable to their State, that they were got with Child (would you think it?) by *Cacodæmons*? As for that *Diocletian*, pray, at what time, and in what part of *Syria* did he reign? How come it to paſs, that *Authors* make no mention of him,

eſpecially ſince the Affairs of no Nation are more diligently tranſmitted to Poſterity, than thoſe of the *Syrians* are? How came he to be called *Diocletian*? Certainly that Name took its Riſe a thouſand Years after him, amongſt the *Barbarians*, and being originally *Greek*, is declined after the *Latin* form.

THE next Acceſſion of Nobility, forſooth, is *Brutus*, the Parricide, that he ſo might not, in that reſpect, be inferior to *Romulus*. This *Brutus*, whatſoever he were, whom the *Britons* make the Author of their Name and Nation, with what Forces, with what Commerce of Language, could he penetrate ſo far into *Britain*? Eſpecially in thoſe Times, when the *Roman* Arms, even in the moſt flouriſhing State of their Commonwealth, having conquer'd almoſt all the World beſides, could ſcarce come: For it is needleſs to mention, how, before *Rome* was built, the Affairs of *Italy* were at a very low ebb; and how the Inhabitants thereof were averſe from all Peregrination and Travel. Neither need I enquire, whether he came by Land, or Sea? the *Alps*, till that time, were pervious only to *Hercules*; and the *Gauls*, by reaſon of their natural Fierceneſs, were as yet unacquainted with the Converſe of Forcigners. As for Sea Voyages, the *Carthaginians* and the *Greeks* inhabiting *Marſeilles*, ſcarce dared to venture into the *Ocean*, but very late, and when things were well ſettled at Home; and, even then, their Voyages were rather for Diſcovery, than Conqueſt; much leſs can we believe, that *Alban*-Shepherds, a wildiſh ſort of People, would undertake ſo bold an Attempt. Beſides, all Men, who are not ignorant of *Latin*, do know, that the Name of *Brutus* began to be celebrated under *Tarquinius Superbus*, almoſt five hundred Years after that *Commentitious Brutus*; when *Lucius Junius*, a Nobleman, laying aſide his native Grandeur, condeſcended to do things far below himſelf, on purpoſe to avoid the Cruelty of their *Kings*; and, on pretence of being *fooliſh*, he took that new Sirname to himſelf, and tranſmitted it to his Poſterity. But the *Monk*, who was the Forger and Deviſer of this Fable of *Brutus*, ſeemed to ſee the Abſurdity of the Invention himſelf; yea he thought to ſtop all Mens Mouths with the pretence of Religion, forſooth, in the Caſe, and would have every Body think, that they obeyed the Oracle of *Diana*. Here I will not be nice in inquiring why this Oracle of *Diana* was unknown to Poſterity, when the Oracles of *Faunus*, of *Sybilla*, and the *Prænestine Vaticinations*, or Lots, were then in ſo great Credit.

I will only aſk, In what Language did *Diana* anſwer? If they ſay, in *Latin*; I demand, How *Brutus* could underſtand

ſtand a Language, which began nine hundred Years after his time? For, ſince *Horace*, a very learned Man, doth ingenuouſly confeſs, that he did not underſtand the *Saliar* Rhymes, which were made in the Reign of *Numa Pompilius*, How could that *Brutus*, who died ſo many Years before the Prieſts called *Salii* were inſtituted, underſtand *Verſes*, made long after *Horace* his time, as the Tenor of their Compoſure doth ſhew? Beſides, how could the Poſterity of *Brutus*, ſo totally forget the *Latin* Tongue, that not the leaſt Footſteps of it ſhould remain amongſt them? And whence got they that Language which they now uſe? Or, if it be granted, that their (ſuppoſed) *Gods*, as well as their *Men*, *then* ſpoke *Britiſh* in *Italy*, yet ſurely it was not the Tongue the *Britons* now make uſe of; for that is ſo patch'd up of the Languages of the Neighbour Nations, that ſeveral Countries may know and own their own Words upon the firſt hearing. But if they ſay, that thoſe ancient *Latins* ſpoke *Britiſh*, how could that *Monk* underſtand ſo old a Word, which was given out 2000 Years before? But why do I proſecute theſe things ſo particularly, ſince it appears by many other Arguments alſo, that the ſame *Monk* forged this whole Story, and begat ſuch a *Brutus*, (in his own Brain) as never was in Nature; and alſo deviſed the Oracle of *Diana* too? I ſhall add the Verſes themſelves, that the Vanity of ſuch cunning Sophiſters may be ſet in the fulleſt Light.

Brutus's Addreſs to the Oracle.

Diva, potens nemorum, Terror Syluęſtribus apris,
Cui licet anfractus ire per ætherios,
Infernaſque domos: Terreſtria Jura reſolve,
Et dic, quas terras nos habitare velis.
Dic certam ſedem, quâ te veneremur in ævum,
Quâ tibi Virgineis Templa dicabo choris.

Engliſhed thus:

Goddeſs of Groves, and wild Boars Chaſe,
Who doſt th' Etherial Manſions trace,
And Pluto's too; Reſolve this Doubt,
Tell me, what Country to find out,
Where I may fix, where Temples raiſe,
For Virgin-Choirs to ſing thy Praiſe.

The Oracle's Answer.

DIANA answers in Verses of the same kind, (so that they must needs be made by one and the same Poet) not perplexed and ambiguous ones; or, such as may be interpreted divers ways, but clear and perspicuous ones, wherein she promiseth that which she could never give, *viz.* The *Empire of the whole World.*

Brute, *sub Occasum Solis trans* Gallica *regna,*
Insula in Oceano est, undique cincta mari.
Insula in Oceano est, habitata Gigantibus olim,
Nunc deserta quidem, Gentibus apta tuis.
Hanc pete, namque tibi Sedes erit illa perennis,
Hæc fiet natis altera Troja tuis;
Hic de prole tuâ Reges nascentur, & illis
Totius Terræ subditus Orbis erit.

Rendred thus:

Beyond proud Gallia's *wide-extended Lines,*
Where sets the Sun, but large its Glory shines;
An Isle do's in the circling Ocean stand,
And Giants once inhabited the Land;
Now desolate it wants a Regal Guest,
And courts thy People to a Seat of Rest.
Go, Brutus, *go, and make that Realm thy own,*
Where endless Empire greets thee to the Throne;
There thy long Offspring shall behold with Joy
A rising Nation, and a second Troy;
And to that Height promote its sceptred Sway,
The vanquish'd World shall willingly obey.

I suppose, by these *Verses*, compared with the *Histories*, the whole Forgery will be discovered, and that plainly enough. For, besides the vain Promises on both sides, the Rhymes say, that the *Island* was not *then* inhabited but desolate, but that it was inhabited *before:* But where, [illegible] then, were those portentous Figments of *Gog-magog* a[illegible] *tagol*, and other frightful Names of Men, invented fo[illegible] *ror*, (shall I say) or for *Laughter*, rather? What w[illegible] come of those doughty Combats of *Corineus*, and [illegible] the Companions of *Brutus*, against not the *Earth-born* [illegible] *Hell-born*, *Giants*? Thus far concerning *Brutus*, an[illegible] Oracle.

Thou[illegible]

THOUGH theſe be ſo great Fictions, yet Poſterity is ſo little aſhamed of them, that, but a few Years ago, no mean *Writer* amongſt them hath impudently feigned, That the *Trojans* ſpoke the *Britiſh Language*. *Homer* and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, very eaſily refute the Vanity of this ſhameleſs Opinion: For the one gives *Greek* Names to all the *Trojans*; the other in a long and ſerious Diſputation, maintains, that the *Trojans* were originally *Greeks*. I paſs by this Conſideration, that when *Brutus* arrived in *England* with no great Train, how within the ſpace of twenty Years he could eſtabliſh three Kingdoms; and how they, who, all of them put together at firſt, could ſcarce make up the Number of one mean Colony, ſhould in ſo ſhort a time People an Iſland the biggeſt in the whole World, and furniſh it not only with Villages and Cities, but ſet up in it three large Kingdoms alſo; nay, who a while after, it ſeems, grew ſo numerous, that *Britain* could not contain them, but they were forced to tranſport themſelves into the large Country of *Germany*; where, overcoming the Inhabitants, they compelled them to aſſume their own Name, which was not a *Britiſh*, but a *Latin* one; and ſo from thoſe nineteen Brothers, forſooth, (which indeed were not properly *own Brothers*, as we ſay, for almoſt each of them had a ſeveral Mother,) that the Country ſhould be called *Germany*. I have related this Fable, as abſurd as it is, not to take the Pains to refute it, but to leave it to the *Germans* themſelves for Sport and Ridicule.

THIS in general concerning the Fables of the *Britons*. But the intent of thoſe who deviſed them, ſeems not very obſcure to me; for that monſtrous Fiction of *Devils* lying with Virgins, ſeems to have this Tendency, *viz.* That they might either prove an Alliance between their *Brutus*, and two of the greateſt neighbouring Nations; or elſe, that they might vye with them in the Nobility of their Original. For the *Gauls* affirmed, (as *Cæſar* hath it) that they were deſcended from Father *Pluto*; and ſo did the *Germans*, according to *Tacitus*. The cauſe of deviſing this Figment, concerning *Brutus*, ſeems to be alike. For ſeeing the *Buthrotii* in *Epirus*, other People in *Sicily*; The *Romans*, *Campanians*, and *Sul[illegible]ſes* in *Italy*; The *Averni*, *Hedui*, *Sequani*, and laſt o[illegible] *Tro[illegible]es* in *Gaul*, celebrated, I know not what, *Tro[illegible]* their Founders. The Writers of *Britiſh* Affairs [illegible]t likewiſe very conducive to the Advancement of the [illegible]y of their Nation, if they derived its Original too, from [illegible]y Archives of *Antiquity*, and eſpecially from the *Tro-*. [illegible]ther becauſe of the Renown of that City, which was

praiſed by almoſt all Nations; or elſe, by reaſon of its Alliance with ſo many Nations, which are ſaid to have ſtarted up, as it were, out of the ſame common Shipwrack of that one Town. Neither did they think themſelves guilty of any Effrontery in the Falſhood, if they partook a little of the (feigned) Nobility, which grew, by the ſame Artifice, common to ſo many Nations, beſides themſelves. Hence aroſe, as I judge, the Fiction of *Brutus*, and other Fables of an older Date, which was as impudently deviſed, as it was fooliſhly received; it will, perhaps, be enough to ſhew the Vanity of all thoſe things, to put the *Reader* in mind, that they were unknown to *ancient Writers*; that when Learning flouriſhed; they dared not peep abroad, that they were coined in its Decay, recorded by unlearned *Flatterers*, and entertain'd by ignorant, and too credulous Perſons, who did not underſtand the Frauds of ſuch deluding Authors. For ſuch is the Diſpoſition of thoſe *Impoſtors*, who do not ſeek the publick Good by a true Hiſtory, but ſome private Advantage by Flattery, that when they ſeem highly to praiſe, then they moſt of all deride and jeer. For what do they elſe, who, pretending to advance the Nobility of a People, for its greater Splendor, fetch it from the Skum and Riffraff of Nature? And yet credulous, (ſhall I ſay?) or not rather ſottiſh Perſons, pride themſelves in a pretended Eminency of an Original, for which none of their Neighbours will envy them.

THOSE alſo, who have written of the *Scotch* Affairs, have delivered down to us a more creditable and noble Origin, as they think, but no leſs fabulous than that of the *Britons*. For they have adopted Anceſtors to us, not from the *Trojan Fugitives*, but from thoſe *Greek* Heroes, whoſe Poſterity conquered *Troy*. For, ſeeing in thoſe ancient Times, two Nations of the *Greeks* were moſt of all celebrated, the *Dores* and the *Jones*, and the Princes of the *Dores* were the *Argivi*; and of the *Jones*, the *Athenians*. The *Scots* make one *Gathelus* to be the chief Founder of their Nation, but whether he were the Son of *Argus*, or of *Cecrops*, that they leave in doubt; and that they may not be inferior on this Account, to the Eminency of the *Romans*, they added to him a ſtrong Band of *Robbers*, with which he going into *Egypt*, perform'd gallant Exploits, and after the Departure (would you think it?) of *Moſes*, was made *General* of the King's Forces, [illegible] Land. And that afterwards, with his Wife *Scota*, the [illegible] ter of the *King of Egypt*, he ſailed about the whole S[illegible] *Europe*, adjacent to the *Mediterranean* Sea; and havi[illegible] ſed thro' ſo many Countries, which were deſolate [illegible] Age, or elſe, inhabited but by few, and in few Plac[illegible]

Gr[illegible]

Greece, *Italy*, *France*, (not to mention the numerous *Iſlands* of the *Mediterranean* Sea,) ſome will have him to land at the River *Iberus*; but leaving that Country which he could not keep, they draw him on farther to *Galæcia*, a Country much more barren. Some land him at the Mouth of the River *Durius*, being the firſt of all Men, as I ſuppoſe, who adventured into the Ocean with a Navy of Ships; and that there he built a brave Town, which is now called from his Name *Portus Gatheli*, or *Port a Port*; whence the whole Country, which from *Luſus* and *Luſa*, the Children of *Bacchus*, was a long time called *Luſitania*, began to be called *Portugal*; and afterwards being forced to paſs into *Galæcia*, he there built *Brigantia*, now called *Compoſtella*; alſo that *Braga* in *Portugal* was built by him, at the Mouth of the River *Munda*.

THESE are the things which the *Scots* have fabulouſly written concerning the Original of their Nation. In feigning of which, how uncircumſpect they were, we may gather from hence, that they did not give a *Greek* Name to that *Grecian Gathelus*, who was indeed unknown to the *Greek* Writers; that they allotted a *Latin* Name, from an Haven or Port, to the City built by him, rather than a *Greek* one, eſpecially in thoſe Times, when *Italy* it ſelf was known to few of the *Greeks*; that they doubt whether he were the Son of *Argus*, or of *Cecrops*; ſeeing *Argus* lived almoſt an hundred Years before *Cecrops*. That he, who had arrived at ſuch a Figure by his Prudence, even amongſt the moſt ingenious Perſons of the World, as to enjoy the ſecond Place to the *King*, and to be put in *Moſes*, the Fugitive's room; and beſides, being a Stranger, to be honoured with the Marriage of the *King's* Daughter; that he, I ſay, leaving the fruitfulleſt Region in the World, and paſſing by the Lands of both *Continents*, both to the Right and Left, and alſo ſo many *Iſlands* all fruitful in Corn, and ſome of them alſo famous for the Temperature of the Air, as *Crete*, *Sicily*, *Corſica*, *Sardinia*, (which, at that Time, were rather ſeiz'd than cultivated, and inhabited by a wild ſort of People,) ſhould break out into the very Ocean, the very Name whereof was formidable, eſpecially ſince Men had then but ſmall Skill in maritime Affairs; or, that he built the City of *Port-Gathelus*, or *Portus a Port*, at the River *Duero*, the Name of which *Port* was never heard of till the *Sarazens* obtain'd the Dominion of *Portugal*; alſo, that he built *Braga*, at the Mouth of the River *Munda*, ſeeing there is ſo many Miles diſtance between *Braga* and *Munda*; two Rivers alſo being interjected betwixt them, *viz.* *Duero* and *Vonga*, or *Vaca*; and *Braga*

ga it ſelf is not altogether a maritime Place: Moreover, I may well ask, how *Gathelus* a *Grecian*, born of a Noble Family; and beſides, eminent for famous Deeds, ſeeing he was of a moſt ambitious Nation, in commending his Name to Poſterity, and being conveyed with a great Train into the extreme Parts of the World, and as Matters then ſtood, almoſt rude and barbarous, having built *Towns*, did not give them his own, no not ſo much as a *Greek* Name? For the Name of *Portugal*, or, (as ſome will have it,) the Port of *Gathel*, being unknown to ſo many ancient Writers, who have profeſſedly undertook to deſcribe the Names of Countries, and Places, began to be celebrated but about four hundred Years ago. And the Silence of all the *Greeks* and *Latins*, concerning the coming of *Gathelus* into *Spain*, makes it much ſuſpected, eſpecially ſince the *Ancients* make notable and frequent mention of the *Phœnicians*, *Perſians*, *Carthaginians*, *Iberians*, *Gauls*, and of the Companions of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, who came into that Country. But our Fablers, (as I judge) never read the Monuments of the Ancients; if they had, ſeeing it was free for them to aſſume an Author and Founder of their Nation and Nobility, out of any of the *famous Grecians*, they would never have pick'd up an ignobler Perſon for their Founder; paſſing by *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, who were famous amongſt all Nations, and whom they might have cull'd out, as well as any other, for the Original of their Race.

THESE are the Things which our *Writers* have delivered, concerning the Riſe of our *Nation*; which, if I have proſecuted more largely than was neceſſary, it is to be imputed to them, who pertinaciouſly defended them, as a * *Palladium* dropt down from Heaven. He that conſiders That, will no doubt, by reaſon of the *Obſtinacy* of my Adverſaries, be more favourable to me. Concerning the other Nations, which came later into theſe *Iſlands*, and fixed their Habitations there, *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Normans*, becauſe their *Hiſtory* doth not contain any monſtrous Abſurdity, I ſhall ſpeak of them hereafter, in a more proper Place.

BUT theſe two Nations (which I have mentioned,) ſeem to me to have deduced their Original from the *Gauls*, and I will give you the Reaſons of this my Judgment, when I have firſt premiſed a few Things, concerning the [illegible] Ancients

* *Palladium*, properly the Image of *Pallas* in *Troy*, which as long as they kept in her Temple, *Troy* could not be taken, (as the *Trojans* thought,) but when *Ulyſſes* ſtole it away then they were ſoon deſtroyed by the *Greeks*.

Cuſtoms

Customs of the *Gauls*; all *Gaul*, tho' it be fruitful in Corn, yet it is said to be, and indeed is, more fruitful in Men; so that as *Strabo* relates, there were three hundred Thousand of the *Celtæ* only, who were able to bear Arms, though they inhabited but a third Part of *France*; therefore though they lived in a fruitful Country, yet being overburdened by their own Multitudes, 'tis probable, that for the lessening of them, they were permitted to use Masculine Venery. Yet neither when by this Expedient, there seemed not Provision enough made against the Penury of their Soil, the Company of *Heads* being as yet numerous and burdensome, sometimes by publick Edicts, and sometimes by private Persuasions, they sent out many *Colonies* into all the neighbouring *Countries*, that their Multitudes at home might be exhausted.

To begin with *Spain*: They sent their Colonies so thick thither, that *Ephorus*, as *Strabo* relates, extends the length of *Gaul* even to the *Gades* or *Cadiz*, and indeed all that side of *Spain* toward the *North*, by the Names of the People and Nations inhabiting them, hath long witnessed a *French* Original. The first we meet with, are, the *Celtiberi*.

———*Profugique à gente Vetustâ*
Gallorum, Celtæ, *miscentes nomen* Iberis,

The wandring Celts *in* Spain *their Seats did fix,*
And there their Names with the Iberi *mix.*

THESE propagated their Bounds so far, that, though they inhabited a craggy Country, and besides not over-fruitful, yet *Marcus Marcellus* exacted from them six hundred Talents, as a Tribute. Moreover, from the *Celtæ*, or *Celtiberi*, the *Celtici* derive their Original, dwelling by the River *Anas*, by *Ptolomy* surnamed *Boetici*; and also other *Celts* in *Portugal*, near to the River *Anas*; and if we may believe *Pomponius Mela*, a *Spaniard*, the *Celts* do inhabit from the Mouth of the River *Duero*, as far as the Promontory, which they call *Celticum* or *Nerium*, *vel Capo Defnis Terræ*, but distinguished by their Sirnames, *viz.* the *Gromi*, *Presamarci*, *Tamarici*, *Nerii*, and the rest of the *Gallæci*, which Name shews their Original to be *Gauls*.

ON the other side, there passed out of *France* into *Italy*, the *Ligurians*, the *Libii*, the *Salassii*, the *Insubres*, the *Cenomani*, the *Boii*, and the *Senones*; and, if we may believe some ancient Writers, the *Venetians* themselves. I need not relate how large Dominions these Nations had in *Italy*, because

cauſe every Body who is but the leaſt verſed in Hiſtory, cannot be ignorant in that Point; neither will I be too ſcrupulous in inquiring what Troops of *Gauls* made their Seats in *Thrace*; or, leaving it, having ſubduced *Macedonia* and *Greece*, paſſed into *Bithynia*, where they erected the Kingdom of *Gallo-Græcia* in *Aſia*; ſince that Matter doth not much concern our preſent Purpoſe.

MY Diſcourſe then haſtens to *Germany*, and concerning the *Gauliſh* Colonies therein, we have moſt authentick Evidences, *C. Julius Cæſar*, and *C. Cornelius Tacitus*; the firſt of them in his Commentaries of the *Gallick* War, writes, that at one certain period of Time the *Gauls* were eſteem'd more valiant than the *Germans*. And therefore that the *Tectoſages* poſſeſſed the moſt fruitful Part of *Germany* about the *Hercynian* Foreſt; and the *Bohemians*, as the other affirms, ſhew plainly by their Names, that their Founders were the *Boii*. And ſometimes the *Helvetians* poſſeſſed the nearer Places between the Rivers *Main* and *Rhene*, alſo the *Decumates* beyond the *Rhene*, were of *Gallick* Original, and the *Gothini* near the *Danow*, whom *Claudian* calls *Gothunni*: *Arrianus* in the Life of *Alexander* calls them *Getini*; and *Flavius Vopiſcus*, in the Life of *Probus*, *Gautunni*. But *Claudian* reckons even the *Gothunni* amongſt the *Getæ*; and *Stephanus* is of Opinion, that the *Getes* are called *Getini*, by *Ammianus*; ſo that perhaps the *Getes* themſelves may acknowledge a *Gallick* Original; it being certain, that many *Gallick* Nations paſſed over into *Thrace*, and reſided there in that Circuit which the *Getes* are ſaid to have poſſeſſed: *Tacitus* alſo writes, that in his Time, the *Gothini* uſed the *Gallick* Language; beſides, the *Cimbri*, as *Philemon* ſays, and (if we believe *Tacitus*) the *Æſtiones*, dwelling by the *Swediſh* Sea, where they gather *Amber*, did ſpeak *Britiſh*, which Language was then the ſame with the *Gallick*, or not much different from it. Many are the Signs and Marks of *Gallick* Colonies, through all *Germany*, which I would willingly recite, but that what I have already alledged is enough for my Purpoſe; *viz.* to ſhew how widely *France* extended her Colonies round about *Britain*.

WHAT then ſhall we ſay of *Britain* it ſelf; which nor equalled thoſe Nations in Greatneſs, nor Strength, nor Skill in Military Affairs? What did ſhe, that was [illegible] to the valianteſt of the *Gauls*, and not inferior to the neighbour Nations, either in the Mildneſs of the Air, or the Fruitfulneſs of the Soil? Did ſhe, I ſay, entertain no *foreign* Colonies? Yes, many, as *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* affirm; and, as I hold, all her ancient Inhabitants came from thence. For 'tis manifeſt, that

that three Nations did in times of old poſſeſs the whole Iſland, the *Britons*, *Picts*, and *Scots*; of which I will diſcourſe in their proper Order.

To begin then with the *Britons*, whoſe Dominion was of largeſt extent in *Albium*: The firſt, that I know, who hath diſcovered any Certainty concerning them, was *C. Julius Cæſar*. He thinks, that the inmoſt Inhabitants were *Indigenæ*, becauſe, after diligent Enquiry, he could find nothing of their firſt coming thither; neither had they any Monuments of Learning, whence he could receive any Information. He ſays, that the maritime Parts of the *Iſland* were poſſeſſed by the *Belgæ*, whom Hopes of Prey had allured thither, and the Fruitfulneſs of the Soil, and Mildneſs of the Air, had detained there. He thinks this a ſufficient Argument to confirm his Opinion, that many did retain the Names of the Cities whence they came, and that their Buildings were like thoſe of the *Gauls*.

CORNELIUS TACITUS, an Author of great Credit, adds; that their Manners are not unlike, and that they are equally bold in running into Dangers, and equally in a dread and quite at a loſs how to get out of them; that there were great Factions and Sidings among them both. And laſtly, that *Britain*, in his Time, was in the ſame State as *Gaul* was, before the coming of the *Romans*. *Pomponius Mela* adds farther, That the *Britons* uſed to fight on Horſeback in Chariots and Coaches, in *French* Armour. Add to this, that *Bede*, who lived before all thoſe, who have written ſuch fabulous Things of the Origin of the *Britons*, and is of greater Authority than all of them together, affirms; That the firſt Inhabitants of the Iſland came out of the Tract of *Armorica*. Some Grammatiſts of the *Greeks* differ much from the abovementioned *Authors*; for they ſay, that the *Britons* received their Names from *Britannus*, the Son of *Celto*. They aſſuredly agree in this, that they would derive their Original from the *Gauls*; of the later Authors, *Robertus Cænalis*, and *Pomponius Lætus*, in the Life of *Diocleſian*, (an Author not to be deſpiſed) ſubſcribe to this Opinion; both of them, as I ſuppoſe, being convinced by the Power of Truth. Yet, both ſeem to me to miſtake in this Point, that they deduce them from the *Peninſula* of the *Britons*, which is now called *Britany* to the River *Loir*, eſpecially ſince the maritime Colonies of *Britain*, as *Cæſar* obſerves, teſtifie by their very Names, from what Place they were tranſplanted.

It follows, that we ſpeak of the *Gallick* Colonies, ſent into *Irelands*: I ſhewed before, that all the *North* ſide of

Spain

Spain was poſſeſſed by *Gallick* Colonies. And there are many Reaſons to be aſſigned, why they might paſs out of *Spain* into *Ireland:* For, either the eaſie Paſſage might be a great Inducement; or elſe, the *Spaniards* might be expelled out of their Habitations by the exceſſive Power and Domination of the *Perſians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Græcians*; who, having overcome the *Spaniards*, rendred them weak and obnoxious to their Oppreſſion and Violence. Moreover, there were Cauſes amongſt the *Spaniards* themſelves, for they being a People pack'd together, and made up of many Nations, and not well agreeing among themſelves, the Deſire of Liberty, and of avoiding Servitude, in the midſt of Civil Wars and new Tumults, ariſing amongſt a People that was greedy of War, might make them willing to depart: He, that weighs theſe Cauſes of their Departure, will not wonder, if many of them did prefer a mean Condition abroad, joined with Liberty, before a domeſtick and bitter Slavery; and when they were once arrived there, the State of *Spain* growing daily more and more turbulent, made them willing to continue where they were; for ſometimes the *Carthaginians*, and ſometimes the *Romans* made the conquered *Spaniards* taſte all the Miſeries of a ſervile Life, and ſo compelled them to avoid thoſe Evils by a Flight into *Ireland*; there being no other neighbour Nation into which, either in their Proſperity they might ſo well tranſport their Crowds of People; or elſe where, in Adverſity, they could find Shelter againſt their Calamities. Beſides, the Clemency of the Air was one Occaſion of their Stay; for, as *Cæſar* ſays, the Air of *Britain* is more temperate than that of *France*. And *Ireland* exceeds both in Goodneſs of *Soil*, and alſo in an equal Temperature of the Air and Climate. And what is ſtill more, when Men born and educated in a barren Soil, and given to Lazineſs beſides, as all *Spaniards* are, had the Happineſs of being tranſported into almoſt the richeſt Paſtures of all *Europe*, no wonder they willingly withdrew themſelves from homebred Tumults, into the Boſom of a Peace beyond Sea. Notwithſtanding all that I have ſaid, yet I would not refuſe the Opinion of any Nation concerning their Anceſtors, provided it was ſupported by probable Conjectures, and ancient Teſtimony.

FOR *Tacitus*, upon ſure Conjectures, as he thinks, doth affirm, that the *Weſt* ſide of *Britain* or *Albium*, was inhabited by the Poſterity of the *Spaniards*. But it is not probable, that the *Spaniards* ſhould leave *Ireland* behind them, being a Country nearer and of a milder Air and Soil, and firſt Land in *Albium*; but rather that they firſt arrived in *Ireland*,

and from thence transplanted their Colonies into *Britain*. And that the same thing happen'd to the *Scots*, all their *Annals* do testifie; and *Bede*, *Lib.* 1. doth affirm. For all the Inhabitants of *Ireland* were first of all called *Scots*, as *Orosius* shews; and our *Annals* relate, that the *Scots* passed more than once out of *Ireland* into *Albium*: First of all, *Fergusius*, the Son of *Ferchard*, being their *Captain*; and after some Ages, being expelled from their Habitations, they returned into *Ireland*; and again, under their General *Reutharus*, they return'd into *Britain*. And afterwards in the Reign of *Fergusius* the Second, great Aid of *Irish-Scots* were sent, who had their Quarters assigned in *Gallaway*. And *Claudian* in his Time shews, that Auxiliaries were carried over from thence in Transports against the *Romans*; for he says,

——Totam cùm Scotus Iernam
Movit, & infesto spumavit Sanguine Tethys.

The Scot *all* Ireland *did excite,*
To cross the Seas, 'gainst Rome *to fight.*

And in another Place,

Scotorum tumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

Whole Heaps of Scots *cold* Ireland *did lament.*

But in the beginning, when both People, *i. e.* the Inhabitants of *Ireland*, and their Colonies sent into *Albium*, were called *Scots*, that there might be some Distinction betwixt them, some *Scots* were called *Irish-Scots*, others *Albin-Scots*; and by degrees, their Sirnames came to be their Names; so that the ancient Name of *Scots* was almost forgotten, and not to be retrieved from common Speech, but only from Books and *Annals*. As for the Name of *Picts*, I judge it not their ancient and Country Name, but occasionally given them by the *Romans*, because their Bodies were indented, as it were, with Scars, which the Verses of *Claudian* do shew,

Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos,
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone secutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.

He nimble Moors, *and painted Picts did tame,*
With far-stretch'd Sword the Scots *he overcame,*
Did with bold Oars the Northern Waves divide.

And

And elſewhere,

Venit & extremis Legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas.
Perlegit exanimes, Picto moriente, figuras.

The Legion came, the outmoſt Britains *Guard,*
Which the fierce Scot *did curb with Bridle hard;*
And read the Marks i' th' Skins of dying Picts,
Inſculp'd with Iron.

HERODIAN alſo makes mention of the ſame Nation, but conceals its Name, and ſays plainly, That they did paint their Bodies; but he doth not affirm, that they did it with Iron; Neither (ſays he) are they acquainted with the uſe of Apparel, but they wear Iron round their Belly and their Neck, thinking that Metal to be an Ornament and Sign of Riches; as the other Barbarians do Gold. Farther, they have likewiſe a way of marking their Bodies with variety of Pictures, and with Animals of all Shapes, and therefore they will put on no Garments, leſt they ſhould hide their Paint. What Name they call themſelves by, is a thing ſo ancient, that it is hard to determine. 'Tis certain, the neighbouring Nations do not agree concerning their Name; for the *Britons* call them *Pictiades*; The *Engliſh*, *Pichti*; The old *Scots*, *Peachti*. And beſides, the Names of ſome Places, which were heretofore under the Juriſdiction of the *Picts*, but are now poſſeſſed by the *Scots*, ſeem to have a different Appellation from them all. For the Hills called *Pentland-Hills*, and the *Pentland-Bay*, or *Firth*, ſeems to be derived from *Penthus*, not from *Pictus*. But, I verily believe, thoſe Names were impoſed, in after-times, either by the *Engliſh*, or elſe by the *Scots*, who uſed the *Engliſh* Tongue; for the *ancient Scots* did neither underſtand nor uſe them. As for the Name of *Picts*, whether the *Romans* tranſlated a *barbarous* Word into a *Latin* one of a near Sound; or, whether the *Barbarians* applied a *Latin* Word, every one to his own Country Tone and Declenſion, 'tis all a caſe to me. Well then, being agreed of the Name, and it being confeſt by all Writers, that they came from the *Eaſtern* Parts into *Britain*; from *Scythia*, ſay ſome; from *Germany*, ſay others; it remains, that tracing their Footſteps by Conjectures, we come as near the Truth as we can. Neither do I perceive any ſurer Foundation of my Diſquiſition, than by painting their Bodies; ſo did the *Arii* in *Germany*, and the *Agathyrſi*, but it was only, that they

they might appear more terrible to the Enemy in War, and they did it only with the Juice of Herbs. But ſeeing the *Picts* marked their Skins with Iron, and ſtigmatized them with the Pictures of divers Animals: The better way will be to enquire, what Nations, either in *Scythia*, *Germany*, or the neighbouring Countries, did uſe that Cuſtom of painting their Bodies, not for Terror, but Ornament. And, *Firſt*, we meet with the *Geloni*, according to *Virgil*, of whom *Claudian* ſpeaks in his firſt Book againſt *Ruffinus*;

Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxiſſe Gelonus.

The Geloni *love to print*
Their Limbs with Iron Inſtrument.

We meet alſo with the *Getæ* in *Thrace*, mentioned by the ſame Poet;

Crinigeri ſedere Patres, pellita Getarum
Curia, quas plagis decorat numeroſa cicatrix.

Skin-wearing Getes *conſult, with Hair unſhorn,*
Whoſe marked Bodies num'rous Scars adorn.

THEREFORE, ſeeing the *Geloni*, as *Virgil* writes, are Neighbours to the *Getes*, and either the *Gothunni*, or *Getini*, according to *Arrianus*, are number'd amongſt the *Getes*; and ſeeing the *Gothunni*, as *Tacitus* ſays, ſpeaks the *Gallick* Language; what hinders but that we may believe the *Picts* had their Original from thence?

BUT, from whatſoever Province of *Germany* they came, I think it very probable, that they were of the ancient Colonies of the *Gauls*, who ſeated themſelves either on the *Swediſh* Sea, or on the *Danow*. For the Men of a *Gallick* Deſcent, being counted Foreigners by the *Germans*, (as indeed they were) I judge their Name was uſed in a way of Reproach, ſo that one Word, *i. e. Walſch*, (with them) ſignifies a *Gaul*, a Stranger, and a Barbarian too. So that it is very credible, That the Anceſtors of the *Picts*, either being expell'd by their Neighbours, or driven up and down by Tempeſts, were eaſily reconciled to the *Scots*; nay, were befriended and aided (as 'tis reported) by them, as a People allied to them, almoſt of the ſame Language with them, and their religious Cuſtoms not unlike. So that it might eaſily come to paſs, that thereupon they might mix their Blood, and, by Marriages, make a Coalition, as it were, into one

Nation. For otherwiſe, I do not ſee, how the *Scots*, which then poſſeſſed *Ireland*, being a fierce and rough-hewn People, ſhould ſo eaſily enter into an Affinity and complete Friendſhip with Strangers, who were neceſſitous and deſtitute of all things, whom they never ſaw before, and with whom they had no Commerce, in point of Laws, Religion, or Language.

BUT here the Authority of *Bede*, the *Anglo-Saxon*, ſtands a little in my way, who is the only Writer I know of, that affirms, the *Picts* uſed a different Language from the *Scots*; for, ſpeaking of *Britain*, he ſays, that it did ſearch after, and profeſs the Knowledge of the higheſt Truth, and the ſublimeſt Science in five Languages, the *Engliſh*, *Britiſh*, *Scotiſh*, *Pictiſh*, and *Latin*. But, I ſuppoſe, *Bede* calls five Dialects of one and the ſame Tongue, five Tongues, as we ſee the *Greeks* do, in the like Caſe: And as *Cæſar* doth, in the beginning of his Commentaries of the *Gallick* War. For he ſays, that three Parts of *Gaul* uſed different Languages and Cuſtoms. But *Strabo*, tho' he grants that the *Aquitans* uſed a different Language from the other *Gauls*; yet, he affirms, that all the reſt of the *Gauls* uſed the ſame Language, but with a little Variation. The *Scots* alſo do not differ from the *Britons* in their whole Language, but in Dialect rather, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter; their Speech, at preſent, doth ſo far agree, that it ſeems of old to have been the ſame, for they differ leſs than ſome *Gallick* Provinces do, which yet are all ſaid to ſpeak *Gauliſh*. And therefore other Writers give not the leaſt ſuſpicion of a different Language; and they, as long as both Kingdoms were diſtinct, as if they had been People of one Nation, did always contract Marriages one with another; and as they were mixed in the beginning, ſo afterwards they carried themſelves as Neighbours, and oftentimes as Friends, until the Deſtruction of the *Picts*.

NEITHER did the remainder of them, (who, when their military Race was extinct, yet muſt needs be many) in any degree, corrupt the *Scotiſh* Tongue: Nor indeed are there any Footſteps of a foreign, Language in the Places and Habitations, which they left. For all the Countries of the *Picts*, and many particular Places there too, do yet retain *Scotiſh* Appellations, except a very few; who, upon the *Saxon* Tongue's prevailing over our Country-Language, had *German* Names impoſed upon them.

NEITHER is this to be omitted, that, before the coming of the *Saxons* into *Britain*, none of the *Britiſh* Nations uſed Interpreters to underſtand one another. Wherefore, ſeeing the *Scotiſh*, *Engliſh* and *German* Writers do unanimouſly accord,

cord, that the Original of the *Picts* was from *Germany*; and it is alſo manifeſt, that the *Gothunni*, or *Getini*, were Colonies of the *Gauls*, whoſe Language they ſpoke; and that the *Æſtii* ſpoke *Britiſh*, by the *Swediſh*, or *Baltick* Sea: Whence may we the moſt rationally fetch the Deſcent of the *Picts*? Or, whither ſhould they, being expell'd from their native Habitations, go but to their own Kindred? Or, where were they likely to obtain Marriage-Unions, but amongſt a People of Affinity with them in Blood, Language and Manners?

BUT if any one deny, that the *Picts* were deſcended from the *Gothunni*, or *Æſtii*, or *Getæ*, being induced to that Perſuaſion by the great Diſtance of thoſe Countries from *Britain*; let him but conſider, how many, and how great Migrations of People were made, even in all parts of the World, in *thoſe* Times when the coming of the *Picts* into *Britain* is recorded to have been, and alſo for many Ages after; and then he may eaſily grant, that ſuch things might not only be done, but be done with very great Eaſe. The *Gauls* did then poſſeſs a great part of *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Britain*, by their Colonies; they proceeded as far as *Palus Mæotis*, and the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, with their Depredations; and after they had waſted *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and *Greece*, they fixed their Seats of Reſidence in *Aſia*.

THE *Cimbri*, *Ambrones*, and *Teutones*, having waſted *Gaul*, penetrated into *Italy*: The *Geloni*, whom *Virgil* places in *Thrace*, are, by other Writers, ſaid to dwell near to the *Agathyrſi*, in *Scythia*.

THE *Goths*, for a great while an obſcure Nation, yet in a ſhort time over-ran *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa* like a Flood. And therefore, inaſmuch as for many Ages after, thoſe who were Grandees and more powerful than others, challeng'd to themſelves the Seats of their Inferiors; the Weak being obnoxious to the Injuries of the Strong, left their Country, which they could not keep; ſo that it is no great Wonder among the wiſe, if Men, having long combated with adverſe Fortune, and being toſſed up and down by many Peregrinations, having, beſides, no certain Habitation, did at length betake themſelves to remote, or far diſtant Countries.

BESIDES, we ſee that the *Roman* Writers place two ancient Nations within thoſe Limits, which bounded the Kingdoms of the *Scots* and *Picts*, the *Mayatæ* and *Attacottæ*. Of theſe, I ſuppoſe, the *Mayatæ*, whom *Dion* alone, of all the Authors that I know, doth mention, were of the *Picts* Race, ſeeing he places them in the Countries neareſt to the *Caledonian* Sea; and it is certain that the *Picts* did inhabit thoſe

Provinces. As for the *Attacottæ*, it appears out of *Marcellinus*, that they were the Progeny of thoſe, who, having been formerly excluded by *Adrian*'s Wall, but afterwards enlarging their Dominions unto the Wall of *Severus*, were comprehended within the *Roman* Province; becauſe I find in a Book of the *Romans* concerning Camp-Diſcipline through their Provinces, that, among the foreign Auxiliaries, there were ſome Troops of the *Attacottæ*, as well as of the *Britons*: Which puts me at a ſtand, whether of the two I ſhould moſt admire in *Lud*, his Boldneſs, or his Stupidity; his Boldneſs, who affirms, that the *Attacottæ* were *Scots*, but without any certain Author, or probable Conjecture; his Stupidity, that, in the very place of *Marcellinus*, cited by him, he ſees not, that the *Scots* are plainly diſtinguiſhed from the *Attacottæ*. For *Marcellinus* ſays, the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacottæ*, vexed the *Britons* with perpetual Miſeries. Of the ſame Stupidity is he guilty, when he affirms, that the *Caledonii* were of the Nation of the *Britons*; whereas, 'tis plain, they were *Picts*, which *Lud* himſelf doth clearly demonſtrate by a Teſtimony out of a *Panegyrick*, dedicated to *Conſtantius*, which he produces againſt himſelf. For, ſays the Author of that Oration, *The Woods of the* Caledones *and of other* Picts: That Teſtimony (ſuch was his Folly) he produces for himſelf, not obſerving, (ſuch was his Stupidity) that it makes againſt him. If we look to the Word it ſelf, 'tis *Scotiſh*; for *Calden* in *Scotch* is that Tree called the Haſel, whence, I judge, came the Name of the *Caledonian* Woods, and the Town of the *Caledonians*, ſituate by the River *Tay*, which is yet called *Duncalden*, *i. e.* the Haſel-Hill-Town. And if I dared to indulge my ſelf ſo much Liberty, as to diſagree from all the Books of *Ptolemy*, for the *Deucaledonian*, I would write the *Duncaledonian*, Sea; and for the *Dicaledones* in *Marcellinus*, *Duncaledones*: Both the Sea and the Nation being ſirnamed from the Town, *Duncalden*. What I have written may ſatisfie any favourable Reader, yet I ſhall add other Teſtimonies, which *C. Plinius* thinks to be manifeſt Signs of the Originals of Nations, *viz.* the Religion, Language, and Names of Towns.

FIRST of all, it is manifeſt, that the Bond of Religion, and the Identity of Sentiment as to the (ſuppoſed) Gods, hath been always held the ſtricteſt Tye of Obligation, and Alliance, amongſt Nations. Now the *Britons* and the *Gauls* maintained the ſame divine Worſhip, they had the ſame Prieſts, the *Druydes*, amongſt them, who were in no Nation elſe; whoſe Superſtition had ſo beſotted the Minds of both Nations, that many have doubted, which of the two firſt learn'd

that

that ſort of Philoſophy, one from the other. *Tacitus* alſo ſays, that they had the ſame ſacred Rites and ſuperſtitious Obſervations. And that Tomb erected near *New Carthage*, called *Mercurius Teutates*, as *Livy* writes, doth ſhew, that the *Spaniards*, the greateſt part of whom drew their Original from the *Gauls*, were not free from thoſe Rites. Alſo, the ſame kind of *Prieſts* or *Sacriſts*, called by both of them *Bards*, were in great Honour, both amongſt the *Gauls* and *Britons*. Their Function and Name doth yet remain among all thoſe Nations which uſe the old *Britiſh* Tongue: and ſo much Honour is given to them, in many places, that their Perſons are accounted ſacred, and their Houſes, Sanctuaries: Nay in the Height of their Enmities, when they manage the cruelleſt Wars one againſt another, and uſe their Victories, as ſeverely; yet theſe *Bards* and their Retinue have free Liberty to paſs and repaſs, at their Pleaſure. The Nobles, when they come to them, receive them honourably, and diſmiſs them with Gifts. They make *Canto*'s, and thoſe not unelegant; which, *Rhapſodiſts* recite, either to the better ſort, or elſe to the Vulgar, who are very deſirous to hear them; and ſometimes they ſing them to muſical Tunes and Inſtruments. Many of their ancient Cuſtoms yet remain; Nay there is almoſt nothing changed of them in *Ireland*, but only in Ceremonies and Rites of Religion. This for the preſent concerning their Religion. It remains now, that we ſpeak concerning their ancient Language, and the Names of the Towns, and of their People. But theſe Parts, tho' oftentimes diſtinct in themſelves, ſhall yet be promiſcuouſly handled by me; becauſe many times one depends upon another, as its Foundation; eſpecially, ſince a proper Name, either by its Origin or Declination, either proves, or at leaſt gives ſome Indication of the Country from whence a Man comes: Yet, tho' theſe things are interwoven, and do mutually confirm one another, I will for the Reader's Inſtruction, take occaſion ſometimes to treat of them ſeverally, as much as I can.

FIRST of all, *Tacitus* in the Life of his Father-in-law, *Agricola*, affirms, that the *Gauliſh* Tongue did not much differ from the *Britiſh*; whence I gather, that they were formerly the ſame; but, by little and little, either by Commerce with foreign Nations; or, by the Importation of new Commodities, unknown before to the Natives; or, by the Invention of new Arts; or, by the frequent Change of the Form of Garments, Arms, and other Furniture, a Speech, or Language, that was very flexible of it ſelf, might be much alter'd, ſometimes augmented, ſometimes adulterated, many new Words being found out, and many old ones corrupted.

Let a Man but think with himſelf, how much the Inconſtancy and Caprice of the Vulgar doth aſſume to it ſelf, in this particular; and how ready Men are and always were, to loath preſent things, and to ſtudy Innovations; he will find the Judgment of the beſt of Poets, and the only Cenſor, in theſe Caſes, to be moſt true,

> [a] *Ut Sylvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos,*
> *Prima cadunt, ita verborum vetus interit ætas,*
> *Et, juvenum ritu, florent modò nata vigentque.*
>
> *As withered Leaves fall off from Trees;*
> *And new ſupply their places;*
> *So Languages decay and ceaſe,*
> *New Speech brings in new Graces.*

And a little after,

> *Multa renaſcentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque*
> *Quæ nunc ſunt in honore, vocabula, ſi volet uſus,*
> *Quem penes arbitrium eſt, & jus & norma loquendi.*
>
> *Many Words ſhall fall,*
> *Which now we highly prize:*
> *And Words, which* now *have fallen,*
> *Shall* hereafter *Riſe;*
> *Uſe, or Cuſtom, rules this thing,*
> *And governs Language, as a King.*

'Tis true, he ſpoke this of the *Latin* Tongue, which by the great Care of the *Romans*, was kept uncorrupted, and which all the Nations contained within the large Bounds of their Empire, did diligently learn. And therefore it is no wonder, if a Language, (even before Colonies were ſent into all Parts, out of *Gaul*,) which already had different Dialects at home; and alſo, was afterwards corrupted by the Mixture of divers Nations, being in it ſelf *too* barbarous at firſt, and almoſt neglected by thoſe themſelves that uſed it; and after it had again re-enter'd, from a foreign Soil, into *Britain*, which was then divided into Kingdoms, for the moſt part obnoxious to Strangers; it is no Wonder, I ſay, if, upon all theſe Prejudices, it did not always prove conſiſtent with it ſelf. For at firſt, the *Celtæ*, and the *Belgæ* uſed a different Dialect, as *Strabo* thinks. Afterwards, when the *Celtæ* ſent abroad great Colonies into *Spain*, as the Names of *Celtiberi* and *Celtici* declare, and the *Belgæ* made their

[a] *Hor. de Arte Poetica.*

Deſcent

Deſcent into the maritim Parts of *Britain*, as may be collected from the Names of *Venta Belgarum*, of the *Atrebates*, and *Iceni*; it muſt needs follow, that on one ſide the *Spaniards*, and on the other the *Romans*, the *Engliſh*, the *Danes*, and the *Normans*, muſt bring many ſtrange Words with them, and ſo corrupt the Country Speech. Nay, I rather judge it a matter of much more Wonder, that the Languages of neigbouring Nations, having been adulterated by the coming in of ſo many ſtrange People, and in great part chang'd by the Speech of neighbouring Countries, that yet, even ſo long a time after, the *Britons* ſhould not differ in their whole Language, but in certain Idioms and Dialects only: For, if any one of them, though of another Nation, hears a Man ſpeak *Britiſh*; yet he may obſerve the Sound of his own Language, and may underſtand many Words, though he does not comprehend his whole Diſcourſe. Neither ought it to ſeem ſtrange to us, that the ſame Words do not ſignifie the ſame things in all Nations, when we conſider, what Alterations Commerce with neighbouring Countries daily makes in the Speech of all Nations; and, how great a change of Phraſes muſt needs be owing to a daily Converſation with Foreigners; how many new Words are coined to expreſs things, newly invented; how many are imported with Wares and Traffick, even from the fartheſt Parts of the World; how many old obſolete Words are diſus'd; how many are lengthen'd by the addition of Letters and Syllables; and how many are ſhortened by contrary Decurtations; and ſome alſo new vamped and refined, as it were, by mutation or tranſpoſition of Letters. I will not inquire, in how ſhort a time, and how much, the *Ionick* Speech did degenerate from the *Attick*, and how much the other *Greeks* differ'd from them both. Let us but obſerve the Speech of the nobleſt Nations in *Europe*, how ſoon did the *French*, *Italick*, and *Latin* Tongues, all derived from the ſame Root, degenerate from the Purity of the *Latin*? yet in the mean time, they differ no leſs amongſt themſelves, than the old *Scotiſh* and the *Britiſh* Tongues do. Nay, if we look over all the Provinces of *France*, (I mean thoſe that are judg'd to ſpeak true *Gallick* or *French*) what a great difference ſhall we find between the Inhabitants of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, and the *Gaſcoigns*? And how vaſtly the *Limoſins*, the *Perigordins*, and the *Auvergnians*, tho' Neighbours to both, yet differ from both in their Speech? And how much the reſt of the Provinces of *France* differ even from all of them? And, to come nearer home, the *Engliſh* Laws of *William* the *Norman*, eſtabliſhed five hundred Years ago, were written in *French*, yet now no

French Man can underſtand them, without an Interpreter. Nay, if thoſe old Men, who lived long in the World, can remember, that many Words are grown obſolete, which were in uſe when they were Children; and what Words unheard of by our Anceſtors, have ſucceeded in their places; they will not at all wonder, that the ſame original Language, in length of time, ſhould be changed, and ſeem wholly different from it ſelf; eſpecially amongſt Nations far remote, and alſo often warring one againſt another. On the other ſide, when I ſee that Concord (laſting ſo many Ages rather than Years) in the *Britiſh* Language, and that even amongſt Nations, either very diſtant one from another, or elſe maintaining mutual Animoſities againſt one another; ſuch a Concord as is hardly to be found amongſt many Tribes and People of the *Gauls*, who yet have long lived under the ſame Kings and Laws: I ſay, when I recollect within my ſelf, ſuch an Agreement in Speech, which as yet preſerves its ancient Affinity of Words, and no obſcure Marks of its Original; I am eaſily induc'd to believe, that, before the coming of the *Saxons*, all the *Britons* uſed a Language, not much different from each other; and it is probable, that the Nations, adjoining to the *Gallick* Shore, uſed the *Belgick* Tongue, from whoſe Limits a good part of the *Britons*, bordering on *France*, had tranſplanted themſelves, as *Cæſar* informs us. But the *Iriſh*, and the Colonies ſent from them, being derived from the *Celtæ*, Inhabitants of *Spain*, 'tis probable, they ſpoke the *Celtick* Tongue. I ſuppoſe, that theſe Nations returning, as it were, from a long Pilgrimage, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the Neighbour-ſeats, and almoſt uniting into one People, did confound the Idioms of their ſeveral Tongues reſpectively; ſo that it was neither wholly *Belgick*, nor wholly *Celtick*, nor yet wholly unlike to either of them: Such a Mixture we may obſerve in thoſe Nations, which are thought to ſpeak the *German* Tongue, and yet have much declined from the ancient Phraſe thereof: I mean the *Danes*, the maritime *Saxons*, thoſe of *Freiſland*, thoſe of *Flanders*, and the *Engliſh*; amongſt all which it is eaſie to find ſome Letters, Sounds, and Inflections, which are proper to the *Germans* only, and not common to any other Nation; beſides, I ſuppoſe, that a ſurer Symptom of the Affinity of a Language may be gathered from this Sound of Letters, from the familiar way of each Nation in pronouncing certain Letters, and from the Judgment of the Ear thereupon; and alſo, from the Compoſition and Declenſion of Words, than from the Signification of ſingle or particular Words. We find Examples of this in the *German* Letter *W*, in the Compoſition

of

of the Words *More-Maruſa* and *Armoricus*, of which I have ſpoken before: and in the Declenſion of thoſe Words, which amongſt the *Gauls*, end in *Ac*, of which there is a vaſt Number, which Form among the *Scots* is *Hypocoriſtical*, *i. e. Diminutive*; and ſo it was amongſt the ancient *Gauls*. From *Drix*, which, among the *Scots*, ſignifies a *Briar*, is derived *Driſſac*, *i. e.* a *Briarling*, or little *Briar* Buſh. And from *Brix*, which ſignifies a Rupture or Cleft, *Brixac*, which now the *French* pronounce *Briſac*. For what the *Scots* pronounce *Brix*, that the *French* call *Breſche*, even to this very day, there being no difference at all in the Signification of the Words: The Cauſe of the different Writing, is, that the ancient *Scots*, and all the *Spaniards* to this very day, do uſe the Letter *X* for double *SS*. And therefore the old *Gauls*, from *Brix*, have called a Town of the *Cænomani*, *Brixia*; and again, from *Brixia*, *Brixiacum*, now commonly *Briſac*. After the like Form, *Aureliacum*, *i. e. Orilhach*, is derived from *Aurelia*, *i. e. Orleance*; and, from *Evora*, which is called *Cerealis* or *Ebora*, ſirnam'd by the *Spaniards*, *Fœlicitas Julia*, *Eboracum*, *i. e. York*, is derived; as the *Brigantes* have declined it, (who had their Origin from the *Spaniards*) retaining in the Declenſion thereof, the Propriety of the *French* Tongue. Farthermore, beſides thoſe things which I have mentioned, all that Coaſt of *Britain*, which is extended to the *South-Weſt*, retains the ſure and manifeſt Tokens of a *Gallick* Speech and Original, according to the clear Teſtimony even of Foreigners themſelves. Firſt, in that Coaſt, there is *Cornuvallia*. *i. e. Cornwal*, as many call it, but by the Ancients 'twas called *Cornavia*, and by the Vulgar, *Kernico*; even as in *Scotland*, the *Cornavii*, placed by *Ptolemy* in the moſt *Northern* Diſtrict of that Country, are commonly called *Kernicks*; ſo that *Cornuvallia* is derived from *Kernick* and *Valli*, as if you ſhould ſay *Kernico-Galli*, *i. e. Corniſh Gauls*. Moreover, *Vallia*, *i. e. Wales*, another Peninſula in the ſame ſide, doth avouch its Anceſtors both in Name and Speech. They who come near in Language to the Sound of the *German* Tongue, pronounce it by W, a Letter proper to the *Germans* only; which the reſt of their Neighbours, who uſe the old Tone, can by no means pronounce: Nay, if you ſhould put them to the Torture to make them pronounce it aright, yet, the *Corniſh*, the *Iriſh*, or *Highland-Scots* could never do it. But the *French*, who call it *Vallia*, do always prefix *G* before it; and not in that Word alone, but they have many others alſo, which begin with *G*; for they, who, by reaſon of the Propinquity of the Countries do *Germanize*, do call the *French* Tongue *Walla*; and beſides, in a Multitude of other Words, they uſe this Change

of Letters: On the other ſide, that Country which the *Engliſh* call *Wales* and *North-Wales*; the *French* call *Gales* and *North-Gales*, as yet cloſely adhering to the primitive Sounds of their ancient Tongue.

BUT *Polydore Virgil* pleaſeth himſelf with a new Fancy; which, he thinks, he was the firſt Inventor of; whereas no Man, though but meanly ſkilled in the *German* Tongue, is ignorant, that the Word *Walſh* ſignifies a Stranger or Foreigner; and that therefore the *Valli* were call'd Foreigners by them; but he reckons, as we ſay, without his Hoſt: For, if that Name were derived from one's *being foreign*, I think it would agree better to the *Angles*, or *Engliſh*, as an adventitious People, than to thoſe, whom, by reaſon of their Antiquity, many of the Antients have thought to be Nature's Inhabitants: Or, if that Name were impoſed upon them by the *Engliſh*, they might with better Reaſon have given it to the *Scots* and *Picts*, than to the *Britons*, becauſe with the former they had leſs Acquaintance and very rare Commerce: And if the *Engliſh* called them *Valli* in Reproach, would the *Britons*, think we, who, for ſo many Ages, were the deadly Enemies of the *Engliſh*, and now made more obnoxious to them than by this Affront, own that *Name*? Which they do not unwillingly, calling themſelves in their own Tongue *Cumbri*. Beſides, the Word *Walſh*, doth not primarily ſignify a *Stranger* or *Barbarian*; but, in its firſt and proper Acceptation, a *Gaul*. And therefore, in my Judgment, the Word *Vallia* is changed by the *Engliſh* from *Gallia*; they agreeing with other neighbour Nations in the Name, but obſerving the Propriety of the *German* Tongue in pronouncing the firſt Letter by *W*, *viz. Wallia*. The antient Inhabitants of that *Peninſula* were called *Silures*, as appears out of *Pliny*; which Name in ſome Part of *Wales* was long retained, even in ſucceeding Ages. But *Leland*, a *Briton* by Birth, and a Man very diligent in diſcovering the *Monuments* of his own Country, doth affirm, That ſome Part of *Wales* was formerly called *Roſs*, which Word in *Scotland* ſignifies a *Peninſula*: But the neighbouring *Nations* ſeem in ſpeaking, to have uſed a Name or Word, which ſhewed the Original of the *Nation*, rather than one that demonſtrated the Site and Form of the Country. The ſame hath happened in the Name *Scots*; for whereas they call themſelves *Albini*, a Name derived from *Albium*; yet their Neighbours call them *Scoti*, by which Name their Original is declared to be from the *Iriſh*, or *Hibernians*.

ON the ſame ſide and *Weſtern* Shore, follows *Gallovidia*, *i. e. Galway*; which Word, 'tis evident, both with *Scots* and *Welch*,

Welch, ſignifieth a *Gaul*, as being made up of *Gallus* and *Wallus*, part impoſed by the one, and part by the other; for the *Valli* or *Welch* call it *Wallowithia*. This *Country* yet uſeth for the moſt part its antient Language. Theſe three *Nations* comprehend all that *Tract* and Side of *Britany*, which bends towards *Ireland*; and they as yet retain, no mean Indications, but rather ſtrong and convincing Marks of their *Gallick* Speech and Affinity; of which the chief is, that the *ancient Scots* divided all the Nations, inhabiting *Britain*, into two Sorts, the one they call *Gael*, the other *Galle* or *Gald*, *i. e.* according to my Interpretation, *Gallæci* or *Galli*. Moreover the *Gallæcians* pleaſe themſelves with that Title, *Gael*, and they call their Language, as I ſaid before, *Gallæcian*, and do glory in it, as the more refin'd and elegant, undervaluing the *Galli* as *Barbarians*, in reſpect of themſelves: And tho' originally the *Scots* called the *Britons*, *i. e.* the moſt ancient Inhabitants of the Iſland, *Galli*; yet the Cuſtom of ſpeaking hath by degrees obtained, that they called all the *Nations*, which afterwards fixed their Seats in *Britain* by that Name; which they uſed rather as a contumelious, than a national, one: For the Word *Galle* or *Gald* ſignifies That amongſt them which *Barbarian* doth amongſt the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and *Walſch* among the *Germans*.

Now at laſt we are come to this Point, *i. e.* That we are to demonſtrate the Community of Speech, and thereupon an ancient Affinity between the *Gauls* and the *Britons*, from the Names of *Towns*, *Rivers*, *Countries*, and ſuch other Evidences. A tickliſh Subject, and to be warily handled; for I have formerly proved, that a publick Speech or Language may be altered for *many* Cauſes; for tho' it be not changed altogether, and at once, yet it is in a perpetual Flux, and doth eaſily follow the Inconſtancy of the Alterers, by reaſon of a certain Flexibility, which it hath in its own Nature. The Truth whereof doth appear chiefly in thoſe Ranks of things, which are ſubject not only to the Alterations of Time, but alſo to every Man's Pleaſure or Arbitrement; ſuch as are all particular things invented for the daily uſe of Man's Life, whoſe Names either grow obſolete, or are made new and refined, for very light and trivial Cauſes. But the Caſe is far different in thoſe things, which are Time-proof, and ſo, after a ſort, are perpetual or eternal: As the Heavens, the Sea, the Earth, Fire, Mountains, Countries, Rivers; and alſo in thoſe, which, by their Diuturnity, as far as the Infirmity of Nature will permit, do in ſome ſort imitate thoſe perpetual and uncorrupted Bodies; ſuch are Towns, which are built as if they were to be ſempiternal. So that a Man cannot

caſily give new Names to, or change the old Names of, *Nations* or *Cities*; for they were not *raſhly* impoſed at the beginning, but in a manner by the general wiſe Advice and Conſent of their *Founders*, whom Antiquity did greatly reverence, aſcribing divine Honour to them; and did as much as lay in their Power to render them *immortal*. And therefore, theſe *Names* are deſervedly continued, and can receive no Alteration without making a mighty Diſturbance among the whole Oeconomy of things; ſo that if the reſt of a *Language* be changed, yet theſe are religiouſly retained, and are never ſupplanted by other Names, but as it were, with Unwillingneſs and Regret. And the cauſe of their impoſing at firſt, contributes much to their Continuance. For thoſe, who, in their *Peregrinations*, either were forced from their *old* Seats; or, of their own accord, ſought *new*; when they had loſt their own Country, yet retained the *Name* of it, and were willing to enjoy a Sound moſt pleaſing to their Ears; and by this Umbrage of a *Name*, ſuch as it was, the want of their native Soil, was ſomewhat alleviated and ſoftned unto them; ſo that by this means they judged themſelves not altogether *Exiles* or *Travellers*, far from Home. And beſides, there were not wanting ſome Perſons, who, being ſuperſtitiouſly inclined, conceived an holier and more auguſt Repreſentation in their Minds, than could be ſeen in Walls and Houſes, and did ſweetly hug, as it were, that Image and delightful Pledge of their *own* former Country, with a Love more than *native*. And therefore, a ſurer Argument of Affinity is taken from this ſort of Words, than from *thoſe*, which, on trivial Cauſes, and oft on none at all, are given to, or taken away from, ordinary and changeable things. For tho' it may caſually happen, that the ſame Word may be uſed in ſeveral *Countries*, yet it is not credible, that ſo many *Nations*, living ſo far aſunder, ſhould agree by mere Chance in the frequent impoſing of the ſame Name.

In the next place, thoſe Names ſucceed, which are derived from, or compounded of, the former Primitives. For, oftentimes, the Similitude of Declination and Compoſition doth more certainly declare the Affinity of a Language, than the very *primitive* Words themſelves; for theſe are, many times, caſually given: But the *other*, being declined after *one* certain Mode and Form, are directed by one fixed Example, which the *Greeks* call Ἀναλογία. And therefore this certain and perpetual manner of *nominal* Affinity, as *Varo* ſpeaks, doth, after a ſort, lead us to an Affinity of *Stock*, and old Communion of *Language*. Moreover, there is a certain Obſervation to be made in all *primogenial* Words, from whence we

we may know, which are introduced from abroad, and which are Native. For, as the Words *Philoſophia*, *Geometria*, and *Dialectica*, tho' often uſed by *Latin* Writers, yet have ſcarce any *Latin* Word of kin to them, or derived from them, from whence they may ſeem to take their Original; ſo, on the other ſide, the Words *Paradiſus* and *Gaza*, are uſed by the *Greeks*; and yet it appears by this, that they are perfectly *foreign*, becauſe they can't ſhew any Words they were originally derived from, nor any Words that were afterwards derived from them, in the *genuine Greek* Tongue.

THE ſame Obſervation may be alſo made in other *Tongues*, which will help us to judge, what Words are *domeſtick*, and what are *adventitious*, or *foreign*. Let it ſuffice to have ſpoken thus much in *general*; let us now propound Examples, concerning every *particular* part: Where, firſt, we meet with thoſe Words, which end in *Bria*, *Briga* and *Brica*. *Strabo*, in his ſeventh Book, with whoſe Opinion *Stephanus* concurs, ſays, that *Bria* ſignifies a *City*; to confirm their Opinion, they produce theſe Names, derived from that one Word *Pultobria*, *Brutobria*, *Meſembria*, and *Selimbria*. But the Place by them called *Brutobria*, by others is named *Brutobrica*; and the Places which *Ptolemy* makes to end in *Briga*, *Pliny* cloſes with *Brica*; ſo that 'tis probable, that *Bria*, *Briga* and *Brica*, ſignifie the ſame thing. But that they all have their Original from *Gaul*, appears by this, that the *Gauls* are reported, anciently, to have ſent forth Colonies into *Thrace* and *Spain*, and not they into *Gaul*; and therefore, amongſt proper *Claſſick* Authors, we uſually read the Words following.

Abobrica in *Pliny*, in the Circuit of *Braga*.
Amalo-brica in the *Itinerary* of the Emperor *Antoninus*.
Arabrica, *Pliny*, in the *Bracarenſian* Circuit alſo.
Arabrica another, *Ptolemy*, in *Luſitania*, or *Portugal*.
Arcobrica, *Ptolemy*, amongſt the *Celtiberians*, *i. e. New-Caſtillians*.
Arcobrica another, *Ptolemy*, amongſt the *Luſitanian-Celticks*.
Arcobrica a third, in the *Cæſar-Auguſtan*-Province.
Artobrica, *Ptolemy*, in the *Vindilici*'s Country.
Auguſtobrica, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*, in *Portugal*.
Auguſtobrica another, *Ptolemy*, in the *Vecton*'s Country.
Auguſtobrica a third, *Ptolemy*, in the *Pelendon*'s Country.
Axabrica, *Pliny*, of the *Luſitanicks*.

Bodobrica,

Bodobrica, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, and in the Book of the Knowledge of the *Roman* Empire, in *High-Germany*.

Brige, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, in *Britany*.

Brige, in *Strabo*, a Town by the *Cottian Alps*.

Bruto-brica, in *Strabo*, between the *Turduli* and the River *Bœtis*.

Cæliobrica, *Ptolemy*, of the *Celerini*, *i. e.* People in *Portugal*.

Cæsarobrica, *Pliny*, in *Portugal*, also.

Catobrica, of the *Turduli*, in the *Itinerary* of the Emperor *Antoninus*.

Corimbrica, *Pliny*, in *Portugal*, if I miſtake not, corruptly for *Conimbrica*, of which mention is made in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, which City, as yet, keeps its ancient Name, by the River *Munda*, in *Portugal*.

Cotteobria, *Ptolemy*, in the *Vecton*'s Country.

Deobrica, *Ptolemy*, among the *Vectons*, alſo.

Deobrica, another, *Ptolemy*, of the *Autrigones*.

Deobricula, *Ptolemy*, of the *Morbogi*.

Deſſobrica, not far diſtant from *Lacobrica*, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*.

Flavio-Brica, *Pliny*, at the *Port Amanus*. *Ptolemy*, in the *Autrigons*, calls it *Magnus*, but I know not whether *Magnus* ought to be writ in *Pliny*, or no.

Serabrica in the *Scalabitan* Province, which *Pliny* writes *Jerabrica*.

Juliobrica, in *Pliny*, and in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, of the *Cantabrians*, or *Biſcainers*, heretofore called *Brigantia*.

Lacobrica, in the *Vaccæans* Country, in *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Feſtus Pompeius*.

Lacobrica, at the ſacred Promontory, in *Mela*.

Lancobrica, of the *Luſitanick Celti*, *Ptolemy*.

Latobrigi, near to the *Switzers*, *Cæſar*.

Medubrica, Sirnamed *Plumbaria*, by *Pliny*, in *Portugal*; this, if I miſtake not, is called *Mundobrica*, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*.

Merobrica, Sirnamed *Celtica*, in *Portugal*; *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*.

Mirobrica, in the Country of the *Oretani*.

Mirobrica, another in *Beturia*, or, in the Country of the *Turditani Bœtici*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*.

Nemetobrica, in the Country of the *Luſitanick Celts*, *Ptolemy*.

Nertobrica, in the *Turduli*'s Country of *Bœtica*, *Ptolemy*.

Nertobrica,

Nertobrica, another, in the *Celtiberians* Country, *Ptolemy*, which, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, is called *Nitobrica*.

Segobrica, in the *Celtiberian*'s Country, *Pliny*, but *Ptolemy* counts it the head City of *Celtiberia*.

Talabrica, in *Lusitania*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*.

Turobrica in the *Celts* Country of *Bœtica*, *Pliny*.

Tuntobrica amongst the *Bracarean Gallæci*, *Ptolemy*.

Vertobrica, Sirnamed *Concordia Julia*, *Pliny*, in the *Celt-Bœtick*'s Country.

Volobrica, of the *Nemetes*, *Ptolemy*.

VERY many Names of Towns, and Nations, seem to belong to this Class, in all the *Provinces*, into which the *Gauls* distributed *Colonies*; For, as *Burgundus* and *Burgundio* seem to be derived from *Burgo*; so doth *Brigantes* from *Briga*. The Nominative Case of this Word, in *Stephanus*, is *Brigas*, whence we decline *Brigantes*; as we do *Gigantes*, from *Gigas*. The *Brigantes*, according to *Strabo*, are situate by the *Cottian Alps*; and, in the same Tract, is the *Village*, or Town *Brige*. And the *Brigiani*, in the *Trophy of Augustus*, are reckoned amongst the *Alpin Nations*. *Brigantium*, is an *Alpine Town*; and the *Brigantii*, are in the Country of the *Vindelici*, according to *Strabo*; and *Brigantia*, in the *Itinerary of Antoninus*; and the Mountain *Briga*, *(Ptolemy)* is near the Fountains of the *Rohsne* and the *Danor*. Also *Brigantium* in *Rhætia*, *(Ptolemy)* is the same *Town*, I suppose, which in the Book of the *Knowledge of the Provinces* of the People of *Rome*, is called *Brecantin*, and the *Brigantine Lake*. And in *Ireland* are the *Brigantes*, *Ptolemy*: The *Brigantes* also are in *Albium*, *Ptolemy*, *Tacitus*, and *Seneca*. And the Town *Brige*, or *Brage*, and *Isobrigantium*, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*. And the Town *Brigantium*, in *Orosius*, by the *Celtick Promontory*, and *Flaviobrigantium*, or *Besanzon*, in *Ptolemy*, in the *Great Port*; and a later *Brigantia*, *i. e. Braganza*, now in the Kingdom of *Portugal*.

THERE is also another Class or Rank of Words, which do either begin in *Dunum*, or end therewith; which is a *Gallick* Word, as appears by those Heaps of Sand of the *Morini*, as yet called *Duni*, or the *Downs*; and those other Heaps of Sand in the Sea over-against them in the *English* Shore, which retain the same *Name* of *Downs*. Yea, *Plutarch*, (I mean he who wrote the Book of Rivers) in declaring the Original of *Lugdunum*, *i. e. Lions*, acknowledges *Dunum* to be a *Gallick* Word. And indeed in expressing the Names of *Villages* and Towns, there is scarce any one *Word* or *Termination*,

mination, more frequent than that, amongſt the Nations, who yet preſerve the old *Gallick* Tongue almoſt intire; I mean the *Brittons* in *Gallia Celtica*; and the ancient *Scots* in *Ireland* and *Albium*; and the *Valli* or *Welch*; the *Kernico-valli*, or *Corniſh* in *England*; for there is none of thoſe Nations, which do not challenge that Word or Termination for their own; only here is the difference, that the old *Gauls* did end their compound Words with *Dunum*, but the *Scots* ordinarily place it in the beginning of Words; of this ſort there are found,

In FRANCE.

Auguſtodunum of the *Ædui* or *Burgundians*.
Caſtellodunum, of the *Carnotenſian* Province, *i. e.* of *Chartres*.
Melodunum, by the River *Sequana*, or *Sein*.
Lugdunum, at the Confluence of the Rivers *Arar* and *Rhoſne*.
Auguſtodunum, another *Autun*, of the *Arverni*, or *Auvergenois* and *Clermontians*, *Ptolemy*.
Lugdunum, of the *Conveni*, or *Comingeois*, near the River *Garon*, *Ptolemy*.
Novidunum, in the *Tribocci*'s Country, *Ptolemy*.
Uxellodunum, in *Cæſar*.
Juliodunum in the *Picton*'s Country, *i. e. Poictieres*.
Iſodunum, and *Regiodunum*, of the *Bituriges*, *i. e.* Inhabitants of *Berry*.
Laodunum or *Laudunum* in the County of *Rhemes*.
Cæſarodunum, *Ptolemy*, of the *Turones*, *i. e. Tourenois*.
Segodunum, of the *Ruthenians*, *Ptolemy*.
Velannodunum (or St. *Flour*) in *Cæſar*.

In SPAIN.

Caladunum, *Ptolemy*, of the *Bracari*, or *Braganzians*.
Sebendunum, *Ptolemy*.

In BRITAIN.

Camulodunum, of the *Brigantes* Country, *Ptolemy*.
Camulodunum, a *Roman* Colony, *Tacitus*.
Dunum, a Town of the *Durotriges*, or *Dorſetſhire* Men, *Ptolemy*.
Maridunum, *i. e. Carmarthen*, of the *Demetæ*, *Ptolemy*, and the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*.

Rigodunum,

Rigodunum, of the *Brigantes*, *Ptolemy*, *i. e. Ribchester* in *Lancashire*.

Cambodunum, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, *i. e. Ruines* near *Almondbury* in *Yorkshire*.

Margidunum, in the same *Itinerary*, *i. e. Margedoverton* in *Leicestershire*, near *Belvoir Castle*; or, as some, *Leicester* it self.

Sorviodunum, or *Sichiodunum*, in the same *Itinerary*; *i. e. Old Sarum* in *Wiltshire*.

Segodunum, *i. e. Scton* in *Northumberland*; and *Axelodunum*, *i. e. Hexam*, in *Northumberland* also, in the Book of the *Notitia Romani Imperii*, or *Knowledge of the Roman Empire*, *&c.*

Later Towns in England.

Venantodunum, *i. e. Huntington.*
Dunelmum, *i. e. Durham.*

In Scotland.

Duncaledon, called also *Caledonia. i. e. Dunkelden.*
Deidunum, *i. e. Dundee*, or rather *Taodunum*, by the River *Tay*.
Edinodunum, which Word the ancient *Scots* do yet retain, but they who *Germanize*, had rather call it *Edinburgh*.
Dunum, a Town in *Ireland*, called *Down*.
Noviodunum or *New Down*, *i. e. Dunmoore* Castle in *Coval*.
rittannodunum, *i. e. Dumbritton* or *Dumbarton*, at the Confluence of the *Clyde* and *Levin*.
AND at this day there are abundance of Names, of Castles, Villages and Hills derived therefrom.

In Germany, *these Names are read in* Ptolemy.

Lugdunum, *i. e. Leyden*; *Segodunum*, *i. e. Nurinburgh*; *Tarodunum*, *i. e. Friburgh*; *Robodunum*, *i. e. Arin*; *Carrodunum*, *i. e. Crainburgh*.

In the Alps *Country.*

Ebrodunum and *Sedunum*.

In the Vindelici *or* Bavarians *Country*, *in* Rhætia, *the* Griſons *Country*, *and* Noricum.

Cambodunum, *Corrodunum*, *Geſodunum*, *Idunum* and *Noviodunum*; and in the Book of Knowledge of the *Roman Empire*, *Parrodunum*, *i. e. Partenkirck.*

In Sarmatia *and* Dacia, *according to* Ptolemy.

Corrodunum, *Singindunum*, by the *Danow*; *Noviodunum* at the Mouth of the *Danow*; alſo another *Noviodunum*.

AND there are, in the ſame Provinces, not a few Words declined from *Dur*, which among the old *Gauls* and *Britons* ſignifies *Water*, and as yet retains the ſame ſignification amongſt ſome, as there are

In France.

Durocotti in the *Rhemiſh* Circuit, *Ptolemy*; we read them alſo called *Durocorti*; moreover, *Cæſar* makes mention of *Divodurum*, of the *Mediomatrices*. *Tacitus*, *Divodurum*, near *Paris*; in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, *Batavodurum* amongſt the *Batavi*, *Ptolemy*, *Tacitus*. *Breviodurum* in the *Itinerary* of the *Emperor Antoninus*. *Gannodurum* in *Ptolemy* near the *Rhine*. *Gannodurum* in the *Helvetians* Country, *Ptolemy*. *Octodurum*, or *Octodorus*, amongſt the *Veragri*, *Cæſar*.

In Rhætia, *the* Vindelici's *Country*, *and* Noricum.

Bragodurum, *Carrodurum*, *Ebodurum*, *Gannodurum*, and *Octodurum*, *Ptolemy*. *Venaxamodurum* and *Bododurum*, in the Book of the *Knowledge of the Provinces*.

In Spain.

Octodurum, and *Ocellodurum*, *Ptolemy*: The River *Durius* flowing into the *Ocean*, and *Duria* into the *Mediterranean* Sea, and, in *Ireland*, the River *Dur*; *Ptolemy*.

In Britain.

Durocobrivæ, *Duroprovæ*, *Durolenum*, *Durovernum*, *Durolipont*, *Durotriges*, *Durocornovium*, *Durolitum*, *Duronovaria*, *Lactodurum*.

PERHAPS

PERHAPS the two *Alpine* Rivers, *Doria* the *Greater* and the Leſs (the one running into the *Po*, by the *Salaſſians* Country; the other, by the *Piemonteis*) do belong to the ſame Original; and alſo *Iſſidorus*, and *Altiſſidorus*, Cities of *France*, ſo called (as I judge) from their Situation near Rivers. To which *Dureta* may be referred, which Word, in *Spaniſh*, ſignifies a *Wooden Throne*, as *Suetonius* writes, in the Life of *Auguſtus*: the like may be ſaid of *Domnacus*, the proper Name of a Man in *Cæſar*, which ſeems to be corrupted from *Dunacus*; for *Dunach* may ſignifie *Dunan*, and *Dunenſis* both; as *Romach* doth *Romanus*. *Dunacus*, or rather *Dunachus*, is yet uſed for the proper Name of a Man, which, thoſe who are ignorant of both Tongues, the *Latin* and the *Britiſh*, do render (but amiſs) ſometimes *Duncan*, ſometimes *Donat*.

THE Word *Magus*, alſo in all the Provinces, in which the publick Uſe of the *Gallick* Tongue obtained, is very frequent in expreſſing the Names of Cities; which ſhews that it was of a *Gallick* Original. But of the Derivatives from it, we may rather gueſs, than affirm for certain, that they were wont to ſignifie a Houſe, City, or ſuch like Building. We read in the *Book of Knowledge* of the Empire of the People of *Rome*, the Prefect of the *Pacerſian* Levies, in Gariſon at *Magi*; and alſo in the *ſame Book*, the Tribune of the ſecond *Cohort* placed at *Magni*; we read alſo of *Magni* in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, I dare not poſitively aſſert, whether it be *one Town* or *many*. But I incline, of the two, rather to think, that they were ſundry Towns.

TOWNS ending in *Magus* are theſe, *Noviomagus*, in *Ptolemy*, amongſt the *Santons*; *Noviomagus* of the *Lexovi*; *Noviomagus* of the *Vadecaſſii*; *Noviomagus*, of the *Nemetes*; *Noviomagus*. of the *Tricaſſini*; *Noviomagus* of the *Bituriges*; *Juliomagus* of the *Andegavi*; *Rotomagus* of the *Venelocaſſi*; *Cæſaromagus* of the *Bellovaci*; *Rotomagus* of the *Nervii*; *Borbetomagus* of the *Vangiones* in High *Germany*; *Vindomagus* of the *Volci Arecomici*. Alſo in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, *Argentomagus*; and in High *Germany*, *Noviomagus*. In the Book of the Knowledge of the Roman Empire; *Noviomagus* of *Belgica Secunda*; in Rhætia, *Druſomagus*, *Ptolemy*. In *Britain*, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, *Cæſaromagus*; *Sitomagus*; *Noviomagus* of the *Regni*; *Vacomagi*; *Magiovinium*; *Vicomagi*, Part of the *Picts* Country. *Ptolemy*.

THERE are alſo other Names of places, common to many of theſe *Nations*, but not ſo frequently uſed, nor ſo much diſperſed as the former; ſuch as are *Hibernia i. e. Ireland*, amongſt the *Romans*, the Name of an Iſland, called by *Pomponius*

Ponius Mela, *Ptolemy* and *Juvenal*, *Juverna*; by *Strabo*, *Claudian*, and the Inhabitants thereof, *Jerna*. That which ſome call the *Nerian* Promontory, *Strabo* calls *Jurne*; *Jernus*, or *Jern*, a River of *Gallæcia*, *Mela* calls it *Jerna*; *Jernus*, is alſo a River of *Ireland*: In *Ptolemy*, 'tis reckoned a River of *Scotland*, falling into *Tay*. Another of the ſame Name glides through *Murray*, the Country adjacent to both is called *Jerna*.

WE read of the City *Mediolanum*, in *Ptolemy*; as one *Inſubrum*, of the *Santones*; another of the *Aulerci Eburaici*; another by the *Loir*, i. e. *Menu*; a fourth by *Sequana*; or the *Seine*, (now as I think) named *Meulan*, or *Melun*; another in High *Germany*, called *Alcibargum*; another by the *Danow*; another in *Britain*, of which mention is made in he *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*.

ALSO *Marcolica*, a Town in *Spain*; *Macolica*, in *Ireland*; *Vaga*, a River in *Portugal*; and another of *Wales* in *England*. *Avo*, in *Mela*, *Avus*, in *Ptolemy*, a River of *Galæcia*, as yet retains its Name. In *Argyle*, there is alſo a River of the ſame Name, flowing out of the *Lough Awe*. The *Promontorium Sacrum*, one is in *Spain*, another in *Ireland*. *Ocellum* is a Promontory in *Britain*; *Ocellum* is alſo in *Gallæcia*, in the *Lucenſian* Diſtrict; *Ocelli* are Mountains in *Scotland*; *Ocellum* is the laſt Town of *Gallia Togata*, *Cæſar* mentions *Uxellum*, a Town in *Britain*, perhaps for *Ocellum*; for *Martianus*, in explaining the Ancient Names of the Cities of *Gallia*, ſays, that the Word is variouſly writ, *Ocellum*, *Oſcela*, and *Oſcellium*; hence perhaps comes *Uxellodunum*, which is alſo ſometimes writ *Uxellodurum*. So there is *Tamar*, a River of *Gallæcia*, *Ptolemy*; *Tamaris*, in *Mela*; *Tamarici*, a People of *Gallæcia*; the River *Tamarus*, *Pliny*; and *Tamara*, a Town in *Britain*.

SARS, a River of *Gallæcia*, *Ptolemy*; *Sarcus* in *Scotland*, *Mela*.

EBORA, a Town of *Portugal*, called *Liberalitas Julia*, in *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; *Ebura*; that which is *Cerealis* in *Bætica*, in *Pliny* is *Ebora*; *Ptolemy* mentions *Aulerci Eburaici* in *Gallia Celtica*; and alſo *Eboracum*, *i. e. York*, of the *Britiſh Brigantes*.

DEVA, now *Dee*, a River of *England*; and three in *Scotland*, ſo called, one in *Galway*, another in *Angus*, the third divides *Merne* from *Marr*.

THE *Cornavii* in *England*, are in the fartheſt part of the *Weſt*; in *Scotland*, they are the fartheſt *North*. Both of them are now called *Kernici*; there ſeems alſo to have been a third ſort of *Kernici* in *Scotland*, at the Mouth of the River *Avenus*,

nus, or *Even*, which is the Boundary between the Coaſts of *Lothian* and *Sterling*. For *Bede* makes the *Monaſtery* of *Abercorn* to be at the end of *Severus* his Wall, where now the Ruins of the Caſtle of *Abercorn* do appear. *Aven* is often read, a River both of *England* and *Scotland*. *Aven* in *Scotiſh*, and *Evon* in *Welſh*, ſignifies a River.

OF the three Nations which firſt inhabited this Iſland, after the coming of *Caſar*, the *Britains* were ſubject to the Emperors of *Rome* ſucceſſively, little leſs than five hundred Years; but the *Scots* and *Picts* were under the Subjection of their own Kings. At length, when all the neighbouring *Nations* did conſpire for the Deſtruction of the *Romans*, they recalled their Armies from their moſt remote Provinces, to maintain their Empire at home. And by this means, the *Britains*, being deſtitute of foreign Aid, were miſerably vexed by the *Scots* and *Picts*; inſomuch, that they craved Aid of the *Saxons*, who then infeſted the Seas with a pyratical Navy. But that Project coſt them dear. For the *Saxons* having repelled the *Picts* and *Scots*, being tempted by the Fertility of the Country, and the Weakneſs of the Inhabitants, aſpired to make themſelves *Maſters* of the *Iſland*. But after various Succeſſes in War, ſeeing they could not arrive at what they aimed at by Force, they reſolved to accoſt the *Britains* by Fraud. Their Stratagem was this. There being a Conference or Treaty, agreed upon at a ſet Day and Place, between the Nobles of both Parties; the *Saxons* having a Sign given them by *Hengiſt* their Captain, ſlew all the *Britiſh* Nobility, and drove the common People into rugged and mountainous Places; ſo that they themſelves poſſeſſed all the Champion, and divided the fruitfuleſt part of the *Iſland* between them, into ſeven Kingdoms. This was the State of Affairs in *Britain*, about the Year of *Chriſt* 464. And whereas three *German* Nations did originally undertake Expeditions into *Britain*, the other two, by degrees, paſſed into the Name of *Engliſh* Men. But the Peace made with the *Britons*, nor with the *Engliſh* amongſt themſelves, was never faithfully obſerved. About the Year of our Lord 317, the *Danes*, being powerful at Sea, did firſt moleſt *England* with pyratical Incurſions, but being valiantly repulſed, about thirty three Years after they came with greater Forces, and made a Deſcent into the Country with a Land Army. At the firſt Conflict they were *Victors*, but afterwards they contended with the *Engliſh*, with various Succeſſes, till in the Year 1012, *Swain*, having wholly ſubdued the *Britains*, by their publick Conſent, obtained the *Kingdom*, which yet remained but a few Years in his Family. For the *Saxons* having again created

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created *Kings* of their own Nation, about twenty four Years after, were overcome by *William* the *Norman*, moſt of their Nobility being ſlain, and their Lands divided among the *Normans*, by which means the common People were kept in a miſerable Slavery, till *Henry* the Seventh's Time, who, eaſing part of their Burden, made the Condition of the Commonalty a little more tolerable. But thoſe which are in Favour with the King, or would ſeem to be truly Illuſtrious and Noble, derive their whole Deſcent from the *Normans*.

THESE are the Diſcoveries which I have been able to make, out of ancient Writings, and other, no obſcure, Indications, concerning the *Original*, *Cuſtoms*, and *Language* of the three ancienteſt Nations in *Britain*; all which induce me to believe, that the old *Britons*, and the other Inhabitants of *Britain*, were derived from the *Gauls*, and did originally uſe the *Gallick* Speech; of which many Signs very manifeſtly appear, both in *France* and *Britain*. Neither ought it to ſeem ſtrange, if, in a Language which admits of a Change each moment of our Life, many things receive different Names in divers Places, eſpecially in ſuch a Length of Time; nay, we may rather admire, that the ſame Foundations of a Language, (if I may ſo ſpeak,) and the ſame manner of Declenſion and Derivation, doth yet continue amongſt a People, ſo far remote one from another, and ſo ſeldom agreeing together in Converſe of Life; nay, being often at mortal Feuds one with another.

CONCERNING the other three Nations, the *Angles*, *Danes*, and *Normans*, we need make no ſolicitous Inquiry; ſeeing the Times and Cauſes of their coming are known almoſt to all. But I have entred upon this Task, that I might reſtore Us to our *Anceſtors*, and our *Anceſtors* to Us; if I have performed this well, I have no reaſon to repent of a little Labour, though ſpent in none of the greateſt Concerns; if not, yet, they who concur not with me in Opinion, cannot (I believe) diſallow or blame my Good-Will. And I am ſo far from grudging or taking it ill, to have what I have written, refuted, that if any Man can diſcover greater Certainty, and convince me of my Miſtake, I ſhall return him great Thanks for his Pains.

I HAD reſolved to put an end to this Diſquiſition, concerning the Original of the *Nations* of *Britain*, if *Ludd* had not called me back, even againſt my Will, who maintains, That the *Scots* and the *Picts* came but lately into *Albium*. Tho' I might, without any Offence, paſs by the empty Vanity of the Man, joyned with his Ignorance; yet, leſt the Faction of the unlearned, ſhould too much pride themſelves in ſuch

a *Pa-*

PRAE-

a *Patron*, I thought fit, in a few Words, to manifeſt the *Obſtinacy* of the Man, and that principally from thoſe Arguments and Teſtimonies, which he himſelf produceth againſt Us.

FIRST, I will ſpeak concerning his manner of Reaſoning, and afterwards of the *Matter* it ſelf.

Julius Cæſar, (ſays he) and *Cornelius Tacitus*, Writers of ſo great Exactneſs; as alſo *Suetonius*, *Herodian*, and other *Romans*, who wrote of *Britiſh* Affairs, have, in no part of their Works, made mention of *Scots* or *Picts*, and therefore doubtleſs, they had no Seats in *Britain*, in that Age. Wilt thou accept of this Condition, *Ludd*, that what Nation no ancient *Writer* hath mentioned, never any ſuch Nation was? If you embrace this Motion, ſee how many Nations you will exclude from their Beings in one or two Lines? How great a Table of Preſcriptions will you make? Nay, What great Perſons will you proſcribe, *Brutus*, *Albanactus*, and *Camber*? What Nations will you wholly eradicate, the *Loegri*, the *Cambri*, the *Albani*, according to thy *Poſtulatum*, who art a Tyrant in *Hiſtory*, and Grammar both, as declining *Albanus* from *Albanactus*. But if that Condition proffered, do not pleaſe.

——Quia tu Gallinæ Filius albæ,
Nos viles pulli, nati infœlicibus ovis.

Becauſe you are the Favourite of Fate,
But we're condemn'd to a low baſe State.

I WILL propound another to you, and ſuch an one too, as you ought not, and (I think) dare not refuſe. There is a certain kind of Proof to be drawn from Fragments, by which if you harden your Forehead a little, you may prove any thing. I am the more inclined to make uſe of this way of Proof, becauſe you ſeem to love it moſt of all, as proving (forſooth) out of a Fragment, known (I believe) to thy ſelf alone, that an innumerable Multitude of the *Cimbri* went forth to deſtroy the *Roman* Empire; I will therefore ſhew you out of a *Fragment*, that the *Scots* and *Picts* were in *Britain* before *Veſpaſian*'s Reign, which you deny. In that Book, to which you have given the Title of *Fragmentum Britannicæ Deſcriptionis, i. e.* A Fragment of the Deſcription of *Britain*; I think, eſpecially for this Reaſon, becauſe you thought your ſelf to have ſufficiently proved, out of one of the two Fragments, that the *Iſland* was rather to be called *Pritania*, than *Britannia*; and out of the other, that you had diſgorged ſuch a multitude of *Cimbri*, as were enough to

conquer all *Britain*: For this Cause, you thought that your Fragment would get Credit enough on that single Account. In that Book, you write, that the Name of *Scots* and *Picts*, together with the *Franks* and *English*, or *Angles*, were well known to the *Roman* World; and as a Witness of this Opinion, (a meet one indeed,) he produced *Mamertinus* in the *Panegyrick* dedicated to *Maximinianus*; which Witness, if I understand him aright, makes against *Ludd*. For *Mamertinus*, speaking of the [illegible] coming of *Julius Cæsar* into *Britain*, hath these Words; *Moreover the Nation, as yet rude and dwelling in* Britain, *accustomed to none but the Arms of the* Picts *and* Irish, *their half naked Enemies, did easily yield to the Arms and Ensigns of the* Romans. See, I pray, what *Ludd* would infer out of this Testimony; First, That the *Britons* alone did then inhabit the Island. Next, that the People there named *Hiberni* or *Irish*, were afterwards called *Scots*; but the Author of the *Panegyrick* doth assert neither of the two. For he affirms, that before the coming in of *Cæsar*, the *Britons* waged War against the *Scots* and *Picts*, of the *British* Soil, *i. e.* Enemies dwelling in the *British* Soil, so that *Soli Britanni*, is the Genitive, not Nominative Case; the other, he falsly assumes to himself; for I think I have sufficiently demonstrated out of *Paulus Orosius* a *Spaniard*, and *Bede* an *English* Man, that all the Inhabitants of *Ireland* were anciently called *Scots*, and then at length, when they sent Colonies into *Albium*, the Name of *Scots* was almost extinguished at Home, and began to grow famous Abroad: In another place, he contends, that the *Caledonii* were called *Britons*, grounding his Assertion on no other Argument, than that he finds they were called *Britons*, which is a Name common to all who inhabit the same *Island*. But I have shewed before, out of the place of the *Panegyrick*, quoted by him, that the *Caledonians* were *Picts*; *Marcellinus* affirms the same thing, who says, that there are two sorts of *Picts*, the *Dicaledones*, or, (as I think it ought to be writ,) the *Duncaledones*, and the *Vecturiones*. But the *Caledonii* or *Caledones* dwelt in *Britain* before the Reign of *Vespasian*, neither were they unknown to the *Romans*, as *Lucan* plainly shews, who died in *Nero*'s Time.

Aut vaga cùm Tethys Rutupinaque littora fervent,
Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos.

When raging Seas on Sandwich *Shores do beat,*
The troubled Waves do British Caledons *cheat.*

BUT

But why do I trouble my ſelf to procure foreign Witneſſes, ſeeing we have a clear and convincing one at home? I mean *Bede*, the Writer of the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* of *England*; for he takes Notice of the Order, and almoſt of the very Moments of Time, wherein foreign Nations came over into *Britain*. Theſe are his Words in his firſt Book. 'Firſt of all, the *Iſland* was inhabited by *Britons*, whence 'it hath its Name, who from the *Armorick* Tract, as it is 'reported, ſailing over into *Britain*, poſſeſſed the *South* 'parts of it, and having ſeiſed upon the greateſt part of the '*Iſland*, beginning from the *South*, it hapned that the Nation 'of the *Picts*, coming (as 'tis reported) out of *Scythia*, and 'entring into the Ocean, with long Ships, or Gallies, but not 'many, were, by ſtreſs of Wind and Weather, driven be'yond all the Bounds of *Britany* into *Ireland*;' and in a few Lines after he ſays: 'Wherefore the *Picts*, coming into '*Britain*, begun to ſettle themſelves in the *North* parts of 'the *Iſland*: The *Southern* being poſſeſſed by the *Britons*. And at length, after a few Lines interpoſed, he adds, 'In 'proceſs of time, Britany *after the* Britons *and the* Picts, '*took in a third Nation of* Scots, as part of the *Picts*.' Then, after many Paſſages, *he ſubjoins*; *But the ſame* Britanny *was* '*inacceſſible and unknown to the* Romans, *until the time of* 'C. Julius Cæſar.' Whoſoever thou art, who readeſt theſe Paſſages, obſerve, I pray, Whence, at what Time, and in what Order, this *Author*, much more ancient and grave than *Ludd*, doth affirm, that theſe Nations entred *Britain*, to wit, that the *Britons*, from the *Armorick* Tract entred firſt, but the Time not certain. That the *Picts*, out of *Scythia*, came next into thoſe parts of *Britain*, which were yet uninhabited, and that not long after the Entrance of the *Britons*, who were not as yet increaſed into ſuch a Multitude, as to be able to inhabit the whole *Iſland*. What then becomes of the *Scots*? When came they into *Britain*? In proceſs of Time, ſays he, *viz.* The *Picts* granting them the uninhabited Seats in their Diſtricts, they came laſt to the former two. So the *Britons*, as *Bede* affirms, came into this *Iſland* out of *Armorica* in *France*, and, not long after, the *Picts* out of *Scythia*; both of them ſeiſed on the vacant and uninhabited places; at laſt, the *Iſland* being divided betwixt them, the *Scots* entred not by Force, but were admitted into the Portion, and Lot of the *Picts*, and that long before *Britain* was known to the *Romans*. Here, how will you deal with *Ludd*? Who produces *Gildas* and *Bede*, as Witneſſes to his Fables, *viz.* That the *Scots* and the *Picts* did firſt of all fix their Habitations in *Britain*, in the Reign of the *Roman Emperor Honorius*,

norius, in the Year of *Christ* 420; of which two, *Gildas* makes nothing for him; and *Bede* doth evidently convince him of Falſhood. But let the *Reader* believe neither *Ludd* nor *Me*, but his own Eyes; and let him diligently weigh the Places of each *Writer*; but (ſays he) *Dion* calls the *Caledonians*, *Britanni*; I grant he doth ſo, ſo doth *Lucan*, and alſo *Martial*, in that Verſe,

Quinte Caledonios *Ovidi viſure Britannos*;

The Caledonians, *which in* Britain *be*,
Quintus Ovidius *is about to ſee.*

BUT none of them therefore deny them to be *Picts*; yet they have good reaſon to call them *Britains*: For, as the whole Iſland is called *Britanny*, ſo all its Inhabitants are deſervedly called *Britains*. For all the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Sicily* are generally called by the *Romans*, *Sicilians*, without any difference, though they themſelves call one another, ſome *Sicilians*; other *Sicilotes*; ſo the Poſſeſſors of *Britany* are, by Foreigners, all called *Britains*; but they themſelves often call the ancient Inhabitants *Britons*, and the other People of different Nations living there, ſometime by the private Names of the Countries, whence they came, and ſometimes by the common Name of *Britains*. Wherefore the *Caledonians*, *Picts* and *Scots*, are ſometimes called, each Nation by its own Name, yet all of them, not ſeldom, by the general Term, *Britons*. But *Brittons*, of which I have ſpoken, no Man ever gave them that Appellation.

THERE is alſo another difference amongſt them, to be obſerved in the Word *Britannia*; as there is amongſt the *Grecks* and *Latins* in the Word *Aſia*. For *Aſia* ſometimes denotes the third Part of the habitable World, and ſometimes it is taken for that Part of the *Greater Aſia*, which is ſituate on this ſide the Mountain *Taurus*, and is wont to be called *Aſia the Leſs*. So *Britanny* is ſometimes uſed for the Name of the whole Iſland in general; and at other times, only for that Part of it, which was ſubjected to the *Romans*, which Part was bounded ſometimes by the River *Humber*, and ſometimes by the Wall of *Adrian*, and ſometimes by the Wall of *Severus*; and the Inhabitants of this Part, are by *Britiſh* Writers more uſually called *Brittons*, than *Britains*; but the other Perſons living in the Iſland, *i. e.* the *Scots* and the *Picts*, were called by *Bede* ſometimes *Britains*, and ſometimes *Strangers* and *Foreigners*; we may alſo find the ſame remarkable difference in *Geoffry* of *Monmouth*, and *William*

of

of *Malmesbury*. And therefore the *Caledonians* will be counted *Brittons*, never a jot the more, for being ſtyled *Britains* by *Dion*, *Martial*, *Lucan*, or any other good Author, than the *Brutians* will be *Romans*, though both of them are *Italians*. If *Ludd* had taken Notice of theſe things, he had never involved himſelf in ſuch dark *Labyrinths*, nor had he ſo raſhly and inconſiderately made a poſitive Determination in a point ſo obſcure, nor had denied the *Caledonians* to have been *Picts*, becauſe they are termed by *Dion*, *Britains*. Neither hath *Ludd* any juſt cauſe to wonder, that no Writer more ancient than *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Claudian*, hath made mention of the *Scots* and *Picts*, though they lived ſo many, I will not ſay Years, but Ages in *Britain*. For, not to ſpeak of the *Valli*, *Cambri*, *Loegri*, Names lately known to the World, I may ask him, why, ſince ſo many *Greek* and *Latin* Writers have written of the Affairs of *Greece*; yet no *Grecian* once names his Countrymen *Græci*; nor no *Latin* Author calls them *Hellenes*? Why did the Names of the Nations which I mentioned but now, creep ſo late into the Hiſtory of *Britain*, which that *Cambro-Britain* makes to be ſo ancient? If you ask any *Engliſhman*, of what Country he is, none will anſwer, that he is a *Saxon*; yet the *Scots*, *Picts*, *Iriſh*, both the *Britons*, *i. e.* thoſe that inhabit *Britain* and thoſe who dwell in *France*, do ſtill unanimouſly call them *Saxons*: Why do not the old *Scots*, even to this very Day, acknowledge and own the Name of *Scots*? It ought not then to ſeem abſurd to any Man; if, when the *Romans* asked their *Captives*, of what Nation they were; one ſaid a *Mœatian*, another an *Attacottian*, a third a *Caledonian*; and the Names which foreign Nations received from them they ſtill retained, and uſed in their common publick Diſcourſe; neither, as I judge, will it ſeem incredible, that ſome Names are more known to *Hiſtorians* and Strangers; and others, to the Inhabitants of the Country. Though the Premiſſes make it ſufficiently appear, that the coming of the *Scots* and *Picts* into *Britain*, is not only more ancient than *Ludd* will grant it to be; nay, that it was but a little later than the *Britains* themſelves coming into it, yet I ſhall add other, and thoſe no contemptible, Conjectures. The *Brigantes*, a great and powerful Nation, were ſeated beyond the River *Humber*, about *York*, and poſſeſs'd the whole breadth of the *Iſland*, between the two Seas; it is probable that they came not from the Tract of *France*, which was neareſt, for no *Brigantes* are ſaid to have inhabited there, but out of *Spain*. Firſt into *Ireland*, and from *Ireland* into *Britain*, as being a neighbouring *Iſland* to it; neither doth this differ from the Con-

jecture

ecture of *Cornelius Tacitus*, which he makes concerning the *ancient Inhabitants* of the *Isle*. If the *Brigantes* came from *Ireland*, then they must be of *Scotish* Race, as all the rest of the Inhabitants of *Ireland* were. *Seneca* also seems to confirm this Opinion, in that elegant *Satyr* of his, concerning the Death of *Claudius*, in these Words,

Ille Britannos ultra noti littora Ponti
Et cæruleos Scutabrigantes dare Romuleis
Colla Catenis jussit, & ipsum nova Romana
Jura securis tremere Oceanum.

He, th' Britains, *which beyond known Seas did dwell,*
And blew Scutabrigantes *did compel*
Rome's *Yoke to bear. Yea the Ocean, so far spread,*
His Government, and his new Laws, did dread.

IN these Verses, *Joseph Scaliger*, the Son of *Julius*, is of Opinion, that for *Scutabrigantes*, we ought to read *Scotobrigantes*. Of how great Learning and Judgment that young Man is; of what Industry in comparing ancient Writers; and of what Acuteness in finding out the Meaning of obscure Passages, the Works that he has published do declare. At present I shall only say, that having undertaken to illustrate the Affairs of *Britain*, I thought his Judgment was not to be omitted; and I will declare, in a few Words, why I think it to be true; for since we read in *Cæsar*, and other *Authors*, eminent both for Accuracy and Knowledge, that the *Britains* were wont to paint their Bodies with *Woad*; and in *Herodian*, that they used narrow Shields in War, (such as *Livy* ascribes to the *Asiatick Gauls*,) and no great Ornament in their Arms; it seem'd absur'd, to make mention of the Shield, which was not painted, the mention of the Body, which was painted, being omitted. Now the old *Britains* were painted, not for Comeliness, as several other *Nations* were; but that their blewish Colour might render them more terrible to their *Enemies* in Fight; but how that Colour could appear terrible in a narrow Shield, I do not understand. And therefore it is very probable, that that Learned Man, and skilful in *British Affairs*; as who, according to *Dion*, *kept the whole under Tribute*, wrote the Word, *Scotobrigantes*, that he might distinguish them from the other *Brigantes*, both *Spanish* and *Gallick*. It makes also for the same Purpose, that in those Verses he separates the *Britains* and *Brigantes*, as two different Nations, which is also done by some *British* Writers, who make *Humber* to be the Boundary of *Britain*. This

Matter

Matter not being well conſidered by *Hector Boëtius*, as I judge, led him into a Miſtake who having ſomewhere read, that the *Silures* and *Brigantes* were called *Scoti*, as having their Original from *Ireland*, placed them in part of the Kingdom of the *Scots*, in *Albium*. His Miſtake, though it might juſtly offend others, yet ought not to have been ſo ſeverely cenſured by *Ludd*, who hath committed as great Miſtakes in the ſame kind; for he makes the *Cumbri*, or (as he calls them) the *Cumri*, to iſſue out of a Corner of *Britain*, to plunder the whole World: For he infers from one or two Words, common to them both, that the *Cimbri* and *Britanni* were of one Nation. Thoſe Words are *Moremaruſa* and *Trimarchia*; here it is worth the while to take Notice of the Man's Acuteneſs, in diſputing, and of his Subtilty (forſooth) in drawing Inferences and Concluſions. This Word *Moremaruſa*, ſays he, is a *Britiſh* Word, but it was once a *Cimbrick* one, and no Nation's elſe beſides, which were by the *Baltick* Sea. But ſince our Countrymen uſe the ſame Word, and are called by the ſame Name with thoſe other *Cimbri*, therefore (ſure) both were of the ſame Stock and Nation.

IN this Matter, firſt he affirms Falſhoods for Truths, and alſo takes Uncertainties for Certainties. For it is a manifeſt Untruth, That both of them are called *Cimbri*, even if *Ludd* himſelf be a Witneſs, who affirms, That all the Inhabitants, his Countrymen of *Cambria*, were ſo called from their *King*, *Camber*, and he calls himſelf a *Cambrobritain*. I could alſo prove the Falſhood of this Opinion, by the Teſtimony of all his Countrymen, who do not call themſelves *Cimbri*, but *Cumri*. As that is falſe, ſo this is uncertain, whether other People living by the *Baltick* Sea, did not uſe that Word, which you attribute to the *Cimbri* alone; eſpecially ſince it appears out of *Tacitus*, that many Nations, in that Tract of *Germany*, ſpoke the *Gallick* Tongue, and I ſhewed before, that Word to be *Gallick*. But ſuppoſe, that both of your *Aſſumptions* were true, What then? Did you never read, That the Soldiers of *Cn. Pompeius*, when he waged War in *Aſia*, were ſaluted by the Name of *Brethren*, by the *Albans*, that inhabited the Mountain *Caucaſus*, by reaſon, that both of them were called *Albans*? Neither do I doubt, but that if a Man had obſerved both *Tongues*, he might have found one or two Words, ſignifying the ſame thing in both: But they wanted ſuch a Man as *Ludd* there, who becauſe both People had certain Words common between them, would thereby prove, that both were of the ſame Nation; and yet the purblind Man ſeems to be ſenſible of the *Non ſequitur*

ſequitur of his Concluſion, when he adds that the *Cimbri* were called *Æſtiones*, by the *Germans*; that he might make that out, he ſhould have ſhewn at what Time, and upon what Grounds, the *Cimbri* were transformed into *Æſtiones*, and the *Æſtiones* again, into *Cimbri*. He ſpeaks not a Syllable of this, but only cites a *Britiſh* Hiſtory, collected out of the *Mileſian* Fables, of the *Gauls*, and alſo quotes a certain *Fragment*, whence he, being now degraded from an Antiquary, to be either a Botcher, or a Scraper together of old uſeleſs Relicks, or (if I may ſo ſpeak) a *Fragmentary*, doth piece up new Kingdoms, and new Nations, for us; this he doth with great Labour, and yet with no Colour of Probability, where, yet it was very obvious to him, (unleſs perhaps it was above the poor Man's reach) to find out the Cauſes, why the Name *Cimber* was communicated to the *Cimbri*, and the *Valli* too: For *Plutarch* ſays, that it was not the Name of a Nation, but of an Occupation or Employment, and that Robbers were ſo called by the *Germans*. *Suidas*, no contemptible Grammarian amongſt the *Greeks*, underſtands the Word in the ſame Senſe; and *Feſtus Pompeius*, amongſt the *Latins*, writes, that the *Cimbri* were called *Plunderers* by the *Gauls*. If we follow theſe Mens Opinions, it will not be difficult to find out, why the *Cimbri*, whom *Ludd* places in *Britain*, came by that Name, eſpecially ſince their Neighbours, the *Angli* or *Engliſh*, affirm, that even in this Age, their Manners ſhew them too much inclined to the ſame Practiſes of Thievery. Sure I am, that *Livy* calls that Slave who was ſent to kill *Marius* in the Priſon of the *Minturnæ*, a *Gaul*; *Lucan* calls him a *Cimber*, but no noted Writer ſtyles him a *Britain*. If *Ludd* had conſidered theſe Things, or, if, after Conſideration, he had choſen rather to remember them, than to frame new Monſters to himſelf; there was no Neceſſity for him, in one Moment of Time, or rather, with one Falſhood, to have left all *Britain* almoſt deſtitute and forſaken, all its military young Men exhauſted, and ſix hundred thouſand of them drawn out of it at one ſingle Draught.

I WILL not here deſcend to a minute Inquiry, to what Children the *Valli* are wont to give the Names of the *Cimbrick* Kings; for this diligent Writer brings in this alſo as an Argument of their Stock.

IF I Miſtake not, beſides *Latin*, *German*, and *Syriack* ones, he will find very few Names. But if a ſolid Argument may be fetched from the proper Names of Men, (which are oftentimes arbitrarily impoſed by Parents, or vain-gloriouſly adopted out of ſome *Hiſtory*) then *Ludd* might rather perſuade

ſuade us, that his Countrymen are *Jews*, *Romans*, or *Germans*, than *Cimbri*: Or, if he would have adviſed his Compatriots to give baptiſmal Names, fetched out of *Hiſtory*, to their Children, within a few Years, he might transform his Nation, into what Nation ſoever he pleaſed. But to [redacted] the Names of the *Cimbrick* Kings, which, he ſays, were accuſtomed to be given to Children; I would willingly have asked the Man, from what Oracle he received it? Unleſs I knew before-hand, that he never wants ſome *Fragment*, out of which he can prove what he pleaſes himſelf. But this I can't but admire, touching that *Cimbrick* Expedition, how all their military Men being ſent abroad, that within the ſpace of forty Years, (for it was about that Interval, between the *Cimbrick* War, and *Julius Cæſar*'s Arrival in *Britain*,) your Country of *Vallia* ſhould ſo ſoon recover to be ſo populous; eſpecially, ſince, when *Maximus* drew forth a far leſſer Number out of *Britain*, even when it was in its moſt flouriſhing Eſtate, the *Britains* could, never after, hold up their Heads, but they were brought into bitter Servitude by the *Saxons*: Or why *Cæſar*, who, for his Age, might have made mention of the *Cimbrick* War, when he came into *Britain*, being alſo a Learned Man, and a great Favourer of the *Marian* Party, did find out nothing, by Inquiry, concerning this *Cimbrick* Expedition. Laſtly, I deſire to know, whether *Ludd* ſpoke in jeſt, or in earneſt, when he added, that the Affinity of both the *Cimbri* might be inferred from their equal Contempt of Gold and Silver? Here I would willingly ask of him, whether he ſpoke in earneſt, when he calls thoſe *Cimbrians*, who did not only vex and plunder *Gallia* or *Gaul*, and a part of *Spain* too, but in a manner wholly waſted and deſtroyed them both? And yet afterward haſtened to *Italy*, in queſt of a richer Booty? Whoſe Opulency got by Robberies, the *Helvetians* imitating, they alſo became Plunderers, as *Strabo* relates in his ſeventh Book. Dare you call ſuch Men *frugal* and *temperate*? And that it may appear, that the *Cimbricks* Name is truly aſſigned to your Nation, you make them *emulous* of thoſe Employments, to which the *Cimbrians* were accuſtomed; nay you make your ſelf a *Pilferer* too, who aſpireſt to the Glory of a *Plagiary*, with ſtealing from all Nations: For, not content to have vindicated the Deeds of the *Cimbri*, to your Countrymen, you add with as impudent and fictitious an Untruth, that the *Sicambri* were alſo of your Stock: And becauſe in the Name of both Nations, there is a certain Similitude of *Letters*, from that Alliance of *Words*, you feign a Conjunction of Blood. At this rate,

beſides the *Sicambrians*, the *Franks*, and their Childrens Children, to all Generations, will be allied to you; and ſo, after a packed Series of Lyes, you raiſe a Bridge to bring back the fugitive *Brenni*; of which, one, who took *Rome* about an hundred Years before the other, who beſieg[ed] *Delphos*; but you jumble and compact them together in[to] one Body, that ſo you might dreſs up a new Monſter out of a dead and living Man, piec'd together; as if it was difficult to prove, by other Arguments, that Monſters are born in that very Country, which brought ſuch a Perſon as you, forth. But, ſays *Ludd*, no Writer acknowledgeth, that there were two *Brennus*'s, beſides *Polydore Virgil*. Surely, *Ludd*, thy Reaſon hath forſaken thee, or elſe thou haſt never read the fourth Book of *Strabo*, where he writes, That the *Brennus*, who beſieged *Delphos*, is, by ſome, thought to be *Prauſus*. Nay not *Strabo* alone, but every Man, who believes, that *Rome* was taken by a *Brennus*; and that above an hundred Years after *Delphos* was beſieged by a *Brennus*, doth acknowledge, that there were two of that Name; ſince both thoſe Enterprizes could not be performed by one and the ſame Man. But if we believe the *Monk*, the Compiler of the *Britiſh* Hiſtory, *Brennus*, the Brother of *Belinus*, preceded theſe two *Brenni*, three hundred Years; who, if he had led his Army into *Italy* at that Time, muſt have fought with *Numa Pompilius*, or with *Tullus Hoſtilius*, and not with the free People of *Rome*. But to omit thoſe things, whence doth this new Logician gather, that *Brennus* was a *Britain*? Forſooth, from one Word only, *viz. Trimarchia*, which Word yet is common to *Scots*, *Gauls*, and *Welſh*. But *Pauſanias*, whom you quote mainedly, and by Piece-meal, that ſo he may make for your purpoſe, calls *Brennus* and his Companions, *Gauls*, and acknowledgeth that Word to be *Gallick*; but you, Sir, you only, ſuch is your Shameleſneſs, againſt the Credit of all *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtorians, nay, and in ſpight of the Muſes themſelves too, do ſtrive to prove him a *Britain*. Perhaps I have proſecuted this Argument a little more prolixly, than either the Obſcurity of the Matters themſelves, or the Unskilfulneſs and Inconſiſtency of *Ludd*, deſerved; I have done it, not out of a deſire to carp at, or blame others, (which I am far from) but to blunt the Edge of abuſive Words uſed by a Man that takes a Pleaſure in making ro[ugh] Reflections upon others; to reduce him from a wild and extravagant Rage, that makes him ſpeak Evil of almoſt all Writers, and ſo to bring him, at laſt, to acknowledge his Error. To omit others, at preſent, he falls, with great Scurrility, upon *Hector Boëtius*, a Man not only well-

well skilled in the Liberal Arts, but also endued with singular Humanity and Courteſie, and famous too, beyond the ordinary rate of the Times, he lived in; and he ſo falls upon him, as to blame nothing in him, of which he himſelf [illegible] more faulty. *Hector* places the *Brigantes* in *Gallo-*[illegible] which he did amiſs; for I have no mind to defend his Miſtakes: But *Ludd* brings out great Forces of the *Cimbri*, from one Corner of *Britain*, how truly, let the Learned judge. *Hector* attributes Matters, acted by others againſt the *Romans* in *Britanny*, to his Countrymen, the *Scots*. And *Ludd* doth ſhamelеſly and falſly affirm, that *Rome* was taken, *Macedonia* vexed, *Greece* afflicted, the nobleſt Oracle of the World ſacrilegiouſly violated, by his Countrymen, the *Britons*; nay, that *Aſia* it ſelf was compelled to pay Tribute to a few Vagabonds. He blames *Hector*, but falſly, for making *Gildo*, who raiſed up great Commotions in *Africa*, a *Scot*; and yet, he makes the ſame *Gildo*, who was indeed a *Moor*, to be a *Goth*; but *Gildus* and *Gildo* (forſooth) are Names almoſt alike. Let me ask you, Are they more like, than *Luddus*, *Lydus*, and *Ludio*? This is certain, that *Gildus* is an old Name in *Scotland*, as the ancient Clan of the *Macgilds*, or *Macgills*, doth ſhew; of whoſe Poſterity there are yet Families remaining of good Account, both in *Scotland* and *England*. But, ſince *Ludd* hath ſuch an intemperate Tongue, that he cares not what he ſays, provided he may abuſe others, I ſhall leave him, and conclude this Book, only giving him this Caution, That

Loripedem rectus derideat, Æthiopem albus.

Let the well-ſhaped, *deride the* crooked Back,
And the White European, *ſcorn the* Black.

THE

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK III.

THOUGH I have ſufficiently demonſtrated in the two former Books, how fabulous, yea, how like mere Prodigies, the Memoirs are, which the Writers of the *Britiſh* Affairs have delivered, concerning their Anceſtors; and have alſo ſhewn, by plain and clear Evidences, that the ancient *Britons* had their Original from the *Gauls:* Yet, becauſe, I perceive, I have to do with ſuch Men, as may be rather ſaid to contend obſtinately for a manifeſt Falſhood, rather than with ſuch as are led into a Miſtake and Error, by Raſhneſs or Ignorance; I thought it worth my while to borrow Proofs from Writers that bear a great Authority amongſt all Learned Men, that I might take off the Edge from the Boldneſs of ſuch hair-brain'd Men; and, by that means, ſupply good Men, and Lovers of Truth, with ſufficient Arms to reſtrain and curb their daring and affronting Impudence. In the Rank of ſuch Claſſick Authors, I judge,

judge, *Julius Cæsar* deserves the first Place, both for his Diligence in searching his Certainty in knowing, and Sincerity in declaring things to others. He, in the fifth Book of his Commentaries concerning the *Gallick* War, writing of *Britain*, says thus, "The inner part of *Britain* is inhabited by such, as they themselves record to be born in the Island; and the Maritime Coasts, by such, as came out of *Belgium*, either to make Incursions, or Invasions; and, after the War was ended, they continued in the Possessions they had gained, and were called by the Names of the Cities, from whence they came. The Country is very populous, and well-stored with Houses, much like those of the *Gauls*; they have great store of Cattle; they use Brass for Money, or Iron Rings, weighed at a certain Rate. In its midland Parts, there is found great Quantity of Tin, and, in the mountainous Parts, Iron; though, but in a small Quantity; their Brass is brought in by other Nations. They have all sort of Trees, that they have in *Gallia*, excepting the Beech and the Fir. Their Religion will not suffer them to eat either Hare, Hen, or Goose, notwithstanding they have of them all, as well for Novelty as Variety. The Country is more temperate, and not so cold, as *Gallia*. The Island lieth triangular, one side of which fronteth *Gallia*: On which side, that Angle, that *Kent* stands in, points to the *East*, where almost all Ships arrive from *France*; And the lower Angle, to the *South*; this side containeth above 500 Miles. The other Angle lyeth toward *Spain*, and the Western Coast, in that Circuit, where also *Ireland* lyeth, which is an Island half as big as *England*, (as some think) and as far distant from it, as *Gallia*; in the Midway between *England* and *Ireland*, lyeth an Island called *Man*; besides many other small Islands, of which some write, that in Winter time, for 30 Days together, they have a continual Night, whereof we learned nothing by Inquiry; only we found by certain Measures of Water, that the Nights in *England* were shorter than in the Continent. The length of this Side, according to the Opinion of the Inhabitants, containeth 700 Miles. The third side lyeth to the *North*, and open Sea, saving that this Angle points a little toward *Germany*. This side is thought to contain 800 Miles. And so the whole Island containeth in Circuit 2000 Miles. Of all the Inhabitants, they of *Kent* are most courteous and civil, all their Country bordering upon the Sea, and little differing from the Fashion of *Gallia*. Most of the inland People sow no Corn, but live upon Milk and Flesh, they

'are cloathed with Skins, and have their Faces painted with a blew Colour, to the end, they may ſeem more terrible in Fight. They wear the Hair of their Heads long; having all other parts of their Body ſhaven, except their Upper Lip. Their Wives are common to ten or twelve, eſpecially Brethren with Brethren, and Parents with Children; but the Children that are born, are accounted his, unto whom the Mother was firſt given in Marriage.

AND a while after, he ſays,

'BY theſe he underſtood, that *Verulam*, *Caſſivellanus*'s Town was not far off, fortified with Woods and Bogs, and well ſtored with Men and Cattle. The *Britons* call that a Town, when they fortify woody Faſtneſſes with a Ditch and a Rampire, and ſo make it a place of Retreat, when they ſtand in fear of Incurſions from their Enemies. Thither *Cæſar* marched with his Army, and found it well fortified both by Art and Nature; and, as he aſſaulted it in two ſeveral Places, the Enemy ſtood to it a while, but at laſt, were not able to bear the Brunt and Fury of the Aſſailants, but made their Eſcape a back way out of the Town. Thus he took it, and found in it great Store of Cattle, and ſlew and took Priſoners many of the *Britons* in the Onſet.

TACITUS *in the Life of* JULIUS AGRICOLA.

'I Deſign here to give a clear Account of the Site of *Britanny*, and of its Inhabitants, tho' they have been already deſcribed by ſeveral Writers: This I do not do to compare either my Care or Ingenuity with theirs, but as it was then firſt thoroughly ſubdued, ſo ſuch things as our Anceſtors, without perfect Diſcovery, have merely dreſſed up and poliſhed with their Pens, ſhall now be faithfully ſet down upon Knowledge. *Britanny*, of all the Iſlands known to the *Romans*, the greateſt, coaſteth by *Eaſt* upon *Germany*, by *Weſt* towards *Spain*, and it hath *France* on the *South*; *Northward*, no Land lying againſt it, but only a vaſt and broad Sea beating about it. *Livy*, among the Ancients, and *Fabius Ruſticus* among the Moderns, the two moſt eloquent Authors, have likened the Figure or Shape of all *Britain* to a long Diſh, or two-edged Axe; and ſuch indeed is the Form and Shape of that Part, on this ſide *Caledonia*;

'*ledonia:* From whence the Report of the whole being ſo 'made ſeems to take its Riſe; but there is beſide, a huge vaſt 'Tract of Ground, which runneth beyond even to the far- 'theſt Point, growing narrow and ſharp like a Wedge. 'The *Roman* Fleet then firſt of all winding about this ut- 'moſt Point in the Sea, diſcovered *Britanny* to be an Iſland; 'and withal, found out and ſubdued the Iſles of *Orkney*, ne- 'ver known before that time. *Thyle* alſo was diſcovered at 'aloof, which till then the Snow and the Winter had co- 'vered. The Sea thereabout is, as they affirm, dull and 'heavy for the Oar, and not to be raiſed, as other Seas are, 'with Winds; probably becauſe of the Scarcity of Land 'and Mountains which commonly gather and cauſe Tem- 'peſts, and becauſe a deep Maſs of continual Sea is ſlower 'ſtirred to Rage.

'BUT examining into the Nature of the Ocean and its 'Tides, is what does not properly belong to this Work, and 'many have done it before. One thing I will add, and I may 'ſafely aver, that the Sea hath no where in the World a 'more large and free Dominion, that it no where carries 'ſo many River Waters to and fro, neither is it content 'to flow and ebb ſo far as the Banks, but inſinuates and 'winds its ſelf into the Land, ſhooting into the Mountains 'and Cliffs, as to its own proper Chanel. Now, what man- 'ner of Men the firſt Inhabitants of *Britanny* were, *Foreign- 'ers*, and brought in, or Natives, or *Born* in the Land, 'there is no coming at any Certainty among them, as be- 'ing a barbarous People. Their Complexions are different, 'and thence may ſome Conjectures be taken; for the red 'Hair, and the mighty Limbs of thoſe who inhabit *Caledo- 'nia*, beſpeak them of *German* Deſcent. The coloured 'Countenance of the *Silures*, and Hair moſt commonly 'curled, and their having their Situation againſt *Spain*, make 'it probable enough to believe, that the old *Spaniards* paſſed 'the Sea, and poſſeſſed thoſe Places. The neareſt to *France* 'likewiſe reſemble the *French*, either, becauſe they retain 'ſomething of the Race from which they deſcended; or, 'that in Countries which are near, and lie exactly over- 'againſt one another, the ſame Aſpects of the Heavens may 'give the Bodies the ſame caſt of Complexion: But gene- 'rally ſpeaking it is moſt likely, that the *French*, being 'neareſt, did people the Land. In their Ceremonies and 'ſuperſtitious Perſuaſions, there is to be ſeen an apparent 'Conformity: There is no mighty Difference in the Lan- 'guage. They are alike bold to challenge, and forward to 'run themſelves into Dangers; and when thoſe Dangers

'come, alike as fearful in ſhunning them. Indeed the *Britons* make more ſhew of Courage, as being not mollify'd yet by long Peace; for the *French* alſo were once, as we read, redoubted in War, till ſuch time, as giving themſelves over to Peace and Idleneſs, Cowardice crept in, and their Manhood and their Liberty went to wrack together: And ſo it alſo befel thoſe of the *Britons*, who were ſubdued of old; the reſt remain ſuch ſort of Men to this Day as the *French* were before. Their Strength in the Field conſiſteth in Foot; ſome of the Countries make War in Waggons. The Perſon of the firſt Rank guides the Waggon, and his Attendants maintain the Combat. They were formerly govern'd by *Kings*, now they are drawn by petty *Princes*, into Parties and Factions: And that is the greateſt Help we have, againſt thoſe puiſſant Nations, that they have no common Council together. It ſeldon happens that two or three States meet and concur to repulſe the common Danger: So, whilſt they fight ſingly, they are all ſubdued. The Sky is very cloudy, and much given to Rain, without Extremity of Cold. The length of Days much above the Meaſure of our Climate; the Night's Light, and, in the farthermoſt part of the Iſland, ſo ſhort, that, between the going out and coming in of the Day, the ſpace is hardly perceived; and when Clouds do not come in the way to hinder it, they affirm, that the Sun-ſhine is ſeen in the Night, and that it neither ſetteth nor riſeth, but paſſeth along, becauſe, belike, the extream and plain Parts of the Earth project a low Shadow, and raiſe not the Darkneſs to an Height; ſo the Night falleth under the Sky and Stars; the Soil, ſetting aſide the Olive, the Vine and the reſt, which are proper to warmer Countries, very kindly receives all kind of Grain, and beareth it in abundance; it ſhooteth up quickly, and ripeneth ſlowly; the Cauſe of them both is the ſame, the overmuch Moiſture of the Soil and the Air. *Britanny* produceth Gold and Silver, and other Metals, to inrich the Conqueror. The *Ocean* bringeth forth Pearl alſo, not orient, but duskiſh and wan, which proceeds, as ſome do ſuppoſe, from the want of Skill in the *Gatherers*. For, in the Red Sea, they are pulled out panting, and alive from the Rocks; but in *Britanny*, caſt out by the Sea, and ſo taken up. For my part, I do rather believe the Nature of the Country not to yield it, than that our Covetouſneſs could not find out the way to gather it right.

'The *Britons* endure Levies of Men and Money, and all other Burdens impoſed by the *Empire*, patiently and willingly,

'lingly, if Inſolencies be forborn: Indignities they cannot 'abide, being as yet ſubdued to be only Subjects, and 'not Slaves.

'THE firſt of the *Romans*, that entred *Britanny* with an 'Army, was *Julius Cæſar*; who, although he terrified the 'Inhabitants with a Battel, which went on his ſide, and gain-'ed the Shore, yet may ſeem rather to have ſhewed the Place to 'Poſterity, than to have delivered to them the Poſſeſſion of it.

'THE Civil Wars enſued, Men of the firſt Quality, turn-'ing their Arms againſt the Republick of *Rome*; then, and 'long after that, lay *Britanny* forgotten, even in peaceable 'Times. *Auguſtus*, and chiefly *Tiberius*, termed it a Policy 'that it ſhould lie ſo.

'THAT *Cajus* had a Deſign to invade *Britanny*, it is certain-'ly known; but his raſh running Head, and haſty Repen-'tance, and chiefly his great Attempts againſt *Germany*, turn-'ing to nothing, averted that purpoſe.

'*CLAUDIUS* did firſt, with effect, proſecute the Mat-'ter, tranſporting *Legions* and Aids; and taking *Veſpaſian* in-'to the Action, which was the firſt Foundation of that 'Grandeur to which he afterwards attained; ſome Coun-'tries were ſubdued, ſome Kings led captive, and *Veſpaſian* 'made known to the World.

'THE firſt Lieutenant General was *Aulus Plautius*, then '*Oſtorius Scapula*, both excellent Warriors: And ſo, by lit-'tle and little, the neareſt part of the *Iſland* was reduced to 'the Form of a *Province*; and beſides, a Colony of old 'Soldiers eſtabliſhed there. Certain Cities were alſo be-'ſtowed, in pure Gift, upon King *Cogidunus*, (who remain-'ed moſt faithful even in our Days) according to an old 'Cuſtom, anciently received among the *Romans*, to uſe even 'Kings themſelves, for Inſtruments of Bondage.

'THEN *Didius Gallus* ſucceeded; who kept that which his 'Predeceſſors had gotten, and built ſome few Caſtles far-'ther in the Land, to win by that means a Fame and Cre-'dit to his Office.

'AFTER *Didius*, ſucceeded *Verantius*, who died within 'the ſpace of one Year.

'THEN *Suetonius Paulinus*, for two Years Time, be-'hav'd himſelf fortunately, ſubduing the *Nations*, and eſtabliſh-'ing *Garriſons*. And in Confidence of his Succeſſes, going to 'aſſail the *Iſle* of *Man*, which miniſtred Supplies to the 'Rebels, he diſfurniſhed the Country behind, and laid it open 'to all Opportunities of the Enemy. For through the Ab-'ſence of the Lieutenant, the *Britons*, freed from their 'Fears, began to talk about the Miſeries of Slavery, to lay

'their Injuries together, and aggravate them by Conſtructi-
'ons and Inferences, as, that their Patience had done them
'no Good, unleſs it was only to draw heavier Burdens upon
'them, as being Men that ſeemed willing to bear them.
'That, whereas in former Times, they had only one King,
'now two were impoſed upon them, the *Lieutenant* to ſuck
'their Blood, the *Procurator*, to ſpunge upon their Subſtance.
'If theſe two diſagreed, their diſagreeing was the Torment
'of the Subjects; and if they agreed that was their undoing;
'the one harraſſing them to Death with Soldiers and Offi-
'cers; the other, vexing them by Wrongs and Indignities.
'That now their Covetouſneſs and Luſt laid hold, without
'Exception, on all. And, whereas in Field, he that ſpoil-
'eth is commonly ſtronger: Now, were they, by Cowards
'and Weaklings, for the moſt part diſpoſſeſſed of their
'Houſes, robbed of their Children, injoyned to yield Sol-
'diers for the Service of other Men, as if they were a Peo-
'ple that could die for any other, and were only ignorant how
'to do it for their own Country. For otherwiſe, what a ſmall
'handful of Soldiers were come over, if the *Britons* would
'but come to counting Numbers. That *Germany* had ſhak'd
'off the Yoke, though they had no main Ocean, but only
'a River, for their Defence. That their Cauſe of taking
'Arms was urgent and juſt; their Wives and Children,
'their Parents and their Country were the Cauſe; that the
'*Romans* had no other Cauſe, but that of their own Cove-
'touſneſs and Luſt: And that they would doubtleſs depart,
'as *Julius Cæſar* had done, if the *Britons* would imitate
'the Virtues of their Anceſtors, and not be diſmayed with
'the doubtful Event of one or two Skirmiſhes. That
'Men in Miſery had more Courage and Vehemency to at-
'tempt, and more Conſtancy to perſevere in their Attempts:
'And that now, even the Gods ſeem to pity the poor *Bri-*
'*tons* Condition, having ſent the *Roman* Captain out of the
'way, and confined the Army, as it were, to another Iſland.
'That now being aſſembled to adviſe and deliberate toge-
'ther, they had attained the hardeſt Point in an Action of
'that Nature, wherein, without Queſtion, it were more
'Danger to be taken in the time of Conſultation, than in
'that of Action: With theſe and the like Speeches, inci-
'ting one another, by common Conſent, they reſolve to
'take Arms under the Conduct of *Voadicea*, a Lady of the
'Blood of their Kings: For, in matter of governing in
'Chief, they make no Diſtinction of Sex. And firſt purſu-
'ing the Soldiers, which lay divided in Garriſons, and
'taking Aſſaults, they next invaded the Colony it ſelf, as

'being

'being the Seat of their Slavery: In ſacking of it they o-
'mitted no kind of Cruelty which either Anger, or the Rage
'of Victory, could induce a barbarous People to practiſe.
'And unleſs, upon Information given him of the Revolt,
'*Paulinus* had come ſpeedily to their Succour, *Britanny* had
'then been loſt; which with one proſperous Battel he reſtor-
'ed to her former Obedience, and made her patient in bear-
'ing the Yoke; ſome few keeping out and remaining in
'Arms, whom the Guilt of the Rebellion excluded from all
'hope of Pardon, and ſome likewiſe who apprehended the
'*Lieutenant*'s private Diſpleaſure. He, tho' otherwiſe a ſingu-
'lar good Man, yet ſeemed to ſhew too much haughty and hard
'Uſage to thoſe who ſurrendred themſelves, and to revenge,
'in a manner, his own private Injuries. It was upon this
'account *Petronius Turpilianus* was ſent in his place, as a
'more clement and exorable Perſon, and a Stranger to their
'Faults, and therefore more ready to receive their Repent-
'ance; who having compoſed the Troubles, and not car-
'ing to attempt any thing farther, reſign'd his Poſt to *Tre-*
'*bellius Maximus*.

'*TREBELLIUS*, a Man unfit for Action, and alto-
'gether unexperienced in Camps, but uſing a kind of cour-
'teous and mild Regimen, kept the Country quiet: For
'now the *Britons* alſo had learn'd the good Manners to put
'up with courtly Tyranny that indulged them in the Vices
'they liked; and the Diſturbances of civil Diſſentions gave
'him a plauſible Excuſe for his doing nothing. But the
'Soldiery accuſtomed to Warfare, grew wanton with
'Eaſe, and began to be mutinous. *Trebellius* flying and ab-
'ſconding, eſcaped their firſt Fury; and ſoon after reſuming
'his Place, without Majeſty, without Authority, he ruled
'precariouſly, and at his Soldiers Diſcretion: And ſo both
'coming, as it were, to a Capitulation, the Army for a Li-
'cence to do what they pleaſed, and the Captain, for a Se-
'curity of his own Life, the Mutiny ended without any
'Bloodſhed.

'*VECTIUS BOLANUS* ſucceeded him not only in
'his Place, but in the looſe Irregularity of Diſcipline; the
'civil Wars continued the ſame, the ſame Negligence with
'regard to the Enemy, the ſame Licenſe in the Camp; only
'*Bolanus* a good honeſt Man, not odious for any Crime,
'had made himſelf popular, and got their good Will inſtead
'of their Obedience.

'BUT when *Veſpatian*, with the reſt of the World, re-
'covered *Britanny* alſo, great Captains, good Soldiers, were
'ſent, and the Hope of the Enemy was extremely abated.

'For

'For immediately *Petilius Cerealis* ſtruck a Terror into 'them, by invading, upon his firſt Entry, the *Brigantes*, the 'moſt populous State of the whole Province. Many Battels were fought, and ſome bloody; and the greateſt part 'of the *Brigantes* were either conquered or waſted.

'AND whereas *Cerealis* would doubtleſs have eclipſed the 'Diligence and Fame of another Succeſſor, *Julius Frontinus*, a great Man, as he might well be called after that 'Predeceſſor, ſuſtained the Charge with Reputation and Credit, 'ſubduing the puiſſant and warlike People of the *Silures*; 'where, beſide the Valour of the Enemy, he had the Streights 'and Difficulties of the Places themſelves to ſtruggle with.

CICERO *in his Epiſtle to* TREBATIUS, *in the* 7th *Book of his* Familiar Epiſtles.

'I Hear, that, in *Britain*, there is neither Gold nor Silver; 'If that be ſo, yet I perſuade thee to catch what thou 'canſt, and return ſpeedily to us; But if we can attain our 'Deſire, (without the Help of *Britain*) do thou act ſo, that 'thou mayſt be reckoned amongſt my Familiar Friends.

PAULUS OROSIUS, *ſpeaking of* IRELAND, *hath theſe Words.*

'THIS *(Ireland)* being the neareſt Iſland to *Britain*, is 'narrower in Circuit, or ſpace of Ground than it, 'but more commodious for temper of Soil and Air; it is inhabited by the Nations of the *Scots*. The Iſle of *Angleſey*, 'or rather *Man*, is alſo near to it, an Iſland not very large, 'but of a good Soil, which is alſo inhabited by the *Scots*.

The ſame AUTHOR *ſays*,

'THE Conqueror *Severus* was drawn into *Britain* by 'the Revolt of almoſt all his Allies; after he had 'fought many great and notable Battels, he judged it beſt 'to ſeparate and divide that Part of the *Iſland*, which he had 'regained from the other unconquered Nations, by a *Wall*: 'And for this end, he made a great Trench, and a ſtrong 'Wall, fortified at the top with many Towers, for the ſpace 'of 130 Mile from Sea to Sea.

'*ADO*, the *Archbiſhop* of *Vienna*, gives the ſame Account, almoſt Word for Word. The Miſtake of both in 'the number of Miles is to be corrected, by writing 32 for '132.

Out

Out of the 35th *Chapter of* SOLINUS.

'IT [illegible] *Britain*, is ſurrounded by many Iſles, and thoſe 'not inconſiderable; but of all of them *Ireland* comes 'the neareſt to it in Bigneſs: It is an uncivil Country, by 'reaſon of the ſavage Manners of the Inhabitants; but o-'therwiſe ſo full of Paſturage and Cattle, that, if their Herds 'in Summer time be not now and then reſtrained from feed-'ing, they would run a great Danger of over-eating them-'ſelves. There are no Snakes there, and but few Birds; 'the People are inhoſpitable and warlike. When they have 'overcome their Enemies, they firſt beſmear their Faces 'with the Blood of the ſlain; Right and Wrong, Good and 'Evil, all is one to them. If a Woman be deliver'd of a 'Man-child, ſhe lays his firſt Meat upon her Husband's 'Sword, and, putting it ſoftly into his Mouth, gives him 'the firſt handſel of his Food, upon the very point of the 'Weapon, praying (according to the manner of the Coun-'try) that he may not otherwiſe come to his End than in Bat-'tel, and amongſt Arms. They that love to be fine trim 'the Hilts of their Swords with the Teeth of Sea-Calves, for 'they make them as white and as clear as Ivory. The Men 'chiefly glory in the Beauty of their Armour. There is not 'a Bee amongſt them; and if a Man bring off the Duſt, or 'the little Stones from thence, and ſtrew them among Bee-'hives, the Swarms forſake their Combs. The Sea, that is 'between *Ireland* and *Britain*, is ſtormy and rough moſt 'part of the Year, ſo that it can hardly be ſailed over, but 'a few Days in Summer time. They ſail in Keels of 'Wicker, done over with Neats Leather. How long ſoever 'their Paſſage continueth, the Paſſengers abſtain from Meat 'all the while; ſuch as have thoroughly examined it, have 'eſteemed the Breadth of that *narrow Sea* to be 120 Miles. 'A tempeſtuous Sea alſo divided the Iſlands of the *Silures*, 'from the Coaſt that the *Britons* inhabited; the Men of 'which *Iſland* keep their old Cuſtoms, even to this Day. 'They utterly refuſe buying and ſelling for Money, but 'barter one Commodity for another, providing things ne-'ceſſary, rather by Exchange than ready Money. They wor-'ſhip the Gods very devoutly. As *well* the Women as 'the Men boaſt of their Knowledge of Fore-telling things 'to come. The *French* Sea beats upon the Iſle of *Thanet*, 'which is divided from *Britain* with a very narrow Strait; it 'is happy in Corn Fields, and a fat Soil, and healthful, not 'only to its Inhabitants, but to others alſo. As there is no

'Snake

'Snake bred there, ſo, which is much more, the very Earth 'of that Iſland, to what Place ſoever it is carried from 'thence, killeth that Vermin.

Out of the third Book of HERODIAN, *Tranſlated into* Latin *by* POLITIAN.

'BUT *Severus* contriv'd Delays on purpoſe, that he 'might not make his Entrance into *Rome* poorly; 'for being deſirous of Victory, and fond of getting the 'Sirname of *Britannicus*, he ſends the Ambaſſadors Home 'before he had done his Buſineſs, whilſt he himſelf in the 'mean time, with great Diligence, prepared all things ne-'ceſſary for War. His firſt and chief Care, was, to erect 'Bridges on the Mariſh Grounds, that ſo his Soldiers might 'ſtand ſafe, and fight as well as upon firm Ground; for 'many Places in *Britain* are Mariſhy, becauſe of the fre-'quent Overflowings of the *Ocean*. The Barbarians them-'ſelves ſwim thro' theſe *Moors* or *Mariſhes*, and run up to the 'Bellies in them, (not regarding the Mud) with their naked 'Bodies: For they are ignorant of the uſe of Garments to 'cloath them, but girt their Belly and their Neck with Iron, 'thinking that to be an Ornament and Sign of Riches, as o-'ther Barbarians do Gold. And beſides, they mark their Bo-'dies with various Pictures, and with the Shapes of all man-'ner of Animals, and therefore they wear no Cloaths, leſt 'they ſhould hide the painted outſide of their Bodies. But 'they are a very warlike Nation, and greedy of Slaughter, 'and content themſelves only with a narrow Shield, and a 'Lance. Indeed they wear a Sword too hanging down from 'their naked Bodies, but are wholly ignorant of the Uſe of 'Coats of Mail, or Helmets, as judging them to be an Hin-'drance and a Luggage to them, in paſſing over the *Mariſhes*, 'whoſe Vapours, being exhaled by the Heat, cauſe almoſt 'always a dark and a miſty Air.

Out of the 10th *Book of* AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

THIS was the State of Affairs throughout *Illyricum*, and the *Eaſtern* Parts; but in the Conſulſhip of *Conſtantius*, when Matters were very often diſturb'd in *Britanny*, by the Inroads of thoſe barbarous Nations, the *Scots* and *Picts*, and thereby Peace was broken, and, the Places near their Borders being laid waſte, which cauſed a general Pannick thro' the *Provinces*, already tired with their many paſt Slaughters, *Cæſar*, then being in his Winter-Quarters at *Paris*, was di-

ſtracted

ſtracted with divers Cares; for he feared to aſſiſt thoſe tranſmarine People, as I related before, tho' *Conſtantius* did, leſt he ſhould leave *Gaul* without a Governour, in the mean time when the *Almains*, or *Germans*, were very eager on Cruelty and War. And therefore he was pleaſed to ſend *Lupicinus* thither, to compoſe Matters, who was as a Commiſſary-General of the Army at that time, a ſtout Man, and very skilful in Military Affairs, and prided himſelf much in his Poſt, ſo that he was very ſupercilious and haughty; he ſpoke in the Tone of an Actor, and ſtrutted like a Tragedian in his Buskins; ſo that it was a great Doubt whether he was more covetous or more cruel; he, having cauſed the Vanguard to march, *viz.* the *Lombards*, the *Hollanders*, and many of the *Moeſici*, came to *Bolongne*, in the depth of Winter. And embarking all his Soldiers in thoſe Ships, which he had provided, taking Advantage of a favourable Wind, he ſailed to *Sandwich*, and ſo went to *London*, that there he might adviſe, and be in readineſs to act according to all Emergencies.

Out of his 26th Book.

'THE *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacotti*, vex the *Britons* with perpetual Miſeries.

Out of his 27th Book.

'IT is ſufficient for me to ſay, That at that time the *Picts* being divided into *Two* Nations, the *Dicalidones*, and the *Vecturiones*, and alſo the *Attacotti*, a warlike People; and the *Scots* ranging ſeveral ways, ſpoiled many Shires, and Countries. The *Franks* and *Saxons*, as they had Opportunity to make Inroads by Land or Sea, plunder'd the *Gallican* Tracts near to them, and carried from thence mighty Booties, firing all before them, and killing thoſe whom they took Priſoners. To hinder this, Fortune favouring him, our warlike Commander came into theſe extreme Parts, from *Bolongne*, which is divided from the Land he was to make by the Streights of the Sea; which is wont to be raiſed by high Tides, and again levell'd in a Calm, like a Plain, without any Prejudice to the *Mariners*; from thence he gently paſſed over to *Richburrow*, a ſafe Harbour over againſt it; whence, being followed by the *Batavi*, *Heruli* and *Jovii* truſting to their conquering Numbers, he came to the old Town of *London*, ſince called *Auguſta*, —— where, dividing his Troops, he ſet upon

'the

'the prædatory Bands of his Enemies, and they being loaden 'with Spoils, he quickly overcame them and took away 'their Prey, both of Priſoners and Plunder, to their great 'Damage. He reſtored all to the Loſers, except a ſmall 'Part beſtowed on his wearied Soldiers; thus he re-entred 'the City in Triumph, before forlorn, but now relieved by 'him. Big with this his proſperous Succeſs, he deſigned 'greater Matters, and intended to follow ſafe Counſels; 'for he had learn'd both by Priſoners and Deſerters, that 'ſuch ſcatter'd Troops of ſundry Nations, and thoſe fierce 'ones too, could not be conquered, but by Treachery or 'Surprize. So that he made Edicts, and propos'd Impuni-'ty, and, by that means call'd in all Stragglers and Deſert-'ers. Hereupon, many returning, he being moved thereby, 'and anxiouſly careful, required *Civilis* to be ſent to him to 'govern *Britain*, a Man of a ſharp Wit, and very juſt and 'honeſt too; and alſo *Dulcitius*, a Commander, very skil-'ful in warlike Affairs.

Out of the 39th *Book of* DION.

'CÆSAR, having firſt of all the *Romans*, paſſed the 'Rhene, ſailed afterwards over into *Britanny*, in the 'Conſulſhip of *Pompeius* and *Craſſus*. The Iſland it ſelf is 'extended 45 *Stadia*, at leaſt, beyond the *Morini*. And it 'is ſtretched out beyond the reſt of *Gaul*, and almoſt all '*Spain*, reaching out into the Sea. It was unknown to the 'ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*. And their Poſterity doubted 'whether it was a *Continent* or an *Iſland*; and many Wri-'ters who were ignorant of the Truth, as having not ſeen 'it themſelves, nor had any Information from the Inhabi-'tants, (but ſpoke only by Conjectures) in their *Records*, as 'their Leiſures and Humours were, ſome counted it one, 'and ſome the other. But, in proceſs of time, when *Agri-'cola* was chief Commander, and afterwards in the time of '*Severus* the *Emperor*, it was clearly found out, to be an *I-'ſland*. *Cæſar*, when he had ſettled things in *France*, and ſub-'dued the *Morini*, deſired to go over thither, and accordingly 'he tranſported his Foot, where it was moſt convenient, 'but he landed not where he ought to land. For the Fame 'of his coming being noiſed abroad, all the *Britons* had pre-'poſſeſſed the Paſſages of the *Continent*. But he, ſailing be-'yond a prominent Rock, made his Deſcent elſewhere, and, 'repulſing thoſe who firſt hindred his landing, he put his 'Men on Shore before many of the *Britons* could unite to 'oppoſe his Troops, and afterwards he repelled their Aids

'too,

'too, which came in, conquered their Garriſons, and maſ-
'tered the Iſland. Yet not many of the *Barbarians* were
'ſlain, for they, fighting on Horſeback, and out of Chari-
'ots, eaſily avoided the *Romans*, who had then no Horſe
'Forces. But being amazed at thoſe things, which were
'related concerning them out of the Continent, and that
'they were ſo bold as to tranſport themſelves, and make
'their Deſcent into their Iſland, they ſent ſome of the Na-
'tion of the *Morini*, their Friends and Allies, in Embaſſy to
'*Cæſar*. Firſt of all *Cæſar* demanded Hoſtages, and they
'promiſed it; but afterward perceiving, that the naval Force
'of the *Romans*, both thoſe near at hand, and farther off,
'were ſhattered by Tempeſts, they changed their Minds, yet
'they did not openly ſet upon them, (for their Camp was
'well guarded) but having ſurprized ſome of them, who
'were ſent in a peaceable manner, to provide things neceſ-
'ſary, they put them almoſt all to the Sword; excepting
'ſome, whom *Cæſar*, ſpeedily ſending forth other Forces,
'relieved; and preſently they make an Onſet on his Camp,
'but were ſhamefully repulſed, without effecting any thing;
'yet they came not to Terms with *Cæſar* till they had been
'often worſted by him; and, on the other ſide, *Cæſar* had
'no great mind to make a League with them: But the Win-
'ter being now at hand, and his Forces not then ſufficient
'to carry on the War, many of thoſe he brought over being
'dead, or ſlain; and beſides, the *Gauls*, in his Abſence, were
'attempting Alterations, he clapt up a Peace with them, in
'a manner againſt his Will, demanding many Hoſtages, but
'receiving a few only. Then he ſailed back again to the
'*Continent*, where he quelled the Mutineers, and ſettled Af-
'fairs, neither reaped he any publick or private Advantage
'from *Britain*, worth his Labour; but that he had aſſaulted
'it by Arms. For this very reaſon he was much pleaſed in
'himſelf, and his Friends did mightily extol him at *Rome*.
'For when they ſaw that Places, before unknown, were
'now brought to light; and being before never heard of,
'were now diſcovered, they embraced their Hopes, as if
'they had been Enjoyments, and antedating their Succeſs,
'they rejoiced, as if they had already obtained their deſired
'Conqueſt, and therefore they decreed Supplications to the
'*Gods* for twenty Days.

Out of the firſt Chapter of the firſt Book of BEDE.

'THE Iſlanders profeſs one and the ſame Theology,
'and that in five Tongues, *viz.* Of the *Angles*, *Bri-*
'*tons*,

'*tons*, *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Latins*; which, by the Study and 'Meditation of the Scriptures, is made common to all the 'reſt. But, in the firſt Place, the *Britons* only inhabited 'the Iſland, from whom it took its *Name*, who coming over 'into *Britain*, as it is reported, from the *Armorick* Tract, 'ſeized upon the *Southern* Parts of it. And they having poſ-'ſeſſed a great part of the Iſland, beginning from the *South*, 'it happened, that the Nation of the *Picts* venturing to Sea 'with a few *Gallies*, as is reported, from *Scythia*, made 'their Deſcent in *Ireland*, the Winds hurrying them beyond 'all the Coaſts of *Britain*, and having landed, and pene-'trated even to the *Northern* Parts there; where finding the 'Nation of the *Scots*, they deſired part of their Allotment, 'for their Habitation, but could not obtain it.

Out of the fifth Chapter of the firſt Book of the ſame AUTHOR.

'SEVERUS an *African*, born at *Lebeda* near *Tripoli*; 'the fourteenth from *Auguſtus Cæſar*, obtained the '*Empire*, which he held ſeventeen Years. He being of a 'fierce Diſpoſition, as always vexed with continual Wars, 'governed the Commonwealth with great Valour indeed, 'but with equal Toil. And being a Conqueror in the Civil 'Wars, which were very grievous in his Time, he was 'forced to go over into *Britain* upon the Revolt of almoſt 'all his Allies; where, after many great and cruel Battels, 'he gained part of the Iſland, and divided it from the un-'conquered part, not with a Wall (as ſome think) but with 'a Trench only. For a Wall is made of Stones, but a 'Trench wherewith Camps are fortified, to repel the Force 'of Enemies, is made of Turf cut out of the Earth; yet it 'is built like a Wall, high above the Ground, ſo that there 'is a Ditch before it out of which the Turfs are digged and 'heaved up, above which Palliſadoes made of ſtrong Wood, 'are prefixed and hung out. Wherefore *Severus* drew a 'great Ditch, and a firm Graff or Work, fortified with ma-'ny Towers above from Sea to Sea, and then he died at '*York*.

Out of his twelfth Chapter of the ſame Book.

'AFTERWARDS *Britain* being deſpoiled of all her armed 'Soldiery, and of the Flower of her valiant Youths, 'who were carry'd away Priſoners by the Severity of *Tyrants*, 'and never returned again, was laid open to be preyed up-'on and plundered, as being wholly ignorant of the Art of 'War.

'War. At last it was suddenly harassed by two *Transmarine* Nations, the *Scots* from the *South*, and the *Picts* from the *North*, under whose Yoke she groaned many Years: I call them *Transmarine* Nations, not because they had their Habitations out of *Britain*, but because they were remote from the Allotment of the *Britons*, two Creeks of the Sea running betwixt them, one of them from the *East* Sea, and the other from the *West*, running far into Land, tho' they reach not one to the other. The *Eastern* one hath in the midst of it the City *Guidi*. The *Western* one above it, *i. e.* on the right Hand of it, hath the City *Alcluyth*, which in their Tongue signifieth a Rock, for *Cluyth* is scituate by a River of the same Name. By reason of the Incursions of these Nations the *Britons* send Ambassadors to *Rome* with complaining Missives, craving Aid of them with mournful Supplications, and promising perpetual Subjection to them if they would drive away those Enemies that were at their very Doors; upon this an armed *Legion* was designed for their Assistance, which being transported into the *Island*, and fighting with their Enemies slew many of them, and drove the rest beyond the Limits of their *Allies*. And thus, having delivered them from their cruel Bondage, they advised them to build a *Wall* within the Island between the two Seas, which might be a Safeguard to them to repel their Enemies; and then in great Triumph they returned home. They hearkening to their Advice erect a *Wall*, as enjoined, not so much with *Stones* as *Turfs*; but having no eminent *Artificers* fit for such an Undertaking, it was good for little. They made it between the two Seas or Bays (of which I lately spake) of the Sea for many Miles; that so where the Waters were not a Defence there, by the Advantage of the Wall, they might secure their Borders from the Inroads of their Enemies. The evident Marks and Footsteps of this high Wall and Work do remain to this Day. It begins at almost a Mile distant from the Monastery of *Kebercurnig*, toward the *West*, in a Place called in the *Picts* Language, *Pannachel*, but in the *English*, *Penueltima*, and bending against the *West* it is terminated by the City *Alcluyth*. But their former Enemies, as soon as they perceived that the *Roman* Soldiers were departed, being carry'd in Ships, broke into their Borders, slaying and spoiling all before them; and, as if they were now ready for the Sickle, they mow'd, trampled upon, and destroy'd them. Now the *Britons* send a second Embassy to *Rome*, with redoubled Complaints and Lamentations, desiring Aid, lest

'their miſerable Country ſhould be wholly razed; and the Name of a *Roman* Province, wherewith they had been honoured ſo long, ſhould now grow cheap and precarious by the Invaſion of *Foreigners*. Accordingly another Legion was ſent, which, according to Command, arriving in Autumn, made a great Slaughter of their Enemies, and drove all that made their Eſcape beyond the Seas; who, the Year before, drove all their Preys beyond thoſe Seas without any Reſiſtance. Then the *Romans* told the *Britons*, that they could come no more on ſuch chargeable and toilſome Expeditions for their Defence, but they adviſed them to take Arms themſelves, and Fight with their Enemies; that, were it not for their Sluggiſhneſs, they might be as valiant as they. Moreover, they thought it advantageous to their Allies, whom they muſt leave, that a Wall was drawn directly from Sea to Sea, between the Cities which were there built for fear of Enemies, where alſo *Severus* made a Trench. This Wall they built accordingly with firm Stone, both with the publick and private Purſe (as is yet to be ſeen) taking to their Aſſiſtance a Company of the *Britons*. It was eight Foot broad and twelve high, in a direct line from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*. Both are yet to be ſeen; after they had built it they gave ſtrict Charge to the Inhabitants, for their Self-defence, and afforded them Examples for their training up in Arms; but in the *South* Shore, where their Ships were lodged, becauſe from thence they feared the Irruptions of the *Barbarians*, they erected Towers at proper diſtances for the Proſpect of the Sea, and ſo they took their leaves, as never intending to return.

AND a little after,

'IN ſhort, they fly and are diſperſed, leaving their Cities and Walls; their Enemies follow, and make more cruel Slaughters than ever before. For as Lambs are devoured by Wolves, ſo were the poor Countrymen torn in pieces by their Enemies; ſo that being ejected out of their Habitations, and in danger to be ſtarved, they exerciſed Robberies and mutual Rapines to keep themſelves alive. Thus they increaſed external Slaughters by domeſtick Broils, till all the Country was quite deſpoiled of Food but what was got by hunting.

Out of the Epiſtle of GILDAS.

'WHOM he commanded to build a Wall between the two Seas, on the farther ſide of the *Iſland*, that it might be a Terror to Enemies, and a Defence to the Inhabitants.'

'habitants.' And after: 'The Remainders of them ſent la-
'mentable Letters to *Ætius*, a Man of great *Authority* in
'*Rome*, beginning thus: To *Ætius*, thrice Conſul, the
'Groans of the *Britons*;' and, a little after, they complain,
'The *Barbarians* repel us to the Sea, the Sea beats us back to
'the *Barbarians*. Between theſe two kinds of Death, we
'are either killed on Land, or drowned at Sea, neither have
'we any Fence or Relief againſt either of them.'

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK IV.

HAVING undertook to write the Hiſtory of our Nation, that the Series thereof might appear more plain to the Reader; I have in my former Books premiſed a few ancient Memoirs, and eſpecially thoſe which are freeſt from fabulous Vanities, and are alſo moſt conſonant to old Writers.

FIRST of all it is conſtantly reported, and there are many Evidences to confirm the ſame, that a great multitude of *Spaniards* driven out of their own Country by their powerful *Danes*, or elſe voluntarily departing by reaſon of their ſuperaboundiug Populouſneſs, tranſported themſelves into *Ireland*, and ſeized upon thoſe Places of that Iſland which

were

were neareſt to them: Afterward the Healthineſs of the Air, and the Fatneſs of the Paſturage, invited many others to follow them; eſpecially ſeeing their Seditions at Home, and the Injuries offered them by Foreigners (to which *Spain* was always ſubject) drew many thither in hopes of a quieter Life, (which Voyage they were more eaſily perſuaded to undertake) becauſe they looked upon themſelves as going into an Iſland already poſſeſſed by their own People, and by that means, as it were, their ſecond Country. This Stock of *Spaniards* did ſo flouriſh and increaſe, in a Country fit for Propagation, that now they were not contented within the Bounds of *Ireland*, but frequently made Emigrations into the leſſer Iſlands near adjacent.

IN the mean time the *Scots* (for that was the general Name of the whole Nation) propagating their Bounds thro' the Iſlands of *Ebudæ*, and diſperſing themſelves by Tribes and Kindreds, without either King or any fixed Government: A *German*, or as *Bede* writes, a *Scythian* Fleet, came to the Coaſts of *Ireland*, being driven thither, 'tis very probable, by ſtreſs of Weather; for they had not their Wives or Children aboard with them. They being very poor, having nothing left them by reaſon of ſo long a Voyage, but only their Arms, ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Scots*, deſiring them that they might inhabit amongſt them. Anſwer was ſent them, that they themſelves were compelled to ſeek their Habitations in thoſe ſmall Iſlands; which, by reaſon of the Barrenneſs of the Soil, were alſo unfruitful; and if it were otherwiſe, yet all of them, if they ſhould forſake them quite, would not be ſufficient to entertain ſo great a Multitude. But in regard they pitied the common Miſeries of Mankind, and were particularly affected with their Condition, whom divine Providence had ſo grievouſly afflicted; and who did not ſeem to be wholly Strangers to their Lineage (as by their Language and Cuſtoms appeared) they would therefore give them their Advice, and as far as they were able, would aſſiſt them to execute it. Their Advice to them was, to ſail to their neighbour Iſland, *Albium*, which was large and fruitful, and in many Places then uninhabited; and alſo, by reaſon of the Condition of thoſe Inhabitants that were in it, who were under ſeveral Kings, at feud one with another, and conſequently very weak. That amidſt thoſe Diſcords it would be eaſy for them, by ſupporting the weaker ſide, to make themſelves Maſters of that large Country; and that, in this Matter, they would afford them their Aſſiſtance.

THE Narrowneſs of the *Ebudæ*, and the Lowneſs of their own Condition, for ſo it then was, made them give Ear to

this Counſel. So that theſe *Germans* (who were afterwards, both by the *Romans*, and their neighbouring Nations, called *Picts*) landing upon the Coaſts of the Iſland, bordering on the *German* Sea; and having expelled the Inhabitants, which were but few, and thoſe at mutual Diſcord amongſt themſelves, they brought a great part of that Diſtrict under their Subjection; and ſoon after, in proſecution of the Friendſhip with the *Scots*, ſo happily begun, they inter-marry'd with them, and ſo were, in a manner, compacted into one Nation with them. By this mutual Intercourſe betwixt them, a great many *Scots*, being either detained by their Allies, who were yet but weak; or elſe driven by Want and Penury; or, for Loſs of their Relations, fixed their Habitations amongſt the *Picts*: The *Picts*, at firſt, were glad of their coming; but when they grew numerous, by degrees, they began to fear, leſt, if the *Scots* increaſed in Strength, they would become their Maſters; ſo that firſt in their private Aſſemblies, and afterward in their publick Councils, they gave out that mighty Cautions ſhould be taken to hinder Foreigners from being admitted among them, and ſome Way found out to leſſen the Number of thoſe who were already admitted. A Rumour alſo was ſpread abroad, that it was revealed from Heaven to the *Picts*, *That their Nation ſhould in time be extirpated by the* Scots. Theſe Suſpicions cauſed the two Nations, which before were very amicable, to part Companies. The *Scots* betook themſelves to the mountainous Places, which were leſs fit for Culture, in regard they were moſt addicted to Paſturage and Hunting; and the *Picts* poſſeſſed the Low-lands, which were more fertile, and fit for Tillage, ſituate near the *German* Sea. Thus their Friendſhip, before contracted by ſo many mutual Kindneſſes, did ſoon break forth into a terrible civil War. For the Seeds of a deadly Hatred were ſown between thoſe two Nations, both of them being of fierce Diſpoſitions, tho' the Occaſion at firſt was but trivial, as ſome little Feuds and petty Animoſities, ſome few Injuries ſuſtained.

THE *Britons*, being Enemies to both Nations, having got this Opportunity, fomented the Diſſentions; and freely offer'd Aid to the *Picts*, even before they deſired it, againſt the *Scots*. When the *Scots* perceived that theſe things were in Agitation againſt them, they ſent elſewhere for Aid, and procured a foreign King to aſſiſt them againſt ſo imminent a Danger. The Commanders of the Iſlanders, being almoſt all of equal Authority, and ſcorning to ſtoop one to the other; *Fergus*, the Son of *Ferchard*, was ſent for, with Forces out of *Ireland*, being counted the moſt eminent

Perſon

Perſon among the *Scots*, both for Advice and Action. He, by the publick Conſent of the People, was choſen King, and charged to prepare his Army to undergo the Shock of a Battel, if need required. Juſt about the ſame time a Rumour was diſpers'd abroad, which came to the Ears both of the *Scots* and *Picts*, that the *Britons* were playing the Double, and laying Plots and Counter-plots equally pernicious to both Nations; and, that they would ſet upon the Conquered and Conquerors together, with their Arms: and, deſtroying both, or elſe, driving them out of the Iſland, they themſelves would enjoy the whole. This Report made both Armies doubtful what Courſe to take; and, for a time, kept them both within their Trenches. At length they came to a Treaty, and, perceiving the ſecret Fraud of the *Britons*, they inclined to make Peace one with another; which being confirmed, the three different Armies returned home. The *Britons* failing in their firſt Project, have recourſe to another Stratagem. They ſent in Robbers underhand amongſt the *Picts*, who drove away their Cattle; when the *Picts* demanded Reſtitution, they anſwered, that they ſhould ſeek it from the *Scots*, who were accuſtomed to Thieving and Plundering, rather than from them. Thus they eluded the Embaſſy, and ſent away their Ambaſſadors, without their Errands; ſo that the Matter appear'd to be a plain Mockery. Their fraudulent Counſels being thus more and more diſcover'd, the late Reproach incenſed the Hearts of both Nations againſt them, more than the remaining Grudges and Reſentments for their former Injuries; and therefore, levying as great an Army as they could, both Kings, invaded, two ſeveral ways, the Coaſts of the *Britons*; and, putting the Country to Fire and Sword, returned home with a great Booty. To revenge this Loſs, the *Britons* entered *Scotland*, and came as far as the River *Don*; and having ravaged the Country thereabouts, with greater Terror than Loſs to the Inhabitants, they pitched their Tents upon the Bank of the River. *Fergus* having ſent their Wives and Children, and other portable things, into the Mountains, and Places inacceſſible for Armies, ſecured all the Avenues, till the *Picts* came up; with whom he at length joined his Forces, and, communicating Counſels one with another, they reſolved to make a Diverſion, and lengthen the War, by making an Incurſion, with vaſt Forces, into their Enemies Country; and ſo to weary them out. But *Coilus* (that was the Name of the King of the *Britons*) underſtanding, by his Spies, the Cauſe of their Delay, ſends five thouſand Men before to lie in Ambuſh in the upper Grounds, and he determined to

lead forth the reſt of his Army directly againſt the Enemy. When the *Picts* knew this, they again conſulted with the *Scots*, and, by way of Prevention, they agree to aſſault the Camp of the *Britons* by Night, and accordingly, drawing out their Forces, the *Scots* in the Front, the *Picts* in the Rear, attack their Enemies before Day; and, by this means, they made a great Slaughter of the *Britons*, being as it were half aſleep, whom the former Delays of their Enemies had made ſecure and confident. In this Battel, *Coilus* himſelf fell, with the greateſt part of his Army, and made the Place, in which it was fought, famous from his Name. *Fergus* returning home a Conqueror, the *Scots* ſettled the regal Government upon him and his Poſterity, by the Solemnity of an Oath. Afterwards, having quieted Matters in *Scotland*, he returned back into *Ireland*, to quell Seditions there; where, having compoſed all things, as he was returning home, a Tempeſt ariſing ſuddainly, he was drowned, not far from the Port, called, from him, *Fergus his Rock* (*i. e.*) *Knock-Fergus*, or *Carrick-Fergus*, in the twenty fifth Year of his Reign. Hiſtorians ſay, That his coming into *Albium*, was, at the time when *Alexander* the Great took *Babylon*; about 330 Years before the Birth of *Chriſt*.

FERITHARIS, *Second King of* Scotland.

FERGUS dying, left two Sons behind him, *Ferlegus* and *Mainus*; neither of them yet able to manage the Government; ſo that the Chiefs of the *Clans* meeting together to declare the ſucceeding King, there was great Contention amongſt them; ſome urging the late Oath, whereby they had bound themſelves to preſerve the Scepter for the *Ferguſian* Family; others alledging, what great Hazards they might run under an infant King. At laſt, after a long Diſpute, a *Medium* was found out; whereby, neither the Infant, not yet fit to manage the Government, ſhould actually reign, nor yet their Oath be violated; which was, that, whilſt the Children of their Kings were Infants, one of their Kindred, who was judged moſt accompliſhed for the Government, ſhould act as Regent; and if he died, then the Succeſſion of the Kingdom ſhould deſcend to the former King's Sons. This Law obtained for almoſt 1025 Years, even until the Days of *Kenneth* III. of whom I ſhall ſpeak in his place. By virtue of this Law, *Feritharis*, Brother to *Fergus*, obtained the Kingdom, and managed it 15 Years, with ſuch Equity and Moderation, that his Subjects found him a juſt King; and the Orphans or Pupils, a good Guardian; having,

by

by this Carriage, procured Peace abroad, and got the Love of his Subjects at home; yet he could not allay the Ambition of his Kindred. For *Ferlegus*, being inflam'd with a Deſire to reign, and having firſt communicated his Deſign to the moſt turbulent of the Soldiers, ſuch particularly as were moſt deſirous of Innovation and Change, comes to his Uncle and demands the Kingdom of him, which he held (as he alledg'd) not as his own, but in Truſt only for him. *Feritharis* was ſo far from being diſturbed at this raſh Undertaking of the young Man, that, calling an Aſſembly of the States together, he declared to them, that he was ready to lay down and reſign the regal Scepter; adding alſo many words in Commendation of the young Man; as for himſelf, he had rather freely and willingly reſign up the Kingdom, with which he was but intruſted, which his Death, now near at hand, would deprive him of, that ſo, his Fidelity towards his Nephews might appear to be more the Effects of Good-Will, than of Neceſſity. But ſuch was the Reſpect and Love, that all bore to *Feritharis*, that they utterly diſliked this over haſty Deſire of the Kingdom, in *Ferlegus*, and they manifeſted it, not only by their Countenances and Frowns, but by the loud Acclamations of the whole Convention and Aſſembly. And having diſcovered, by Spies, the Conſpiracy againſt the Uncle, though they judged the Author of ſo deteſtable a Deſign, to be worthy of Death; yet the Memory of his Father *Fergus*, and the preſent Favour and Deſires of his Uncle, prevailed ſo far, that they did not inflict it on him for his deſigned Wickedneſs; only they ſet Guards and Spies upon him, who were to watch over, and pry into, all his Words and Actions. But he, being impatient, not preſently to obtain what he hoped for in his Mind, though the Delay would have proved but ſhort, deceiving his Keepers, with a few others privy to his Deſign, made his Eſcape; flying firſt, to the *Picts*, and finding there no Encouragement for his deſired Innovation, afterwards, to the *Britons*, where he lived an obſcure, and conſequently, an ignoble Life. But *Feritharis*, a few Months after, was taken off; 'tis doubtful, whether by Diſeaſe, or Treachery. The former Ambition of *Ferlegus*, the Detection of his Conſpiracy, and his late Flight, raiſed ſuch Suſpicions, of his being guilty of his Death, that he was unanimouſly condemned in his Abſence, about the fifteenth Year after his Father's Death.

MAINUS,

MAINUS, *the third King.*

FERLEGUS being condemned, *Mainus*, his Brother, was created third King of the *Scots*, a Man more like to his Father and Uncle, than his Brother, *Ferlegus*: He confirmed and ſettled Peace with his Neighbours abroad, puniſhed the Wicked and Profligate at home, and conſtantly performed religious Exerciſes; whereby he procured to himſelf ſuch an Opinion of Juſtice and Piety, that, as well Foreigners, as his own Subjects, thought it a nefarious Thing to hurt ſuch a Perſon. He was better guarded by this Opinion of his Sanctity, than by his Military Forces; after he had reigned 29 Years, he departed this Life, being much lamented by all good Men.

DORNADILLA, *the fourth King.*

HE left a Son behind him, called *Dornadilla*, the Succeſſor of his Kingdom; in point of Equity, like his Father, but very unlike him in the other parts of his Life. For he ſpent much of his time in Hunting, as judging that Exerciſe to be proper enough in a time of Peace, and healthful; and what was ſtill more very beneficial to harden the Body for War. And beſides, it is by that Exerciſe, the Mind receives the pureſt Pleaſures, and is mightily ſtrengthened againſt Covetouſneſs, Luxury, and other Vices, which ſpring from Idleneſs. Report ſays, That the Laws about Hunting, which the ancient *Scots* obſerve to this Day, were made by him. He deceaſed in the 28th Year of his Reign.

NOTHATUS, *the fifth King.*

AFTER his Death, the People placed *Nothatus*, his Brother, on the Throne, his own Son *Reutherus* being yet immature, in point of Age, for the Government. This *Nothatus* changed the Form of it, which, till then, had been moderate, and bounded with Laws, into an Arbitrary Domination; and, as if his Subjects had been given him to prey upon, not to defend, he puniſhed High and Low, promiſcuouſly, with Forfeiture of Goods, Baniſhment, Death, and all ſort of Miſeries, ſo that ſcarce any Addition could be made to his Cruelty. By theſe Severities, moſt of the People were cow'd out, only one *Dovalus* of *Galway*, an ambitious Man, thinking it a ſeaſonable Opportunity for him to advance himſelf, by reaſon of the Peoples Hatred againſt their

their King; and knowing alſo, that his own Life was inſidiouſly aim'd at by the King, he reſolves to prevent him. And accordingly, all things being in a readineſs, and being accompanied with a great number of his Vaſſals and Friends, away goes he to the King, and openly upbraids him with the Slaughter of the Nobility, with the Seizure of their Goods and Eſtates, and with his enſlaving the Commonalty; and demands of him, to reſtore the Kingdom, which he was not able to manage, to the right Heir. *Nothatus*, being thus bearded and affronted, contrary to his Expectation, yet remitted nothing of his former Stoutneſs, but anſwered peremptorily, that he would maintain what he had done, by his kingly Prerogative, and, if he had carried it ſomewhat deſpotically, it was to be imputed not to his own Diſpoſition, but to the Contumacy of the Subjects, who had enforced him thereto. Theſe Taunts increaſed the Animoſities between them, ſo that at laſt it came to Blows, and *Nothatus* was ſlain by *Dovalus* and his Partiſans, after he had reigned, cruelly and avariciouſly, twenty Years.

REUTHERUS, *the ſixth King.*

THIS done, *Reutherus* was made King by the *Dovalian* Faction, without the Suffrages of the People: The Nobles, hearing of it, though they judged *Nothatus* worthy of the worſt of Puniſhments, yet did not approve ſo bad an Example; and they took it in greater Diſdain, becauſe a publick Convention was not conſulted, but the Choice of the chief Magiſtrate devolved on the Pleaſure and Arbitrement of one Man: Beſides, that it was not to be thought an obliging Act in him, thus to advance the young Man to the chief Power, who was, as yet, unfit to rule. For ſuch as look'd narrowly into the Matter, would find, that only the Name of King would be given to *Reutherus*, but the whole Power would reſide in *Dovalus*. However, it did not much concern the Publick, whether *Nothatus*, or *Dovalus* were King, unleſs, perhaps, they hoped for a more tolerable Life under him, who, being a private Man, durſt adventure to murder his King; and ſo to deliver over the Scepter to another private Man, than under one, who was not ſo extream or cruel in his Government, until, by the Permiſſion of the People, he was back'd with Power and with the Terrour of an Army. The Kindred of *Nothatus*, hearing ſuch things to be bruited abroad, inſinuating themſelves into the Company of thoſe who did regret ſuch High Miſdemeanors, at laſt gained this Point, that War ſhould be declared againſt *Dovalus*;

Dovalus; and that *Ferchard*, *Nothatus* his Son in Law, ſhould be General of their Army. Neither did *Dovalus* refuſe to give Battel: They fought twice in one and the ſame Day; the *Dovalians*, though ſuperior in Number, yet were beaten and put to Flight, more of them being ſlain in the Purſuit, than in the Battel. For, beſides *Dovalus* himſelf, and the chief of his Faction, there fell alſo *Getus*, the King of the *Picts*, with many of his Men. *Reutherus*, the new King, was taken Priſoner, and pardoned, out of reſpect to his tender Age, to the Memory of his Father, and to the Royal Blood which ran in his Veins. Neither was the Victory un-bloody, even to the Conquerors themſelves, almoſt all the chief of the Clans being ſlain, with many common Soldiers into the Bargain. This Conflict of the *Scots* and *Picts*, brought matters to that low ebb in *Britain*, that they who ſurvived fled into deſert and mountainous Places, and even into the neighbouring Places, leſt they ſhould become a Prey to the *Britons*; who, having now got that Opportunity, which they long thirſted after, pierced into the Country, as far as *Bodotria*, (now called *Forth*) without any Reſiſtance. Afterwards, having made a little Settlement of things there, they went forward againſt the *Caledonians*, and, having ſcattered thoſe, who were there gathered together to oppoſe them, they ſeized upon the Champion Countries of the *Picts*, and, placing Garriſons there, thinking the War to be at an end, they returned home with their Army. In the mean time, the Remainders of the *Scots* and *Picts*, which had retired to the Mountains, Woods, and other inacceſſible Places, vexed the Governors of Caſtles and Garriſons, by robbing them of their Cattle; upon which, they themſelves alſo lived; and, being increaſed by the Acceſſion of greater Forces from the Iſlands, they ſometimes burnt Villages and plundered far and near, ſo that the Ground was left without Tillage in many places. The *Britons*, either being detained by home-bred Diſſenſions, or, not thinking it adviſeable or ſafe, to lead their Army into ſuch difficult and almoſt inacceſſible Places, where they could meet their Enemies with no Forces more numerous than they had to oppoſe them, did by their ſlow Actings, increaſe the Boldneſs of their Oppoſers. The *Scots* and *Picts* being thus miſerably afflicted for twelve Years, at length, a new Fry of luſty warlike Youths grew up, (who, in ſo great Streights that they had undergone, were inured to Hardſhip,) thoſe ſent Meſſengers all about, and, mutually exhorting one another, they reſolved to try their Fortunes. Whereupon, *Reutherus* ſails out of *Ireland* into the *Æbudæ*, and from thence into *Albium*, and Landing

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his Forces at the Bay, now called *Lough Brien*, and there joining with young *Gethus*, the Son of old *Gethus* who was ſlain, and who was his Wife's Brother, they conſulted together concerning the Management of the War. The Iſſue of their Conſult was, that it was beſt to draw towards the Enemy unawares, whilſt he was unprepared; as ſoon as they met the Service was ſo hot, and the Fight ſo ſharp, that neither Army had reaſon to boaſt; ſo that both of them being wearied with Slaughter, made Peace for ſome Years: *Reuther*, or (as *Bede* calls him) *Reuda*, returned to his ancient Seat of *Argyle*; and the *Scots* were, a long time after, from him, called *Dalreudini*; for *Daal* in old *Scotiſh* ſignifieth a Part, as ſome ſay, or a *Meadow* or *Plain*, as others affirm. From whence he made a farther Progreſs, and in a ſhort time enlarged his Dominions even to their ancient Bounds. After he had reigned twenty ſix Years he died, leaving a Son behind him, named *Thereus*, begot upon the Daughter of *Gethus*.

REUTHA, *the Seventh King.*

BECAUSE *Thereus* was yet ſcarce ten Years old, and ſo too young to undertake the Kingdom, according to the Law, long before made and obſerved, concerning the Succeſſion of Kings, therefore his Uncle *Reutha* was declared King; who, being free from Wars abroad, endeavoured to reduce the People, who were grown almoſt wild by their former Sufferings, and alſo inſolent upon their late Victory, (tho' a bloody one) into a milder Carriage and Deportment; and, accordingly he enacted many publick and profitable Laws, of which not a few yet remain amongſt the *ancient Scots*. Having reigned ſeventeen Years, with ſo good a *Decorum*, being reverenced and beloved of all; either for want of Health, (to which he himſelf imputed it) or elſe, fearing the ambitious Nature of his Kinſman *Thereus*, he reſigned up the Government, the People being hardly brought to give their Conſent to it; and at his Reſignation there was a large *Panegyrick* made in his Praiſe.

THEREUS, *the Eighth King.*

THEREUS was ſubſtituted in his ſtead; in the firſt ſix Years of his Reign, he ſo managed the Government, that *Reutha*'s Predictions concerning him ſeem'd to be true. But after that time was expired he ran headlong into all manner of Vice, not by degrees, but all at once; inſomuch, that

that putting the Nobles to Death by falſe Indictments, ſome lewd Fellows thereupon did, without Fear, range over all the Kingdom, acting Rapines and Robberies at their Pleaſure. The *Phylarchæ*, (*i. e.* Chief of the *Clans*) bewailing the deplorable State of the Publick, determined to proceed judicially againſt him; which he having notice of, fled to the *Britons*; where, deſpairing of his Return, he ended his Days in great Contempt and Ignominy. In the mean time, *Conanus*, a prudent and regular Perſon, was elected Vice-Roy; he reſtored and ſtrengthned what the other had impaired and weakened; he reſtrained Robberies, and having compoſed Matters as well as he could, he received News of the Death of *Thereus*; whereupon, in a publick Aſſembly, or Convention, of the *Eſtates*, he abdicated the Magiſtracy, about the twelfth Year after *Thereus* began his reign.

JOSINA, *the Ninth King.*

JOSINA, Brother of the late King, was raiſed to the Helm of Government; he did nothing Memorable one way or other, only he held Phyſicians in very high Eſteem; becauſe, when he was baniſh'd with his Father into *Ireland* they had been his great Intimates. Whereupon the reſt of the Nobility complying with the Humour of the King, it came to paſs, that for many Ages, there was ſcarce a Nobleman or Gentleman in *Scotland*, which had not the Skill to cure Wounds: For there was then little uſe of other Parts of Phyſick amongſt ſuch Men, who were educated parſimoniouſly, and endured too much Labour and Toil. He died in a good old Age, having reigned four and twenty Years.

FINNANUS, *the Tenth King.*

HIS Son *Finnanus* ſucceeded him, who, walking in his Father's Steps, endeavoured nothing more than to accuſtom his Subjects to a juſt and moderate Government; labouring to maintain his kingly Authority more by good Will than Arms: And that he might cut up the Root of Tyranny, he made a Decree, *That Kings ſhould determine, or command, nothing of great Concern or Importance, without the Authority of their great Council.* He was beloved both by his Subjects and by Foreigners. He deceaſed, having reigned thirty Years.

DURSTUS,

DURSTUS, *the Eleventh King.*

NOTHING did ſo much aggravate the Loſs of *Finnanus*, as the profligate and debauched Life of his Son *Durſtus*, who ſucceeded him. For firſt of all he baniſhed from his Preſence his Father's Friends, as troubleſome Abridgers of his Pleaſures: Then he made the corrupteſt Youngſters his familiar and boſom Friends, giving himſelf wholly up to Wine and Women. He drove away his Wife, the Daughter of the King of the *Britons*, who was proſtituted to his Nobles. At length when he perceived that the Nobility were conſpiring againſt him, as if he had been juſt then awakened out of a deep Sleep; foreſeeing that he was not ſafe at home, and knew not where to find a ſecure Place abroad, if he were baniſhed, in regard he was ſo hated both by his Subjects and Strangers too; he therefore thought it his beſt courſe to diſſemble a Repentance for his former evil Life, by that means thinking he might retain the regal Government, and in time be reveng'd of his Enemies too. And thereupon, in the firſt Place, he recalled his Wife, and by that means endeavour'd to make fair Weather with the *Britons*. He aſſembles the Heads of his Subjects, and under a ſolemn Oath to do ſo no more, he enacts an Amneſty for what was paſt. He commits notorious Criminals to Priſon, as if he had reſerved them for farther Puniſhment: And religiouſly promiſed that for the future he would act nothing without the Counſel of his Nobles. When by theſe Arts he had made others believe that he was a true Convert, he celebrates this Reconciliation and Concord with Plays, Feaſtings, and other Entertainments proper for publick Rejoicings. Thus all Mens Minds being filled with Jollity, he invites the Nobility to Supper; and then ſhutting them up in one Place, being unarmed, and fearing nothing, he ſent in Ruffians amongſt them, who deſtroy'd them all to a Man. That Calamity did not ſo much abate and quell the Minds of the reſt with Fear, as it raiſed and blew up their languiſhing Anger into new Flames; wherefore gathering a great Army together, they all conſpired to rid the Earth of ſo foul a Monſter. *Durſtus* perceiving that all other Hope failed him, reſolved to try his Fortune in a Battel, with a few others, whom the like Fear of Puniſhment for the Wickedneſs of their former Lives had drawn in to join with him; in which Fight he was ſlain after he had reigned nine Years. Tho' all Orders and Eſtates were juſtly incens'd againſt him; yet they gave ſo great Deference to the Name of *King*, and to the Memo-

ry of his Anceſtors, that he was buried amongſt his Royal Predeceſſors.

EVENUS, *the Twelfth King.*

AFTER his Death, in a publick Aſſembly of the Nobles there was a very great Conteſt; ſome alledging, that according to their Oath made to King *Fergus*, the ancient Cuſtom was to be obſerved; others fearing that if they made any one of the Kindred of *Durſtus* King, that either the Similitude of Manners would incline him to the ſame Wickedneſs; or elſe the Propinquity of Blood would make him ſtudy Revenge. At laſt, *Evenus*, Brother's-Child to *Durſtus*, being commended for his former Life, and for his extreme Hatred againſt the Tyrant, whilſt he was alive, was ſent for from amongſt the *Picts*, (whither he had voluntarily baniſhed himſelf out of Hatred to *Durſtus*,) and unanimouſly created King. He is reported to be the firſt who made his Subjects take an Oath of Allegiance to him, which Cuſtom is yet retained by the Heads of the *Clans*. *Evenus*, that he might rectifie the Manners of his Subjects, which were depraved by the former King, did firſt reduce Youth to the ancient Parſimony in Diet, Apparel, and in their daily Converſation. For, by that means, he judged, they would be more valiant in War, and leſs ſeditious in Peace. He diligently viewed all the Parts of his Kingdom, adminiſtring Juſtice with great Moderation, and puniſhing Offenders according to their Demerits. He aſſiſted the King of the *Picts* with Aids againſt the *Britons*, betwixt whom there was fought a long and cruel Battel till Night parted them; the Victory being ſo uncertain, that both Armies departed with equal Slaughter, and as equal Fear. The *Britons* went home, the *Scots* and *Picts* retired into the next adjacent Mountains; but the Day after, from the high Grounds, perceiving the Departure or Flight of their Enemies, they came and gathered up the Spoils, as if they had been Conquerors, and ſo returned home with their Army. *Evenus* having repelled his Enemies, again betook himſelf to the Arts of Peace. And that it might not be troubleſome to Kings to travel over the Countries ſo oft for the adminiſtring Juſtice, (which was *then* their Cuſtom to do) he divided the Kingdom into Circuits, and ſettled ordinary Judges to do that Work. He alſo appointed Informers to bring in Accuſations againſt the Guilty. Which Office being found inconvenient, was either abrogated by a Law, or elſe grew obſolete by Cuſtom. He died in the nineteenth Year of his Reign, leaving a Baſe-born

born Son, called *Gillus*, behind him, a crafty Man, and deſirous of the Kingdom.

GILLUS, *The thirteenth King.*

THERE were yet living of the Blood-royal, as Heirs to the Crown, two Twins, *Dochamus* and *Dorgallus*, the Sons of *Durſtus*. Though their Age was not the cauſe of the Difference, yet there aroſe a deadly Feud between them concerning the Kingdom; which was alſo farther increaſed by the Fraud of *Gillus*. The Matter being referred to the Arbitration of their Kindred, ſuch was the Obſtinacy of the Factions, that nothing could be determined. *Gillus*, who advis'd each of them to kill one another, when his ſecret Counſel took no effect, gathered together the chief of the Nobles, and his Kindred, (on pretence to end the Controverſie,) into one place, where he ſuborned Men, fit for his purpoſe, to raiſe a Tumult, and to deſtroy them both. And then, as if he himſelf had been aſſaulted by Treachery, he implored the Aid of all that were preſent, and fled to *Evonium*, a place fortified by King *Evenus*. Having garriſon'd that Fort with part of the Nobility and other flagitious Perſons, out of an high place in the Caſtle, he made a long Oration to the People; who, in great Multitudes, were gathered about him, concerning the Raſhneſs and Obſtinacy of the two Brothers; he declaimed alſo againſt thoſe Aſſaſſins who killed them; but, at laſt, he told them, that he was left by *Evenus*, the Guardian or Superior of the Kingdom, as well as of his domeſtick Affairs, till a new King was choſen. When the People heard this, though they believed it to be falſe, yet when they ſaw him fortified in a ſtrong Garriſon, for fear of a greater Miſchief, they inſtantly ſwore Fealty to him, and declared him King. He, though he had ſtrengthened himſelf in the Kingdom by the Conſent of the People, (though unwillingly obtain'd,) yet, not thinking himſelf ſafe from the Poſterity of *Durſtus*, as long as any of them were alive, reſolved to deſtroy his Nephews.

THERE remained alive of them *Liſmorus*, *Gormachus* and *Ederus*, the Sons of *Dochamus*, Son of *Durſtus*; they were educated in the *Iſle of Man*. Thither *Gillus* went, on pretence to bring them home; and to the two elder he behaved himſelf with great Reverence and Reſpect, and carried them with him into *Albium*, cunningly pretending, that they being of a Royal Stock, ſhould be educated in his Court, ſuitable to their Princely Quality. As for *Ederus*, the younger, he left Soldiers, on pretence of a Guard, to attend his Perſon,

ſon, to whom he gave Command on a certain appointed Day, to kill him. But the Diſpoſition of *Gillus* being well known to all, the Nurſe, ſuſpecting Treachery to be hatching againſt the Child, conveyed him ſecretly by Night into the Country of *Argyle*, and ſo ſhe eluded *Gillus*, who ſought in vain, to find him out to deſtroy him; for ſhe bred him up for ſome Years privately in a Cave under Ground; whereupon he, in Fury, put the two elder Brothers of *Edcrus*, and alſo their Guard, to Death: But it being publickly reported, that *Edcrus* himſelf was conveyed into *Ireland*, he made no farther Enquiry after him. And yet his Cruelty reſted not here, though he had ſlain the Nephews of *Durſtus*; for not judging himſelf ſufficiently ſecure, as long as any one of the Royal Progeny was left alive, he cauſed all thoſe who bore an Alliance to them to be alſo put to Death. The Nobles, who were grieved at the preſent State of Affairs, which was bad at preſent, and fearing that it would be worſe, entred into a Combination againſt him; and carried the Matter with ſo much Secrecy, that a War was begun againſt *Gillus*, before he had Notice that any Preparations were making towards it. But, in levying an Army againſt his Oppoſers, he ſoon perceived, how inconſtant the Fealty of Man is towards wicked and flagitious Princes. For there were very few that came in to him at his Summons; and thoſe that did were Debauchees, ſuch as were afraid of Peace, in regard of the Wickedneſs of their former Lives. And therefore diſtruſting his Forces, he left his Army, and in a Fiſher-boat was carried over into *Ireland*. In the mean time the *Scots*, that they might not be without a legal Government, made *Cadvallus*, chief of thoſe who combined againſt *Gillus*, their *Vice-Roy*, to whom, upon a Treaty, the Forces of his Enemies ſubmitted, and were upon their ſubmitting received into his Protection. When *Cadvallus* underſtood that *Gillus* was about to renew the War, and in order to it, was raiſing as many debauched Perſons as he could, he reſolved to prevent him before he could gather together a juſt Army, and ſo to purſue him whereſoever he fled. Firſt, he ſailed into the *Æbudæ*, or *Hebrides*; there he cauſed *Edcrus*, the only Branch of the Family of *Durſtus* yet alive, to be brought to him, and gave Order for his liberal and royal Education. When *Gillus* heard of his March, he retired again into *Ireland*; there he engaged the Clans of that Nation, with great Promiſes of Reward, to endeavour his Reſtoration to his Kingdom; which, if they could effect, then he would give them the *Æbudæ* Iſlands for their Reward. By theſe Promiſes, he gathered together a great Army; *Cadval-*

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lus having prepared all things for his Tranſportation, was ſuddenly called back, to clear himſelf from a falſe Suſpicion of affecting, or aſpiring to, the Kingly Government.

EVENUS II. *The fourteenth King.*

THIS being the Caſe, the firſt thing he did, was to take care that *Evenus*, an eminent Perſon, the Son of *Dovallus*, Brother to King *Finnanus*, might by the Suffrages of the People be created King; who, having accepted the Government, cauſed all Places which were commodious for his Enemies, and eſpecially the Maritim ones, to be filled with ſtrong Garriſons, that ſo his Enemies might not make a ſudden Deſcent into his Kingdom, without Oppoſition: *Gillus*, hearing of this, did alſo alter his Reſolution, and ſailed to the Iſle of *Ila*; and there, having waſted the Country far and near with Fire and Sword, he returned back into *Ireland*. *Evenus* ſends a great Army thither, under the Command of *Cadvallus*, that ſo he might exhauſt the Springhead of the War. Neither did *Gillus* refuſe to fight him, but being deſerted by his Men, who followed him for Booty, rather than for Love, he changed his Apparel, and, with a ſmall Company, fled into a neighbouring Wood: the reſt of his Army being thus deſerted by their General, and their Fellow Soldiers too, yielded to *Cadvallus*. After the Battel was ended, they ſought a long time for *Gillus*, and at laſt found him in a blind Cave, where he was ſlain, the third Year after he began his Reign, and his Head was brought to *Cadvallus*. Matters being thus happily ſettled in *Ireland* by *Cadvallus*, as he was returning home he met not with the ſame Felicity; for being toſs'd up and down in a grievous Tempeſt, he loſt the greateſt part of his Army, and all the Prey they had gotten; which ſtruck him into ſuch a Damp, that, not long after, he died of Grief: The King indeed comforted him, (but all in vain,) and, praiſing his Valour and Succeſs in the War, he caſt all his Miſeries upon the Croſsneſs of Fortune. The new King lifted up with this Succeſs, renewed a Peace with the *Picts*; and, in Confirmation of it, he took to Wife the Daughter of *Getus*, the third King of the *Picts*: But the ſudden Arrival and Landing of the *Orkny-Men* in *Albium*, quickly diſturbed this publick Joy. However the King falling ſuddenly upon them, drove them out of the Field to the Mountains, and from thence to the Sea; and there being in a Fright and Hurry, whilſt they crowded and hindred one another in endeavouring to ſhip themſelves off again, they were all ſlain to a Man. *Belus* their

King, deſpairing to obtain Quarter, ſlew himſelf. *Evenus*, having finiſhed the War, returns to the Work of Peace, and conſtitutes two Mart-Towns for Trade in convenient Places; *i. e. Ennerlochy* and *Ennerneſs*, each of them receiving their Name from Rivers, gliding by them. For *Enner*, amongſt the ancient *Scots*, ſignifies a Place, where Ships uſually reſort. He ſubdued the Inhabitants of the *Æbudæ*, who, by reaſon of their long Wars, were grown very licentious and quarrelſome. He reconciled their Animoſities, and appeaſed their Diſturbances, and ſoon after died, having reigned ſeventeen Years.

EDERUS, *The fifteenth King.*

EDERUS, the Son of *Dochamus*, was made King in his place; who, whilſt he was reaping the ſweet Fruits of Peace eſtabliſh'd both at home and abroad, and giving himſelf to the Sport of Hunting, (according to the ancient Cuſtom of the Nation,) had News ſuddenly brought him, that one *Bredius* an Iſlander, of Kin to the Tyrant *Gillus*, was landed with a great Navy of Soldiers, and plundered the Country: He preſently gathered together a powerful Army againſt him, and marching as ſilently as he could in the Night, he paſſed by the Camp of his Enemies, and ſet upon their Ships in the Road, which by this ſudden Surprize, he eaſily maſtered, and, killing the Guard, he burnt the Navy. In the Morning he led his Army againſt the Camp, which he eaſily took, finding the Soldiers negligent, and in no Order at all; many were ſlain on the Spot, whilſt they delay'd either to fight or fly: The reſt having their Flight by Sea prevented, by the burning of their Ships, were there taken and hanged. The Booty was reſtored to the Owners, that could make their proper Claims. A few Years after, another of the Kindred of *Gillus*, and out of the ſame Iſland too, raiſed the like Commotion, which had the ſame Event and Succeſs; for his Army was overthrown, his Fleet burnt, the Booty recovered back, and reſtored to the right Owners. Thus having ſetled a firm Peace, being very old, he fell ſick, and died in the forty eighth Year of his Reign.

EVENUS III. *The ſixteenth King.*

EVENUS the Third ſucceeded him, a Son unworthy of ſo good a Father; for, not being contented with an hundred Concubines of the nobleſt Families, he publiſhed his Impurities and his Shame to the World by eſtabliſhed Laws.

Laws. For he enacted, that every Man might marry as many Wives as he was able to maintain: And alſo, that before the Marriage of Noble Virgins, the King ſhould have one Night's Lodging with them; and the Nobles the like, before the Marriage of *Plebeians:* that the Wives of *Plebeians* ſhould be common to the Nobility. Luxury, Cruelty and Covetouſneſs did, (as they ordinarily do) attend and follow this his flagitious Wickedneſs. For his Incomes and Revenues not anſwering his Expence, upon pretended Cauſes, the wealthier ſort were put to Death; and the King going Shares with the Robbers, by that means Thieves were never puniſhed. And thus the Favour, which his permitting promiſcuous Luſts had obtain'd him from the corrupted Youth, was again loſt by his Cruelty and Rapaciouſneſs. For, a Conſpiracy of the Nobles being formed againſt him, he ſoon perceived, that the Friendſhip, and ſeeming Union of wicked Men, was not to be relied upon. For, as ſoon as they came to fight, he was deſerted by his Soldiers, and lived to fall into his Enemies Hands, by whom he was thrown into the common Gaol. *Cadallanus*, who ſucceeded him, demanding Sentence to be pronounced againſt him, he was condemned to perpetual Impriſonment. But there, one or other of his Enemies, either out of ſome old Grudge for Injuries received from him; or elſe, hoping for Favour, or at leaſt Impunity, for the Murder of the King, ſtrangled him by Night in the Priſon, when he had reigned ſeven Years. However, the Murderer came to be hang'd for his wicked Pains.

METELLANUS, *The ſeventeenth King.*

METELLANUS, Kinſman to *Ederus*, ſucceeded him in the Throne; a Prince no leſs dear to all for his excellent Virtues, than *Evenus* was hated by them for his abominable Vices. He was mightily priz'd and eſteem'd for this, that during his Reign there was Peace both at home and abroad. But it was ſome Allay to his Happineſs, that he could not abrogate the filthy Laws of *Evenus*, being hindred by his Nobility, who were too much addicted to Luxury. His Demiſe was in the thirtieth Year of his Reign.

CARATACUS, *The eighteenth King.*

METELLANUS dying without Iſſue, the Kingdom was conferred on *Caratacus*, Son of *Cadallanus*, a young Man of the Royal Blood. Soon after his Acceſſion

to the Throne, he quieted the People of the *Æbudæ* Iſlands, (who had raiſed Commotions upon the Death of their laſt King,) but not without great Trouble. Yet here I cannot eaſily believe what our Writers, following *Oroſius*, *Eutropius*, and *Bede*; do ſay, *viz.* That the *Orcades* were ſubdued by *Claudius Cæſar* in his Reign. Not that I think it a very hard thing for him to attempt a few Iſlands, one by one, that lay ſcatter'd up and down in the ſtormy Sea, and having but a few, and thoſe too unarmed, Inhabitants to defend them; and ſeeing they could not mutually helpone another, to take them all in; nor that I think it incredible, that a Navy might be ſent by *Claudius* on that Expedition, he being a Man that fought for War and Victory all the World over: But becauſe *Tacitus* affirms, that, before the coming of *Julius Agricola* into *Britain*, that part of it was utterly unknown to the *Romans*. *Caratacus* reigned twenty Years.

CORBREDUS, *The nineteenth King.*

CORBREDUS, his Brother, ſucceeded him. He alſo ſubdued the *Iſlanders* in many Expeditions, a People, that almoſt in every *Inter-Regnum*, affected Innovation, and excited new Tumults. He alſo quite ſuppreſs'd the *Banditti*, which moſt infeſted the Commonalty. Having ſettled Peace, he return'd to *Albium*, and making his Progreſs over all *Scotland*, he repaired the Places injured by War, and departed this Life in the eighteenth Year of his Reign.

DARDANUS, *The twentieth King.*

THE Convention of Eſtates ſet up *Dardanus*, the Nephew of *Metellanus*, in his ſtead, paſſing by the Son of *Corbredus*, becauſe of his young and tender Years. No Man, before him, ever came to the Crown, of whom greater Expectations were conceived, and no Man did evermore egregiouſly deceive the Peoples Hopes. Before he undertook the chief Magiſtracy, he gave great Proof of his Liberality, Temperance and Fortitude: So that in the beginning of his Reign he was an indifferent good, and a tolerable King; but he had ſcarce ſat three Years on the Throne, before he ran headlong into all ſorts of Wickedneſs. He baniſh'd thoſe who had been the ſober and prudent Counſellors of his Father, becauſe they were againſt his lewd Practices. Only Flatterers, and ſuch as could invent new Pleaſures, were his Boſom Friends. He cauſed *Cardorus*, his own Kinſman, to be put to Death, becauſe he reproved him for his Extravagance in lawleſs Pleaſures;

Pleaſures; and yet he had been Lord Chief Juſtice and Chancellor too, under the former King. And a while after, many other Perſons, as they did excel in Virtue, or in Wealth, were circumvented by him, by one Wile or other, and ſo unjuſtly brought to their Ends. At laſt, to free himſelf from the Fears of a Succeſſor, he took a Reſolution to deſtroy *Corbredus Galdus*, his Kinſman, with his Brothers, who were royally educated, in Hopes of the Kingdom. The Charge of this Aſſaſſination was committed to *Cormoracus*, one of his Privado's. He being prevailed with by many Gifts, but more Promiſes, was ſent to perpetrate the Villany; but attempting it with leſs Caution than ſuch a Butchery required, he was taken in the very Fact, by ſome of *Galdus* his Train, with a naked Fauchion in his Hand; being arraigned and put to the Torture, he confeſſed the Author, and the deſigned Order of the Conſpiracy, and ſo was executed immediately. When this wicked Plot was divulged abroad, there was a general Combination of almoſt all ſorts of People againſt the King; inſomuch, that having ſlain many of thoſe who were Panders to his Luſt, as faſt as they could be met with, they endeavoured at laſt to make their Way to the King himſelf, the Source and Fountain of all Miſchief. In the mean time, *Conanus*, one of the Kings Paraſites, a Man meanly deſcended, but highly reſpected and truſted by his Maſter, levied ſome Troops, and had the Confidence to ſend them forth againſt the Nobles, but being deſerted by them, he was taken and hang'd. The Commons, having now got *Galdus* for their General, found out *Dardanus*, who was privately lurking to ſecure himſelf; while they were apprehending of him he endeavour'd to lay violent Hands on himſelf; but being prevented, he was brought to *Galdus*, and immediately put to Death: His Head was carried up and down in Mockery, and his Body thrown into a Jakes, after he had reigned four Years.

CORBRED II. *The twenty firſt King.*

CORBRED the Second, ſirnamed *Galdus*, ſucceeded him; a Prince equally dear to Lords and Commons; as well upon the account, and early Proof, of his own perſonal Virtue, and promiſing Ingenuity, as for the Memory of his worthy Father. Some imagine, that he was *that Galgacus*, who is mentioned by *Tacitus*, and that he was ſirnamed *Galdus* by the *Scots*, becauſe he had been educated amongſt the *Britons*. For the *Scots*, according to their ancient Cuſtom, call all Strangers *Galds*, or *Galls*; as the *Germans* call them *Wals*, as I ſhewed more at large above. After

he had taken the Government upon him, he increaſed the great Hopes, which had been pre-conceived of him: For, making an Expedition into the Iſlands of *Sky* and *Lewis*, he quelled the Seditions, which had been lately raiſed there, and ſuffered to come to an Head, by the Negligence of *Dardanus*; and quelled them too like a good Prince, with a due and prudent Mixture of Mercy and Severity. He ſlew the Captains of thoſe *Banditti*, and enforced the reſt, for fear of Puniſhment, either to be their own Baniſhers, and fly, or elſe, to return to their former rural Employments: He, as I believe, was the firſt of the *Scotiſh* Kings, that ever advanced his Enſigns againſt the *Romans*, who had, by little and little, propagated their Empire even to the very Borders. For *Petilius Cerealis* firſt broke the Forces of the *Brigantes*, and his Succeſſor *Julius Frontinus* conquered the *Silures*. 'Tis very probable, that the *Scots* and *Picts* ſent Aid to thoſe Nations, who were ſituate not far from their Borders. *Julius Agricola* ſucceeded the former Generals, who having overcome the *Ordovices*, and reduced the Iſland *Man*, when he was come to the narroweſt part of *Britain*, thinking that it was not far to the end of the Iſland, he was encouraged to the Conqueſt of it all. And therefore in the third Year of his Generalſhip, he overcame and plundered the neighbouring Countries of the *Scots* and *Picts*, until he came to the River *Tay*; and though his Army was much diſtreſſed by the Rigour of the Seaſon, yet he had time to build Forts in all places convenient for Defence; by which means he defeated the Deſigns of his Enemies, and withal, broke their Force. For till that time the adverſe Party, being Men inured to Hardſhip, would, tho' they loſt Ground every Summer, very frequently recover it back again in Winter, when the *Roman* Legions were diſperſed into Winter Quarters: And ſometimes they would aſſault and take their Enemies Caſtles and Garriſons, being not ſufficiently fortified But at that time, by the Cunningneſs of *Agrippa* in building his Forts, and by his Skill in making them defenſible; and withal, by relieving them with his Forces every Year, their Acts were eluded. In the fourth Year of his Government, perceiving that the *Firths* of *Forth*, and of *Clyd*, were only divided by a ſmall Tract of Land, having fortified that Place with Garriſons, he ſpoiled the Countries that ran towards the *Iriſh* Sea. In his fifth Year, he ſent a Fleet to Sea, and made Deſcents in many places, and plundred the Maritim Coaſts, fortifying thoſe that looked towards *Ireland* with Garriſons, not only for that preſent Occaſion, but alſo, that he might from thence

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more eaſily tranſport an Army to that Country. By this Prudence of *Agricola*, the *Scots*, and *Picts*, being ſhut up in a narrow Corner, and ſecluded from any Commerce with the *Britons*, prepared themſelves for the laſt great Shock, and the deciſive Blow: Neither was *Agricola* leſs careful; but commanding his Navy to fetch a Compaſs about, to diſcover the utmoſt parts of the Iſland, he led his Army beyond the *Forth*, and drew towards the *Caledonians*: there their Enemies, being ready (as in a deſperate Caſe) to run their laſt Hazard, aſſaulted ſome of the *Roman* Garriſons; which ſtruck ſuch a Terror into them, that ſome of the *Romans*, as fearing, either the Number of their Enemies, or their Obſtinacy, by reaſon of the laſt degree of Deſperateneſs to which they were driven, were of Opinion, that it would be beſt for them to retreat with their Army into a place of greater Safety: But their General, being reſolved to fight, when he was informed, that the Enemy approached him in three diſtinct Brigades; he alſo drew towards them, having divided his Army into three Squadrons alſo; which Project almoſt prov'd to be his utter Ruin. For his Enemies underſtanding his Deſign, did with their whole Army aſſault one of his Legions by Night, and having killed the Sentinels, had gone nigh to have taken his whole Camp: But being prevented by the coming in of other Legions, after they had fought deſperately till Day-light, they were at length put to Flight, and returned into the Mountains and Woods. Theſe Actions happened about the eighth Year of his Expeditions. Both Parties prepare themſelves, as for the finiſhing Stroke, againſt the enſuing Spring: The *Romans* judging, that the Victory would put an end to the War; and their Enemies looking upon their *All* to be at Stake; and, that they were to fight for their Liberty, Lives, and for whatſoever is to be accounted dear and ſacred amongſt Men: Hereupon judging, that in former Battels they were overcome by Stratagem, rather than by Valour, they betook themſelves to the higher Grounds; and, at the foot of Mount *Grampius*, waited the Approach of the *Romans*. There a bloody Fight was begun betwixt them: The Victory was a great while wavering, and uncertain; at laſt, all the valiant Men of the *Caledonians* being ſlain, the reſt having their Courage cooled, were forced to retreat to their Faſtneſſes. After this Battel, there was no doubt at all, but that *Agrippa* would have ſubdued all *Britain*, by the Force of his conquering Arms, if he had not been called home by *Domitian*; not for the Honour of his Victories, as was pretended, but for his Deſtruction and Death. After his Departure, Sedition grew to a great Head in

the *Roman* Camp; and the *Scots* and *Picts* very glad of the Occaſion, and pretty much encouraged by it, began to creep out of the places where they lay lurking before; and perceiving, that the *Romans* had not a General, nor the ſame Camp-diſcipline, as before, they ſent Envoys up and down, to try the Inclination, not only of their own Countrymen, but likewiſe of the *Britons*. Thus, in the firſt place, being imboldened by having Succeſs in ſome ſmall Skirmiſhes, they began more and more to take Heart, and to aſſault Garriſons; and at laſt, with a formed Army, they reſolved to venture the Hazard of a pitched Battel. By this means the *Romans* were expelled out of their Territories, and were forced, with doubtful Succeſs, to contend with the *Britons* for their ancient Province. *Galdus* having obtained a Reſpite from Arms, made his Progreſs all over the ſeveral Countries of the Land, and reſettled the old Owners in their Habitations, which had been almoſt deſtroyed by the War: As for the Places which were wholly unpeopled, he ſent his Soldiers to inhabit them. And having reſtrained the frequent Robberies which were wont to be committed, he compoſed the Differences, which began to ariſe betwixt him and the *Picts*. At length, in great Glory and Eſteem, both with Friends and Foes, he deceaſed, in the 35th Year of his Reign.

LUCTACUS, *The twenty ſecond King.*

SO good a Father was ſucceeded by *Luctacus*, as bad a Son; who deſpiſing the Counſel of his Nobles, gave himſelf wholly up to Wine and Women. No Nearneſs of Alliance, no Reverence of the Laws, no Reſpect of Nobility, or of conjugal Relation, could reſtrain him from committing the vileſt Lewdneſs with the fair unhappy Creatures that he had a Mind to. Add to this, that he was inhumanly cruel, and alſo inſatiably covetous. All the young Fry, who are evermore inclinable to the worſe, too ſoon and too eaſily degenerated into the Manners of their King. So that at laſt, when he had defiled all, with Whoredom, Rapines and Slaughters, and no one Man durſt oppoſe his exorbitant Power; an Aſſembly of the States being called together, and ſpeaking freely concerning the State of the Kingdom, he commanded the Nobles, as ſeditious Perſons, to be led out to Execution; but by the Concourſe of the intervening Multitude, both he, and alſo the loathed Miniſters of his Luſt and Lewdneſs were ſlain, when he had ſcarce finiſhed the third Year of his Reign. Out of Honour to his Father, his Body was allowed to be interred amongſt the Sepul-

Sepulchres of his Anceſtors; but the Bodies of his Aſſociates were thrown up and down, and had not the Privilege of common Burial.

MOGALDUS, *The twenty third King.*

AFTER him, *Mogaldus* was elected King, Grandſon to *Galdus*, and Nephew to *Luctacus* by the Mother's ſide: In the beginning of his Reign he equalled the beſt of Kings; but, growing older, he was tainted with Vices, and eaſily degenerated into the Manners of his Uncle. When he firſt entred on the Government, that he might, with the greater Eaſe reform the vitious Practices committed by the former King, which had even corrupted the publick Manners, he made Peace with his Neighbours; he reſtored the ancient Ceremonies in Religion, which had been carelelly neglected: he baniſhed all Pimps and all the Inſtruments of Luſt and Debauchery from Court, and did every thing by the Advice of the Eſtates, according to the ancient Cuſtom; by which Deportment he procured to himſelf Love at home, and Reverence abroad. Having ſetled Matters at home, he turned his Mind to warlike Affairs, and drove out the *Romans* from the Borders of his Kingdom; and, by his Auxiliaries, aſſiſted the *Picts* againſt the Injuries of the *Romans:* nay, and in ſome proſperous Battels, he ſo weakned the *Roman* Power amongſt the *Britons*, that they alſo were put in ſome Hopes of recovering their Liberty; and to compaſs ſo good an end took up Arms in many places. Theſe Hopes of theirs encreaſed, becauſe the Emperor *Adrian* had called back *Severus*, a fierce and skilful Warrior, out of *Britanny* into *Syria*, to quell the Seditions of the *Jews*; and the Tumults more and more increaſing, it came to that paſs at laſt that *Adrian* himſelf was forced to go over from *Gallia* into *Britain:* But he, being a greater Lover of Peace than War, deſired rather to maintain the Bounds of his Empire, than to enlarge them. Whereupon, when he came to *York*, and found the Country beyond it to be haraſſed by the War, he reſolved to take a particular View of the Devaſtation, and ſo marched his Army to the River *Tine*; where being informed by the old Soldiers who had followed *Agricola*, almoſt to the utmoſt Bounds of *Britanny*, that there would be more Pains than Profit in conquering the reſt of the Iſland, he built a Wall and Trench for the ſpace of eighty Miles, between the *Firths* of the Rivers *Tine* and *Eſk*; and ſo excluded the *Scots* and *Picts* from their Provincials; and having ſetled the State of the Province, he returned back from whence he came. Here I cannot

not but take Notice, that, ſince there yet remain ſeveral Marks of this Wall, in many places, it is a Wonder to me, that *Bede* ſhould wholly omit to mention it; eſpecially, ſince *Ælius Spartianus* hath taken Notice of it, in the Life of *Adrian*; and alſo *Herodian*, in the Life of *Severus*. I cannot perſuade my ſelf, that *Bede* could be ſo miſtaken, to think, as many yet do, that that Wall was not made by *Adrian*, but by *Severus*. This by the by.

HEREUPON the *Roman* Province was quieted, the Excurſions of their Neighbours were prevented, and Peace was kept up between them, for a great while. The *Britons* eaſily embraced it, and the *Scots* and *Picts* had got an Opportunity by it to divide the neighbouring Lands, as a Prey, amongſt themſelves. But that Peace, beſides the Prejudice it did to the Body, by weakening its Vigour, through Sloth and Idleneſs, did alſo enervate the Mind, by the Baits of Pleaſure, which then began to tickle it: For by that means *Mogaldus*, till then unconquered in War, forgetting the Glory of his Anceſtors, ran headlong into all kind of Vice; and, beſides other pernicious and foul Miſcarriages, prejudicial to the Publick, he made a moſt unjuſt Law, *That the Eſtates of ſuch as were condemned ſhould be forfeited to his Exchequer, no part thereof being allotted to their Wives or Children.* This Law is yet obſerved and pleaded for, by the Officers of the King's Revenue, who are willing to gratifie his Luſt, tho' they then did, and yet do, know, that it is an unjuſt and inhuman Inſtitution. *Mogaldus* having thus made himſelf obnoxious and hateful to the Nobles and Commons too, being unable to reſiſt their Combinations, with one or two of his Companions, ſought to run from their Fury; but before he could execute his Project, he was taken, and put to Death, after he had reigned 36 Years. This was done about the ſixth Year of the Reign of the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*.

CONARUS, *The twenty fourth King.*

CONARUS, his Son, ſucceeded him, who beginning it very ill, concluded his wicked Reign as unhappily as he began it. For, he was not only conſcious and privy to, but alſo a Partner in, the Conſpiracy againſt his Father. However, to cover his Faults, in the beginning of his Reign there happened a good Handle to begin a War very opportunely for him: For the *Britons*, having paſſed *Adrian*'s Wall, took away great ſtore of Men and Cattle. Upon that *Conarus*, by the Advice of his Council, joyning his Army with the *Picts*, paſſed over *Adrian*'s Wall in many places,

places, and made great Havock in the *Britons* Country; and at laſt, encountring their Enemy, a great and bloody Battel was fought betwixt them, the *Romans* and *Britons*: The Slaughter was almoſt equal on both ſides, which occaſioned Peace betwixt them till the next Year: Yet, the *Romans*, becauſe they were not Conquerors, looked upon themſelves as, in a manner, conquered. Their own Forces being much leſſened, and *Adrian* putting no great Confidence in the *Britons*, who, as he found, conceived ſome Hopes of Liberty from his Misfortunes, he ſent to *Antonianus Pius* for Aids; laying the Blame of the Violation of the Peace upon the *Scots* and *Picts*, and of the Loſs and Slaughter of his Men, upon the *Britons*. *Lollius Urbicus* was ſent over Lieutenant-General by the Emperor, who overcame his Enemy in a bloody Battel, and drove them beyond the Wall of *Adrian*, which he again repaired. Afterwards there was a Ceſſation of Arms for many Years, as if a ſilent Truce had been made: For the *Romans* had Work enough to keep the Enemy from ravaging and plundering, and, for that end, their Camp was pitched on the Borders: And *Conarus*, who loved nothing in War, but the Licentiouſneſs that was the Conſequence of it, made haſte to return home, that he might employ that Vacancy wholly to immerge himſelf in Pleaſures: And now, thoſe Vices, which he had before concealed, on Deſign to gain the Love of others, began to appear bare-faced. And when, by this Art of Diſſimulation, he judged the Kingdom ſure to him; he was juſt as profuſe in ſpending immenſe Treaſures on his own Luſts and Pleaſures, as his Anceſtors had been diligent and induſtrious in procuring them; inſomuch, that, in a very ſhort time, he was reduced to great Want. At length convening an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, he made a long and plauſible Oration of the Grandeur and Magnificence which was neceſſary for Kings; and complained of the Lowneſs of his Exchequer; thus covering his Vices under the ſpecious Names of Gallantry and Magnificence: He became alſo an earneſt Suitor, that a Valuation of every Man's Eſtate ſhould be made, and a proportionable Tax impoſed on each individual. This Speech was unacceptable to all that heard it, whoſe Anſwer was, That the Matter was of more Moment than to be determined on a ſudden: Upon this account the Eſtates, having obtained a ſhort time for Conſultation, upon asking every particular Man's Opinion, ſoon found, that this new Device of demanding ſuch a vaſt Sum of Money, did not proceed from the Nobles, but from ſome Court Paraſites; and accordingly they voted, that the King ſhould be kept Priſoner,

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as unfit to reign; until, upon his Abjuration of the Government, they ſubſtituted another. When they met the next Day, he, who was firſt demanded to give his Vote, made a ſharp Speech and Invective againſt the Life of the former King; ſaying, That Bawds, Paraſites, Minſtrels, and Troops of Harlots, were not fit Inſtruments for Kings and Kingdoms, as being uſeleſs in War, and troubleſome in Peace; beſides, they were coſtly and full of Infamy and Diſgrace. He added, The Complaint was falſe, that the King's Revenue and Income were not ſufficient for his Expence; for a great many of their former Kings, who were famous Warriors, and formidable to their Enemies, had lived nobly and ſplendidly upon it in time of Peace. But if any Prince be of Opinion, that the publick Revenue was too ſhort, then, ſaid he, let a Supplement be made, not out of the Subject's Purſe, but out of his own domeſtick Parſimony. He farther added, that the Meaſure of Expence was not to be taken from the Luſt and exorbitant Deſires of Men, which were infinite, but from the Ability of the People, and the real Neceſſities of Nature. And therefore it was his Opinion, that thoſe Villains, upon whom the publick Patrimony was conferred, and for whoſe ſake the King had undone ſo many worthy Perſons of good Rank and Quality, by deſpoiling them of their Eſtates, and putting them to Death, ſhould be compelled to refund that to the lawful Owners, which they had unjuſtly robb'd them of; and that by officious Flattery and Deceit, they ſhould be puniſhed another way into the Bargain. In the mean time he adviſed, that the King ſhould be kept a Priſoner, till they could ſubſtitute another, that would not only inure himſelf to Thrift, but alſo teach others, by his Example, to live hardly and parſimoniouſly, as his Forefathers had done; that ſo the ſtrict Diſcipline, received from their Anceſtors, might be tranſmitted to Poſterity.

THIS Speech, as it was ſharp enough of it ſelf, ſo it ſeemed more cutting to thoſe, who had Velvet Ears, and were unaccuſtomed to hear ſuch free and bold Diſcourſes before. Neither did the King endeavour to allay the Heats of his People by fair and gentle Words, but rather, by fierce and menacing Expreſſions, which did but the more vehemently inflame and provoke them; ſo that, amidſt theſe Diſputes and Bickerings, a Tumult ariſing, ſome that were next the King laid Hands on him, and afterwards had him, with ſome few others, into a Cave under Ground, where they impriſon'd them. Thoſe Courtiers, who had been the Authors of ſuch wicked

wicked Counſels, were preſently put to Death; and, leſt any Tumult of the *Mobile* ſhould ariſe upon this Diſſolution of the Bonds of Government, one *Argadus*, a Nobleman, was made Vice-Roy, 'till the People could conveniently meet, to ſet up a new King. He, tho' in the beginning of his Adminiſtration, ſetled all things with great Equity, and thereby had procured much Commendation by his moderate Deportment; yet his Mind being corrupted by Proſperity, he ſoon loſt all the Credit of his former praiſe-worthy Life. For he cheriſhed home-bred Seditions, and ſtrengthned his Authority by foreign Aids, having ſuch great Familiarity with the chief of the *Picts*, that he took a Wife from amongſt them, and gave his Daughters to them in Marriage; by which Practice it ſoon appeared that he aſpired to the Crown. Theſe things being laid to his Charge in a publick Aſſembly, wherein he was much blamed for his ſo ſudden Degeneration and Apoſtacy, he was altogether aſhamed, and knowing them to be true, he burſt out into Tears; and as ſoon as his weeping gave him Liberty to ſpeak, being unable to purge himſelf from the objected Crimes, he craved Mercy, and humbly depreecated the Puniſhment of his Offences; *Which*, ſaid he, *if I can obtain, I will recompence and make Amends for my Errors in Government, by my future Care, Induſtry and Valour.* Theſe things he humbly ſupplicated upon his Knees, ſo that the Anger of the Nobles being now turned into Pity, they lifted him up from the Ground, and ordered him to continue in the Government, remitting his own Puniſhment to himſelf. As for them, they were well enough ſatisfied, if he did now truly and heartily repent of what he had done amiſs heretofore. From that Day forward *Argadus* aſſembled the wiſeſt Men of the whole Kingdom about him, and acted nothing but by their Advice; nay, during the Remainder of his Magiſtracy, he enacted many Laws for the Good of the Publick; of which *this* was the *chief*; That he reſtrained the Arbitrarineſs of Provincial Judges, and forbad them to give Sentence againſt all Offenders, *alike*; but to have *reſpect* to *alleviating Circumſtances*, where any ſuch were. He either reſtrained, or put to Death, flagitious Perſons, and amended the publick Manners, which had been corrupted by a long Courſe of Licentiouſneſs, not only by inflicting legal Puniſhments on Tranſgreſſors of the Laws, but by affording them the leading Example of his own regular Life. Whilſt theſe things were acting, *Conarus*, partly afflicted with Grief, and partly worn out by Diſeaſes, ended his loathſome and ignominious Life in Priſon, in the fourteenth Year of his Reign.

ETHODIUS, *The twenty fifth King.*

ETHODIUS was ſet up in his ſtead, *Mogaldus*'s Siſters Son; he immediately convened the Eſtates, and thereupon highly extolled *Argadus*, and after he had beſtowed on him great Honours, and large Rewards, he made him Plenipotentiary, under him, for the Adminiſtration of the Government; when he had made his Progreſs to view all the Counties and Parts of his Dominions, according to Cuſtom, he ſailed over to the *Æbudæ Iſlands*; *Argadus* was ſent by him to quell the Diſturbers of the publick Peace; who ſoon ſuppreſſed them, and brought them Priſoners to the King. Theſe Combuſtions thus appeaſed, he returned into *Albium*; but the Iſlanders being freed by his Abſence from their preſent Fear; and farther, being perſuaded by falſe Reports ſpread abroad, that he was engaged in a foreign War; and beſides, being provoked, rather than ſuppreſſed, by the Puniſhment of their Aſſociates, began to raiſe new Tumults. *Argadus* was again ſent to ſuppreſs them, but they, being aſſiſted both by the *Picts* and *Iriſh*, gave him Battel, without any Delay, in which Fight, *Argadus* himſelf, being circumvented by Treachery, was ſlain: That Blow made the King lay aſide all other Buſineſs, and to march thither himſelf; where he ſo waſted them, with ſome light occaſional Skirmiſhes, and by his frequent Alarms and Inroads upon them, that, being inferior to him in Force, they retired into a Valley, encompaſſed on all ſides with craggy Rocks, having only one Paſſage leading into it, that ſo, the Conveniency of the Place, as they thought, might ſomewhat contribute to their Safety. *Ethodius*, perceiving the Diſadvantage of the Place for his Enemy, diſpoſed of his Guards in fit Avenues; and alſo made a Wall and a Graft at the Mouth of the Paſſage; by which means they were brought to that extreme Penury of all things, that they were forced to yield up themſelves to the King, at Diſcretion. They were willing to accept of any Conditions, but the King gave them only theſe; *That two hundred of them, ſuch as the King ſhould cull out, with their General, ſhould be ſurrendred up to him; the reſt ſhould every Man return to his own home.* The Puniſhment of thoſe, who were thus given up, being preſently inflicted on them, had almoſt raiſed up a new Sedition; for the common Soldiers were ſo enraged at ſo terrible a Spectacle, that, for want of Arms, they threw Stones at the King's Officers: Neither was their tumultuous Fury allayed, without much Bloodſhed. Thus *Ethodius*, having ſetled Peace every where,

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in order to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, made his Progreſs over all his Kingdom, much delighting himſelf in Hunting by the way, ſo that he made many *Venary Laws*, of which, a great part are obſerved to this very Day. He had an *Iriſh* Muſician or Harper, lying all Night in his Bed-chamber, (according to the Cuſtom of the *Scotiſh* Nobility) by whom he was ſlain in the Night, in Revenge of a Kinſman of his, whom, he ſaid, the King had put to Death. This Fellow, when he was led forth to Execution, was ſo unconcerned at his Torture, that he ſeemed to be very glad, as if he had done but his Duty, and acted his Part with Applauſe.

Satrael, *The twenty ſixth King.*

ETHODIUS being thus ſlain, when he had reigned three and thirty Years, and his Son being not of Age fit to govern, his Brother *Satrael* was elected King; this Man being of a depraved, yet cunning Diſpoſition, endeavoured to eſtabliſh the Kingdom in his own Family, and ſo to deſtroy the Sons of *Ethodius:* In order whereunto, thoſe Nobles, who were moſt dear to *Ethodius*, were, by Calumnies purpoſely deviſed, ſuppreſſed and ſlain by him. Afterwards, becauſe the Commons very much regreted the Slaughter of their Nobles, he began to oppreſs them alſo; which matter, in a little time, ſo increaſed the Hatred conceived againſt him, and ſo diminiſhed his Authority, that Tumults and Seditions were its immediate Conſequences. He durſt not appear to ſuppreſs them, becauſe, he knew, he lay under a publick *Odium*, ſo that while he was playing at hide and ſeek at home, he was put to Death by his own Men, in the Night, when he had reigned four Years.

Donaldus I. *The twenty ſeventh King.*

DONALDUS, another Brother of *Ethodius*, was ſet up in his Room, who equalled, nay, exceeded, the Vices of *Satrael*, by as great, and as many contrary Virtues. This Prince's Clemency, joyned with his Love of Equity, did very much enhaunce the Price of his other Excellencies. He, by the Terror and Weight of his Authority, and alſo, by preſent Puniſhments inflicted, quelled all inteſtine Commotions; and rightly conceiving, that the Soldiery, who were before wanton and idle, and ſpoiled by Luxury, might be made more ready to reſiſt an Enemy, he cauſed a Muſter to be made of them, and ſo accuſtomed them to training and exerciſing their Arms, and Military Diſcipline; that, in a ſhort

time, the new-liſted Novices in War equalled the Valour of the Veterans, and old Soldiers. The Peace which he had abroad, did much forward this his Deſign. For, the *Roman* Legions, ſome few Years before, made a Mutiny in *Britanny*, as deſiring any other General, rather than *Commodus*, and eſpecially *Ælius Pertinax*, who was ſent to ſuppreſs them; ſo, that leaving the *Scots* and *Picts*, they turned the whole Streſs of the War upon themſelves. It was alſo a farther Advantage to him, in order to a Peace, that *Donaldus* had, firſt of all the *Scotiſh* Kings, embraced the Chriſtian Religion; yet, neither he, nor ſome other of the ſucceeding Kings, though a great part of the Nobility favoured the Deſign, could wholly extirpate the old heatheniſh Rites and Ceremonies. But the Expedition of *Severus* the Emperor, falling out in his time, mightily diſturb'd all his Meaſures, both publick and private. For *Severus*, being very skilful in Military Affairs, brought ſo many Forces into *Britain*, in hopes to conquer the whole Iſland, as never any *Roman* General had done before himſelf. There were alſo other Cauſes for this Expedition of his, as, the corrupt Life of his Sons, by reaſon of the Vices reigning in *Rome*; and the Effeminacy of his Army, occaſioned by Sloth and lying ſtill: To remedy theſe Miſchiefs, he thought it beſt to put them upon Action. Upon his Arrival, the private Tumults, which were about to break forth, were ſuppreſſed, and the *Scots* and *Picts*, leaving the Counties near the Enemy, retreated to Places of greater Safety, and more difficult Acceſs. *Severus*, that he might, once for all, put an end to the *Britiſh* Wars, led his Army through all the waſte Places, deſerted by their Inhabitants, againſt the *Caledonians*. Though his Enemy did not dare to give him Battel in the Field, he was much incommoded by the Coldneſs of the Country, and underwent a great deal of Trouble, to cut down Woods, to level Hills, and to throw vaſt Heaps of Earth into the Marſh-Grounds, and alſo to erect Bridges over Rivers, to make a Paſſage for his Army. In the mean time, the Enemy deſpairing of Succeſs, if they ſhould fight ſo great a Multitude in a pitch'd Battel, did here and there leave Herds of their Cattle, on purpoſe, as a Prey to them, that ſo they might ſtop the *Romans*, who, in hopes of ſuch Booties, were inticed to ſtray far from their Camp: And indeed the *Romans* beſides thoſe that being thus diſperſed were taken in the Ambuſhes laid for them, were alſo much prejudiced by continual Rains; and, being wearied with long Marches, and ſo not able to follow, were in many places ſlain by their own Fellows, that ſo they might not fall alive into the Hands of their Enemies.

mies. Yet, notwithſtanding, though they had loſt 50000 of their Soldiers, (as *Dion* writes) they did not deſiſt from their Enterprize, till they had penetrated even to the end and extream Bounds of the Iſland. As for *Severus* himſelf, tho' he was ſick, during this whole Expedition, and thereupon was fain to be carried in a covered Horſe-Litter; yet, by his incredible Obſtinacy and Perſeverance, he made his Enemies to accept of Conditions of Peace, and to yield up to him no ſmall part of their Country. He built a Wall, as a Mound to the *Roman* Empire, between the Firths of *Forth* and *Clyd*; where *Agricola*, before him, had alſo determined to bound to their Province. That Wall, where it toucheth the River *Carron*, had a Garriſon on it, ſo ſituate, and the Ways and Paſſages ſo laid out, that it was like a ſmall City; which, ſome of our Countrymen, though by a Miſtake, do think to be *Maldon*. But it is more probable, that this was the City which *Bede* calls *Guidi*. A few Years before this was written, ſome Footſteps of Trenches, Walls, and Streets appeared; neither yet are all the Walls ſo demoliſhed, but that they diſcover themſelves viſibly in many places; and when the Earth is a little digg'd up, ſquare Stones are quarried out, which the Owners of the neighbouring Countries uſe in Building their Houſes. Nay, ſometimes Stones with Inſcriptions on them are found, which ſhew, that it was a *Roman* Pile of Building. Thoſe Words of *Ælius Spartianus* demonſtrate the noble Grandeur of this Structure. *He ſtrengthened* Britain (ſays he) *with a Wall, drawn croſs-ways, or thwart the Iſland, from Sea to Sea, which is the greateſt Ornament of his Empire.* By which Words, he ſeems to intimate, that it was not a Trench, as *Bede* would have it, but a Wall; eſpecially, ſince he gives ſuch a Commendation to a Work, which is ſhorter by half than *Adrian*'s Wall. Nay, this Fortification, where it is leaſt diſtant, yet is eighty Miles off from the Wall of *Adrian*. There are alſo other Indications of that Peace, if I miſtake not. For, a little below that Garriſon, of which I have ſpoken, there is a round Edifice on the oppoſite ſide of the River *Carron*, made of ſquare Stones, heaped on one another, without Lime or Mortar. 'Tis no bigger than a ſmall Pigeon-houſe; the Top of it is open, but the other Parts are whole, ſave, that the upper Lintel of the Door, wherein the Name of the Builder, and Work, is thought to have been inſcribed, was taken away by *Edward* the Firſt, King of *England*; who did alſo invidiouſly deface all the reſt of the old *Scotiſh* Monuments, as much as ever he could; ſome think, and have written accordingly, that that Structure was the Temple of *Claudius*

Cæſar. But my Conjecture is rather, That it was the Temple of the Heathen God *Terminus*. There were alſo, on the left Bank of the ſame River, two Hillocks, or Barrows of Earth, raiſed (as it ſufficiently appears,) by the Hands of Men. A great part of the leſs one, which inclines more to the *Weſt*, is ſwept away by the Waſhings and Overflowings of the River; the neighbouring Inhabitants call them yet *Duni Pacis*. So that Peace being again procured by this Diviſion of the Iſland, and all Matters being in a ſort accommodated, *Donaldus* departed this Life, having reigned one and twenty Years.

ETHODIUS II. *The twenty eighth King.*

ETHODIUS the Second, Son of the former *Ethodius*, was ſubſtituted in his Room, a Man almoſt ſtupid. This is certain, he was of a more languid and ſoft Diſpoſition, than was fit to have the Government of ſuch a fierce and warlike People conferred upon him; which being taken notice of, the Nobles, in a Convention, bore that Reverence to the Progeny of King *Fergus*, that they left the Name of King to *Ethodius*, as ſlothful as he was; but yet, not guilty of any notorious Wickedneſs; but ſet Deputies over all the Provinces, to adminiſter Juſtice there, whoſe Moderation and Equity did ſo regulate Matters, that *Scotland* was never in a quieter State. For, they did not only puniſh Offenders, but alſo made the immoderate Covetouſneſs of the King be no Burden to the People. This King in the twenty firſt Year of his Reign was ſlain in a Tumult of his own Officers.

ATHIRCO, *The twenty ninth King.*

ATHIRCO, his Son, manifeſting greater Ingenuity than is uſually found in ſuch an youthful Age, was therefore made King: For, by his manly Exerciſes in Riding, throwing the Dart, and vying with his young Courtiers in Feats of Arms; as alſo, by his Bounty and courteous Demeanor, he won to himſelf the Love of all. But his Vices increaſing with his Age, by his profound Avarice, Peeviſhneſs, Luxury and Sloth, he ſo alienated the Minds of good Men from him, that the more the Sons were delighted with his nefarious Practices, the more their Fathers were offended at them. At laſt, a Conſpiracy of the Nobles was formed againſt him, occaſioned by one *Nathalocus*, a Nobleman, whoſe Daughters, being firſt deflowred by him, and then ignominiouſly beaten

beaten with Rods, he proſtituted to the Luſt of thoſe Ruffians that were about him. He endeavoured to defend himſelf againſt them, but perceiving he had not Force enough ſo to do, being alſo forſaken by his Domeſticks, who deteſted his lewd Practices, he laid violent Hands on himſelf, in the twelfth Year of his Reign. After his Death *Dorus*, either becauſe he was his Brother, or elſe had been a Pander to his Luſt, fearing leſt the Nobles, in the heat of their Provocation, ſhould exerciſe their Rage upon all the King's Lineage, ſaved himſelf by Flight, with his Brother's three ſmall Children, *Findochus*, *Carantius* and *Donaldus*. Neither was he miſtaken in his Opinion; for *Nathalocus*, who had received ſo ſignal an Injury, not contented with *Dorus* his Exile, ſuborned Emiſſaries to kill him, and his Brother's Children too; who, coming to the *Picts*, (for the Royal Youths had choſen the Place of their Baniſhment amongſt them) and lighting upon one very like *Dorus*, in Stature and Phyſiognomy, they ſlew him, inſtead of *Dorus* himſelf.

NATHALOCUS, *The thirtieth King.*

NATHALOCUS, thinking that he had ſlain him who ſtood moſt in his Way, was the firſt of all the *Scots* that ambitiouſly ſought for the Kingdom. 'Tis true, a great part of the Nobility were againſt him; yet, by means of thoſe whom he had corrupted by Promiſes and Bribes, he carried the Point, and was made King. Neither did he manage the Kingdom any better than he got it. For ſuſpecting the Nobility, which, in the Parliaments of the Kingdom, he had found to be adverſe to him, he governed all by the Miniſtry of *Plebeians*, whom Audaciouſneſs and Penury (he knew) would eaſily incline to any Wickedneſs. Beſides thoſe Suſpicions I have mentioned, he was encountred with a far more grievous one; for, intercepting Letters directed to ſome of the chief Nobles, he underſtood by them, That *Dorus*, and the Children of *Athirco*, were yet alive, and were brought up amongſt the *Picts*, in hopes of the Kingdom. To avoid this Danger, he ſent for thoſe Nobles, whom he moſt ſuſpected, to come to him, pretending he had need of their Advice, in the publick Affairs of the Kingdom. When they were aſſembled, he ſhut them all up in Priſon, and the very next Night, cauſed them all to be ſtrangled, But, that which he hoped would be a Remedy to his Fears, was but as a Firebrand to raiſe up another Conſpiracy: For the Friends of thoſe who were ſlain being afraid of themſelves, as well as grieving for the Loſs of their Rela-

tions and Kindred, unanimouſly take up Arms againſt him. Whilſt he was raiſing an Army to oppoſe them, he was ſlain by one of his own Domeſticks, about the twelfth Year of his Reign. Some of our Countrymen do add a Tale in the Caſe, which is more handſomely contriv'd, than likely to be true. That the very Man, who ſlew the King, had been before ſent by him to Southſayers, to enquire concerning the King, his Victories, his Life, and Kingdom; and that an old Wizard ſhould anſwer him, *That the King ſhould not live long, but his Danger would ariſe, not from his Enemies, but from his Domeſticks*; and when he preſſed the Woman, *From which of them?* She reply'd, *Even, from thy ſelf, Man.* Whereupon he curſed the Woman; yet returning home in a great Quandary, he thought with himſelf, that the Woman's Anſwer could not be concealed; and yet it was not ſafe for him to declare it, leſt he ſhould render himſelf ſuſpected to the King, who was a depraved Perſon, and guided wholly by his own Fears: And therefore it ſeemed to him the ſafeſt Courſe to kill the Tyrant with the Favour of many, than to preſerve him alive, with the extreme Hazard of his own Life. Preſently after he returned home, having obtained Leave for a private Acceſs, to declare the ſecret Anſwer of the Oracle, or Conjurer, he ſlew the King, juſt then entring upon the twelfth Year of his Reign; and ſo freed his Country from Bondage, and himſelf from Danger.

FINDOCHUS, *The thirty firſt King.*

WHEN the laſt King's Death was publickly known, the Sons of *Athirco* were recalled home. *Findochus*, beſides his being of the Royal Family, was alſo happy in ſeveral rich Gifts of Nature; he was exceedingly beautiful, tall of Stature, and in the Flower of his Age; and having, beſides all theſe Accompliſhments, the Recommendation of ſuffering many Afflictions very heroical, to render him ſtill more acceptable to the People, he was choſen King. Neither did he deceive Men's Expectations; for in his ordinary Deportment he was very courteous; in adminiſtring of Juſtice equal, and impartial; and a conſcientious Performer of all his Promiſes. But *Donaldus*, the Iſlander, being weary of Peace, ſailed over with a numerous Army into *Albania*; and making Havock of the Villages where he came, returned home with a great Booty. His Pretenſion for the War was, the Revenge of the Death of King *Nathalocus*: *Findochus* ſpeedily liſted an Army againſt him, and tranſporting them into the Iſland, he overthrew *Donaldus* in Battel, and forced him

him to fly for Refuge to his Ships; many were ſlain in the Fight, and many were drowned, whilſt they endeavoured, in an Hurry, to get a Shipboard. *Donaldus* himſelf being taken into the Boat, endeavouring to eſcape, the Boat ſunk, by reaſon of the Multitude of thoſe who overloaded it, and ſo he was drowned. However, the Iſlanders, not diſcouraged with this Overthrow, after the Departure of the King, ſent for Forces out of *Ireland*, and renewed the War, making *Donaldus* his Son their General, in the room of his Father; under whom they again made a Deſcent into the Continent, and drove away much Booty. Upon this *Findochus* again convoyed his Forces into the *Æbudæ* Iſles, and marching over all the Iſlands, executed ſevere Puniſhment on the Plunderers; and overthrowing the Forts, into which they were wont to fly, he made ſuch a Slaughter of the Men, and carried away ſo much Booty, that he left many of the Iſlands almoſt deſolate: Upon *Findochus* his Return, *Donaldus*, who had fled for Safety into *Ireland*, returned from thence, and endeavouring to recruit his Armies, he found his Forces ſo weakened, that he left off the Thoughts of managing an open War, and reſolved to betake himſelf to Guile and Stratagem. And in Proſecution of that Deſign, not daring to truſt the King, though he had given him the publick Faith for his Security; he ſent two of his Friends, Perſons both bold and crafty, as with a ſecret Meſſage, to him. They coming to *Findochus*, and boaſting of their Lineage and Deſcent, and withal, grievouſly complaining of the Wrongs they had received from *Donaldus*, yet could not induce the King to believe them: They therefore applyed themſelves to *Caranthius* his Brother, a ſhallow and ambitious Perſon: Being admitted into an intimate Familiarity with him, they were, by his means, made acquainted with the ſecret Affairs of the State and Commonwealth; and after feeling his Pulſe, and finding out his Diſpoſition, they had the Boldneſs at laſt, as to tell him, they were ſent over to kill the King. He hearing this, looked upon the Kingdom as gotten by other Mens Wickedneſs and Danger, now ſure to himſelf, and therefore ſhew'd them all the Countenance and Favour imaginable. Well, all things were prepared for the Perpetration of the deſigned Murder; whilſt the King was hearing one of them, relating the various Adventures of his Life, and the reſt were buſy in running to ſee a wild Beaſt of an extraordinary Bigneſs, the other thruſt him thro' the Breaſt with an Hunting Spear, and ſo murder'd him. Upon the committing of this black Crime, this execrable Deed, there was a great Clamour and a mighty Concourſe of Peo-

ple; ſome take up their dying King; others purſue the Murderers, who were luckily catched, and executed according to their impious Deſerts; yet they were not put to Death before they had been rack'd; and by that means they confeſt the Deſign of *Donaldus*, and the Wickedneſs of *Carantius*, who had withdrawn himſelf to diſſemble the Matter. This *Carantius* firſt fled to the *Britons*; but they hearing of the Cauſe of his Baniſhment, deteſted ſo execrable a Gueſt; and therefore he went to the *Roman* Camp.

DONALDUS II. *The thirty ſecond King.*

THE beſt of Men, as well as of Kings, being thus ſlain, by the deteſtable Treachery of his Brother, in the eleventh Year of his Reign; *Donaldus*, the youngeſt of his three Brothers, was ſet up King in his ſtead. He, whilſt he was preparing to revenge his Brother's Death, had word brought to him, that *Donaldus* the Iſlander had entred *Murray*, not now carrying himſelf as a Robber, but as a King. Immediately upon theſe Advices, he, with a few of his Soldiers, which were near at Hand (having left a Command for the reſt to follow) marches directly towards the Enemy. *Donaldus* being informed by his Spies, that the King had but a ſmall Force with him, continued his March Day and Night, and by that means prevented the News of his Approach. The King being thus ſurpriz'd, and ſeeing that he could not avoid a Battel, performed more than could have been expected from ſuch a Handful of Men, but, at length, was overcome by his Enemy's Numbers; and being grievouſly wounded, with thirty more of the prime of his Nobility, was taken Priſoner; about 3000 Men were ſlain in the Fight, and 2000 taken. The King died within three Days; either of his Wounds, or of Grief for the Overthrow, having ſcarce reigned one Year compleat.

DONALDUS III. *The thirty third King.*

UPON his Death, *Donaldus* the Iſlander, who before, without any Authority, had aſſumed the Name of King, now took upon him to manage all things as a legitimate Prince; taking his Advantage from the Fear of the Nobles, who (leſt their Kinſmen, who were Priſoners with him, ſhould be ſlain, which he daily threatned to do) durſt not make any Inſurrections againſt him. He was a *very Tyrant* in his Government, and cruel to all his Subjects; for he was not content, by an Edict, to forbid any others to bear

 Arms,

Arms, but his own Servants and Officers too; and what is more, he hurried away ſeveral of the Nobility to violent Deaths, whoſe *Deſtruction* he eſteemed to be the *Eſtabliſhment* of his Government: Nay, he proceeded to ſow Seeds of Diſcord amongſt thoſe who ſurvived his Barbarity; neither did he think any Sight more lovely, than the mutual Slaughter of his Subjects. For he counted *their Ruin* was *his Gain*, and judged himſelf to be freed of *ſo many Enemies* as were ſlain, out of *both* Armies. Neither was he afraid of any thing more, than the Union of his Subjects againſt him. Hereupon, he kept himſelf commonly within the Verge of his own Palace, and being conſcious of the Wrong he had done to all, as fearful of them, as he was formidable to them, he ſeldom went abroad. Theſe Miſeries continuing twelve Years, at length, *Crathilinthus*, the Son of King *Findochus*, with much ado, was found out, to revenge the publick Wrongs and Calamities: He had been bred up privately with his Foſter-Father, and was thought to have been dead. But having few about him, equal to him in Strength or Cunning, diſſembling his Name and his Lineage; he firſt applied himſelf to Court, and being received into near Familiarity by the King, through the Dexterity of his Wit, he became his moſt intimate and greateſt Favourite. At laſt, when all things ſucceeded according to his Deſire; he diſcover'd to a few of his Confidents who he was, and what he deſign'd; and gathering a ſmall Party about him, having got a convenient Opportunity, he ſmote *Donaldus*, and departed privately with his Aſſociates.

CRATHILINTHUS, *The thirty fourth King.*

WHEN the Death of the Tyrant was divulged, both the Fact it ſelf, and the Authors of it too, were cry'd up to the Skies with one general Acclamation; ſo that *Crathilinthus*, upon the Diſcovery and legal Proof of Deſcent, was made King, with more Unanimity and Applauſe, than ever any King had been before him; in regard he had been the Author, not only of their Liberty, but of their Safety too. At the beginning of his Reign, by publick Conſent, he cauſed the Children and Kindred of the Tyrant to be put to Death, as if he would extirpate Tyranny from the very Root. He afterwards made a Progreſs over all his Kingdom, to adminiſter Juſtice, as had been uſual; and he repaired, as carefully as he could, the Damages done by *Donaldus*. Thus having eſtabliſhed Peace at home and abroad, he ſpent his vacant Hours in Hunting, according to the Cuſtom

of

of the Country. Being on Mount *Grampius*, at this Royal Sport, near the Borders of the *Picts*, he very nobly entertained the Gallant *Pictiſh* Youths that came to viſit him; nay, he was not content with that Friendſhip, which had been anciently betwixt them, grounded on old Acquaintance, and ſtrengthened by a mutual Peace, but he took them alſo into a nearer Acquaintance and a cloſer Familiarity: But that Familiarity had like to have proved his Ruin. For the *Picts* having ſtoln a Dog of the *Scotiſh* King's, in which he took great Delight, and the Keeper having diſcovered the Place where he was concealed, was killed as he was going to it, and endeavouring to bring him back: Preſently a great Outcry was made, and a Multitude of both Parties were gathered together, between whom there was a ſharp Combat, and many were ſlain on both Sides; amongſt whom there were not a few of the young Nobility of each Nation; by which means, were ſown the Seeds of a moſt cruel War betwixt them. For, from that Day forward, each Nation infeſted the other with hoſtile Incurſions, and never gave over till they met together with compleat Armies. Neither could Peace be made up between them upon any Terms, though both Kings deſired it. For though they were not ignorant, that it was to their Diſadvantage to be at odds with one another, the *Romans* and *Britons* being their perpetual Enemies and Aſſailants; yet they were ſo madded by, and ſo ſet upon, the Deſire of Revenge, that, whilſt they were eager on that Account, they neglected the publick Calamity, impending on them both; and truly unleſs *Carantius*, a *Roman* Exile, one of mean Deſcent, but a good Soldier, had interpoſed, they had fought it out to the laſt Man, even till both Nations had been deſtroyed. This *Carantius*, being ſent to the Sea-Coaſts of *Bologne* by *Diocleſian*, to defend *Belgick Armorica* from the Incurſions of the *Francs* and *Saxons*, after he had taken many of the *Barbarians*, yet would neither reſtore the Prey to the Provincials, the Right Owners, nor yet ſend them to the Emperor; this gave an Umbrage, that he purpoſely allowed the *Barbarians* to plunder, that ſo he might rob them at their return, and ſo enrich himſelf with the Spoil. For this Reaſon *Maximianus* commanded him to be ſlain; but he, taking Authority upon him, ſeized upon *Britanny*; and to ſtrengthen his Party againſt *Baſſianus*, the *Roman* Lieutenant-General, he reconciled the Diſcords betwixt the *Scots* and *Picts*, and entred into a firm League and Alliance with them both. The *Romans* made many Attempts againſt him, but, by his Skill in Military Affairs, he defeated all their Deſigns: When he had reſtored the *Scots* and *Picts* into the Poſſeſſion

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of thoſe Lands, which they formerly held, he was ſlain by his Companion *Allectus*, after he had reigned ſeven Years. *Allectus*, having reigned three Years, was ſlain by *Aſclepiodotus*; and thus *Britanny* was reſtored to the *Romans*, in the twelfth Year after its Revolt. But neither *Aſclepiodotus*, nor the Perſon who ſucceeded him, one *Conſtantinus Chlorus*, did any memorable thing in *Britain*; but that this later begat *Conſtantin*, afterwards Emperor, on *Helena* his Concubine. Amidſt theſe Tranſactions, died *Crathilinthus* after a Reign of twenty and four Years.

FINCORMACHUS, *The thirty fifth King.*

FINCORMACHUS, his Couſin-German ſucceeded him, who perform'd many excellent Exploits againſt the *Romans*, by the Aid of the *Britons* and *Picts*; Nay, he fought ſome Battels with them without any Auxiliaries at all. At length, when the *Romans* were weakned by their Civil Wars at home, and perpetual Moleſtations abroad, Matters being a little quieted, the *Scots* were alſo glad to embrace a Peace: Who, being thus freed from external Cares, did principally endeavour to promote the *Chriſtian* Religion; they took this occaſion to do it, becauſe many of the *Britiſh* Chriſtians, being afraid of the Cruelty of *Diocleſian*, had fled to them: Amongſt which ſundry, eminent for Learning and Integrity of Life, made their aboad in *Scotland*, where they led a ſolitary Life, with ſuch an univerſal Opinion of their Sanctity, that, when they died, their Cells were changed into *Temples* or *Kirks*. From hence, the Cuſtom aroſe afterwards, amongſt the ancient *Scots*, to call Temples, *Cells*. This ſort of *Monks* were called *Culdees*, whoſe Name and Order continued, till a later ſort of *Monks*, divided into many Sects, expelled them: Yet, theſe laſt were as far inferior to the former, in Learning and Piety; as they exceeded them in Wealth, in Ceremonies, and in Pomp of outward Worſhip, by all which they pleaſed the Eye, but infatuated the Mind.

FINCORMACHUS, having ſettled Affairs in *Scotland* with great Equity, and reduced his Subjects to a more civil kind of Life, left the World in the 47th Year of his Reign.

ROMA-

ROMACHUS, *the Thirty Sixth King.*

AFTER his Death there was a great Conteſt about the Kingdom, between three Couſin-Germans, begot by the three Brothers of *Crathilinthus*, whoſe Names were *Romachus*, *Fethelmachus*, and *Anguſianus*, or rather *Æneanus*. *Romachus*'s Plea was, that his Father was the eldeſt of the three Brothers of *Crathilinthus*, and that his Mother was deſcended from the Blood-Royal of the *Picts*; as alſo, that he himſelf was of a ſtirring and active Diſpoſition, and likely to procure Friends and Allies.

THAT which made for *Anguſianus*, was his Age and Experience in the World, as alſo his admirable Deportment, to which was added the Favour of the People; and that which was the principal of all, *Fethelmachus*, who was before his Competitor, now voted for him. By reaſon of this Sedition, the matter being like to be decided by Arms, nothing could be concluded in the firſt Convention of the Eſtates, and when that was diſſolved, the whole Kingdom was divided into two Factions; and *Romachus*, who was leaſt in the Favour of the People, called in the *Picts* Militia for his Aſſiſtance, that ſo he might ſtrengthen himſelf by foreign Aids.

ANGUSIANUS being informed that Ambuſhes were laid for him, judged it better, once for all, to try the Shock of a Battel, than to live in perpetual Solicitude and Fear; for that end gathering his Party into a Body, he fought with *Romachus*; but being overcome by him, he and *Fethelmachus* fled together into the *Æbudæ* Iſlands.

BUT perceiving that he could not be ſafe there, becauſe his Proweſs render'd him formidable to the Heads of the Factions, and that he was alſo amongſt a People naturally mercenary and venal, and corrupted by the Promiſes of *Romachus*, he fled into *Ireland* with his Friends. *Romachus* having thus removed his Rival, and obtained the Kingdom, rather by Force than the good Will of the People, exerciſed his Power with a tyrannical Sway over his Enemies; and, to put a colour of Law on the Matter, when he went about the Country to keep Aſſizes, he took no Counſel of others, as was uſual, but took all capital Cauſes into his own Cognizance; ſo that he made great Execution amongſt the People, and ſtrook a Panick into the Hearts of all good Men. At length, when every Soul was wearied with the preſent State of Affairs, the Nobility made a ſudden Combination againſt him; and before he could gather his Forces together, he was taken in his Flight to the *Picts*, and put to Death

Death in the third Year of his Reign. His Head was carried up and down, faſten'd to the Top of a Pole, and the People counted it a joyful Spectacle.

ANGUSIANUS, *The thirty ſeventh King.*

THIS done, *Anguſianus* was recalled, by general Conſent, to rule the Kingdom. In the beginning of his Reign, they which were the Miniſters of Cruelty and Covetouſneſs under *Romachus*, being afraid to live under ſo good a King, ſtirred up *Nectamus*, King of the *Picts*, to make War upon him, in Revenge of his Kinſman. *Anguſianus*, being a Lover of Peace, ſent Embaſſadors to them, very often, to adviſe them, that both Nations would be much prejudiced by thoſe Diviſions, in regard the *Britons* did but watch an Opportunity to deſtroy them both. But they hearkned not unto them, either out of Confidence of their Strength; or, out of Anger and Vexation of Spirit. So that, perceiving them to be averſe from Peace, he led forth his Army againſt them; and, after a ſharp Conflict, obtained the Victory. The King of the *Picts* made his Eſcape, with a few in his Company; and, after he had a little maſter'd his Fear, being inflam'd with Rage and Fury, he obtained of his Subjects, but with great Difficulty, to raiſe him a new Army: And when it was levied, he marched into *Caledonia*. *Anguſianus* once more propounded Terms of Peace, but no Ear being given to them, he drew his Forces towards the Enemy. The Fight was maintain'd with equal Obſtinacy on both ſides, one ſtriving to retain their acquired Glory; and the other endeavouring to wipe away the Ignominy and Diſgrace which they had formerly receiv'd. At length the *Scots*, *Anguſianus* being ſlain, broke their Ranks and ran away. Neither was the Day unbloody to the *Picts*; their King likewiſe and all his valiant Warriors being ſlain in that Battel: The Loſs being in a manner equal on both ſides, occaſioned a Peace between them for ſome ſhort time. *Anguſianus* reigned little above an Year.

FETHELMACHUS, *The thirty eighth King.*

FETHELMACHUS was made King, in the room of *Anguſianus*; when he had ſcarce reigned two Years he levied an Army, and made foul Havock of the *Picts* Country: As ſoon as the Enemy could meet him, they fought with a great Slaughter on either ſide. For the main Battel of the *Picts*, they having loſt both their Wings, was almoſt all

all encompaſſed round and taken, yet they died not unrevenged. The King of the *Picts*, three Days after, died of his Wounds. The *Scots*, making uſe of their Victory, having no Army at all to withſtand them, made a great Spoil all over the *Picts* Country; for the *Picts*, having received ſo great a Blow, never durſt oppoſe them with their whole Force; only they appointed ſome ſmall Parties of their Men, in fit Time and Place, to withſtand the ſtraggling Troops of their Enemy; that ſo they might not plunder far from home. In the mean time, one *Herguſtus*, a crafty Man, having undertaken the Command of the *Picts*, inaſmuch as he was inferior in Force, he applied himſelf to Fraud; for he ſent two *Picts*, who, pretending themſelves to be *Scots*, were to kill the King. They, according to their Inſtructions, treated with a certain Muſician, about the Murder of the King: For thoſe ſort of Creatures are wont to lodge in the Chambers of Princes and Noblemen, to relieve them whilſt awake, and alſo to procure Sleep: Which Cuſtom ſtill continues in all the *Britiſh* Iſles, amongſt the old *Scots*; ſo that on a Night agreed upon between them, the *Picts* were introduced by this Minſtrel, and ſo murdered the King as privately as they could; yet they could not carry it ſo ſecretly, but that the King's Attendants were awaken'd at the hearing of his dying Groans; and ſo purſued the Authors of the Villany; and when they could fly no farther, the King's Officers took them, (though they threw Stones at them to defend themſelves from a ſteep Rock) and hurried them back to Execution.

EUGENIUS, *or* EVENUS I. *The thirty ninth King.*

FETHELMACHUS being thus ſlain, in the third Year of his Reign, *Eugenius*, or rather *Evenus*, the Son of *Fincormachus* ſucceeded him. About that time, *Maximus* the *Roman* General, being in Hopes to conquer the whole Iſland, if he could deſtroy the *Scots* and *Picts* both, firſt of all he pretends many favourable Reſpects to the *Picts*, who were then the weaker Party; and therefore, by conſequence, more ready to treat with him. Them he filled with vain Promiſes, that, if they would perſevere in their Alliance with the *Romans*, beſides many other innumerable Advantages, they ſhould have the *Scots* Land, to be divided amongſt them. The *Picts* were catched with this Bait, being blinded by Anger, deſirous of Revenge, allured by Promiſes, and regardleſs of future Events: Hereupon, they joined their Forces with the *Romans*, and ſpoiled the *Scots* Country. Their firſt Fight with them was at *Cree*, a River of *Galway*; the *Scots*, being

being few in Number, were eaſily overcome by a more numerous Army and being thus put to Flight; the *Romans* purſued them every way without any Order, as being ſure of the Victory. In the mean time the *Argyle* Men, and ſome other Forces of the remote Parts, who were coming up to joyn with their vanquiſhed Friends, fell in good Order upon the ſcatter'd Troops of the *Romans*, and made a great Slaughter amongſt their Enemies. *Eugenius* gather'd up thoſe whom he could recal from Flight, and, calling a Council of War, was adviſed, that ſince his Forces were not ſufficient to carry on the War, he ſhould return back to *Carrick*. But, as *Maximus* was purſuing his Victory, word was brought him, that all was in a Flame in the inner parts of *Britain*. The *Scots* were glad of his Departure, as being eaſed of a great part of their Enemies: And though they were ſcarce able to defend their own, yet, between Anger and Hope, they reſolved, before the Summer was paſt, to perform ſome great Exploit againſt their adjacent Enemies; and accordingly they poured in the Remainders of their Forces upon the *Picts*. As they marched, they ſlew all they met, without Diſtinction, and put all about them to Fire and Sword. *Maximus*, though he threatned and ſpoke contumeliouſly of the *Scots*, yet being equally joyful at the Deſtruction of both Nations, as ſoon as he found an Opportunity, marched againſt the *Scots*, upon pretence to revenge the Wrongs done by them to the *Picts*. The *Scots*, on the other ſide, being now to fight, not for Glory, Empire, or Booty, but for their Country, Fortune, Lives, and whatſoever elſe is near and dear to Men, drew forth all that were able to bear Arms; and not the Men only, but Women alſo, (according to the Cuſtom of the Nation) prepared themſelves for their laſt Encounter, and pitched their Tents not far from the River *Down*, and near their Enemies Camp. Both Armies, being ſet in Order of Battel, firſt of all, the Auxiliaries ſet upon the *Scots*, where, ſome fighting in Hope, others incited by Deſpair, there was a very ſharp, though ſhort, Encounter; the *Picts* and *Britons* were repulſed with great Loſs, and had been certainly wholly routed and put to Flight, if ſeaſonable Relief had not come to them from the *Romans*. But, *Maximus* bringing on his Legions, the *Scots* being inferior in Number, in the Nature of Arms, and in their Military Diſcipline, were driven back and almoſt quite ruined. King *Eugenius* himſelf fell in this Fight, as not being willing to ſurvive his Soldiers; and the greateſt part of his Nobles fell with him, as loath to forſake their King. *Maximus*, having obtained this great Victory ſooner than he hoped, and ſcarce finding

any on whom he might wreak his Hatred, mercifully returned to his former Clemency; for marching over many Provinces of the *Scots*, he took thoſe that yielded themſelves to Mercy, and cauſed them to till the Land; withal adding his Commands, that they ſhould be contented with their own, and not be offenſive to their Neighbours. The *Picts*, taking this his Clemency in evil Part, alledged, that the *Romans* and their Allies would never obtain a firm, ſolid, peace, as long as the Nation of the *Scots*, which were always unquiet, and took all Opportunities to plunder, remain'd alive; adding farther, That *Britanny* would never be ſecure, whilſt any of the *Scotiſh* Blood remain'd in it: That they were like wild Beaſts, who would be ſweetned by no Offices of Love, nor would they be quiet, though they received never ſo many Loſſes; ſo that there would be no end of War, till the whole Nation was extinguiſhed. *Maximus* replied many things, in bar to ſuch Severities, as, that 'twas the ancient Cuſtom of the *Romans*, if they overcame any Nation, to be ſo far from extirpating them, that they made many of them Denizons of their City: That though they had almoſt conquered the whole World, yet never any People or Nation were wholly eradicated by them. That he himſelf, having ſlain their King, with the Flower of his Army, had ſo quelled them, that now they were no longer to be feared, but rather pitied by their Enemies; he farther urged, that his Hatred againſt the *Scots* was as great as theirs; but, if they conſidered the Matter well, it would be a much more joyful Spectacle, to behold the Miſeries of them living, than the bloody Graves of the ſlain; nay, that it was a more grievous Puniſhment to live a dying Life, than, by once dying, to put an end to all Miſeries. This was the Sum of the Diſcourſe which he made, not ſo much out of any Affection to the *Scots*, as out of an Abomination of the *Picts* Cruelty. Moreover, he had an Eye to the future, as judging it extreamly hazardous to the *Roman* Province, if the Force of the *Picts*, upon the Extirpation of the *Scots*, ſhould be doubled. But the *Picts* did ſo ply him with Complaints, Supplications and Gifts, that at length they obtained an Edict from him, that all the *Scots* ſhould depart out of *Britain* by a certain Day, and the Man that was found there after the time limited, ſhould be put to Death. Their Country was divided betwixt the *Picts* and *Britains*. Thus the ſurviving *Scots*, as every Man's Fortune led him, were ſcattered over *Ireland*, the *Æbudæ* Iſlands, through *Scandia*, and the *Cimbrick Cherſoneſus*, and were in all places kindly received by the Inhabitants. But the *Picts*, though they made publick Profeſſion of the *Chriſtian* Reli-

gion; yet could not forbear committing Injuries againſt the Prieſts and *Monks*; which, in that Age, were held in great Veneration. So that thoſe poor Eccleſiaſticks were diſperſed into all the Countries round about, and many of them came into *Icolumbkill*, one of the *Ædudæ* Iſles, where, being gathered together in a Monaſtery, they tranſmitted an high Opinion of their Piety, and Holineſs, to Poſterity. The reſt of the *Scots* being thus afflicted by Wars, exiled from their Countries, and in Deſpair of returning thither again; the Inhabitants of the *Hebrides*, being of a fierce and unquiet Nature, idle, poor, abounding in Men, yet wanting Neceſſaries, thought that they ought to attempt ſomething of themſelves; and ſo gathering a Navy of *Birlins*, and ſmall Ships together, under *Gillo* their Commander, they landed in the County of *Argyle*. Having made their Deſcent there, and diſperſing and ſcattering themſelves, amongſt a Country almoſt wholly deſtitute of Inhabitants, to fetch in Booty, they were circumvented by the *Picts*, who were ſent to aſſiſt the Inhabitants, and placed in Garriſon there; and their Retreat to their Ships being cut off, were all ſlain to a Man. Their whole Navy was taken, and reſerved for Service againſt the *Iſlanders*. And not long after, they who fled to *Ireland*, partly out of Remembrance of their ancient Alliance, and partly out of Commiſeration of their Fortune, eaſily incited a Nation, naturally inclined to War and Plunder, to afford them Aid to recover their Country and ancient Patrimony. Ten thouſand Auxiliaries were allowed them, who, landing in that part of *Scotland*, which is oppoſite to *Ireland*, ſtruck a great Terror to the People all the Country over. Being encouraged by their firſt happy Succeſs, when they were conſulting how to carry on the War, the *Albion Scots*, well knowing the Strength of the *Romans*, and how much they exceeded other Nations, in their Skill as to Military Affairs, perſuaded them to be contented with their preſent Victory, and to return home with their Booty, and not to ſtay till the whole Force of *Britain* was gathered together, to aſſault them. And ſince the Forces of all *Ireland*, if they had been there, could not withſtand the *Roman* Army, which, by its Conduct and Valour, had almoſt ſubdued the Univerſe; therefore, they were to deal with them, not by open Force, but by Subtilty. That they were to watch Opportunities, and ſince they could not match their Enemies in Number, Force, or Military Skill, that therefore they ſhould tire them out with Toil and Labour. And that this was the only Method of rightly managing the War with them. The *Iriſh Scots* on the other ſide, blamed thoſe of *Albium*, whoſe for-

mer Valour was now ſo languid, that, though they were the Off-ſpring of thoſe, who had almoſt overthrown whole Armies of the *Romans*, yet could not now look them in the Face; nay, there were ſome of the *Albine-Scots* themſelves of the ſame Opinion, alledging, that this Method of War, propounded by their Countrymen, was very vain and frivolous, ſerving only to gall the Enemy, but not to recover their own Country; and that therefore they ought to follow their good Fortune, and not to think of returning, till ſhe made way for them. And, if they would act thus, then, no doubt, but God (who had bleſſed them with ſuch proſperous Beginnings) would bleſs their Arms, ſo as to leſſen the Power of the Enemy, either by raiſing up new Tumults amongſt the *Britains*, or, by calling off the *Roman* Legions to a War nearer home. That the Occaſion, now offered, was not to be neglected, leſt hereafter it might be ſought for in vain: This Opinion prevailed, and ſo they joyfully returned to their Prey. Thus, whilſt in hopes, to recover what they had loſt, they indulged their own Will, rather raſhly than prudently, being immediately overpowered by greater Forces, they loſt the beſt part of their Men. This Slaughter being made known in *Ireland*, cut off all Hopes of return from the *Scots*, and made the *Iriſh* fear, leſt they alſo ſhould not retain their Liberty long; ſo that, after many Conſultations, they could find no way more adviſeable, than that the *Iriſh-Scots* ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors into *Britain*, to make Peace with the *Romans*, upon the beſt Conditions they could procure. Upon their Arrival, *Maximus*, firſt of all, ſeverely rebuked them, for that, without any Provocation, they had cauſeleſly excited the *Roman* Arms againſt them. The Ambaſſadors, in Excuſe, laid the Blame on the rude Rabble, and ſo they obtained Pardon. The Peace was made on theſe Conditions, that the *Hibernians*, after that Day, ſhould never entertain, or ſhelter, any Enemies of the *Romans*; that they ſhould forbear to offer any Injury to their Allies; and that they ſhould manage their Government with a friendly Reſpect to the *Romans*. The *Hibernians*, having thus obtained better Terms than they expected, returned joyfully home. That which inclined *Maximus* to make this eaſie Pacification, was, not his Fear of the *Hibernians*, (for he did not much value all the Diſturbance they could give him) but becauſe his Mind being intent upon Hopes of greater Matters, he was willing to leave all *Britain* not only quiet and free from War, but alſo affectionate and under an Obligation to him. For, when he perceived, after the Defeat and Slaughter of ſo many of their Armies, that the Forces of

the *Roman* Empire were ſhattered and weakened by their Civil Wars; and that the Emperors were not made by the Senate and People, but by Military Election and Favour; conſidering alſo, that he had conquered *Britain*, (which none ever did before him) and thereby had got great Fame by his Military Exploits, and had an Army (for the Number of it) ſtrong enough; in this Poſture of Affairs he determined, if Fortune offered him an Opportunity to ſeize on the Empire, not to be wanting to ſo glorious an Occaſion. Prompted by this Hope, he treated his Soldiers with great Affability, and beſtowed on them many Gifts; he took Advice in all his important Affairs of the nobleſt of the *Britains*, he recruited his Army with *Picts* Soldiers, and committed ſeveral Garriſons, in divers Places, to be kept by them. The Lands of the *Scots* he divided betwixt them and the *Britains*. To the *Picts* he left their ancient Poſſeſſions free; only he exacted a ſmall Tribute from the remoteſt Corner of the *Scotiſh* Kingdom, which he had given to them as a Teſtimony, (for ſo he gave it out himſelf,) that all *Britain* was partly overcome, and partly ſetled on Conditions of Peace, by him. And by theſe Artifices, he ſtrangely won the Affections of the common Soldiers: So that all things being in readineſs, according to his conceived Hope, he aſſumed the *Diadem*, as if he had been compelled ſo to do by his Soldiers. After him, *Conſtantine* was choſen General by the *Britains*, being recommended only upon the accompt of his Name, for otherwiſe he was but a common Soldier at firſt; he being alſo ſlain, *Gratian*, a Perſon deſcended of *Britiſh* Blood, ruled over the Iſland. But *Maximus* being kill'd in *Italy*, and *Gratian* in *Britain*, *Victorinus* was ſent from *Rome* to rule *Britain*, as a Governor. He pretending to inlarge the Empire, during his Adminiſtration, commanded the *Picts*, who were reduced into the Form of a Province, to uſe the *Roman* Laws, denouncing a great Penalty on thoſe who ſhould dare to do otherwiſe: And whereas *Herguſtus* their King died whilſt theſe things were in Agitation; he forbad them to chuſe another King, or ſet up any other Magiſtrate, but what was ſent them from *Rome*. This the *Picts* looked upon as a mere Slavery. Whereupon they begun, though too late, and to no purpoſe, to reſent it in him, and complain they had been baſely and unworthily betrayed by a Nation allied to them, and in Amity with them; and tho' ſometimes they were at odds, yet they were Partakers with them of all Hazards, againſt a foreign Enemy: So that now they ſuffered according to their Demerits, who had deprived themſelves not only of all Aids, but of all Mercy

and Pity alſo. For now who would be ſorry for their Calamity, who called to Mind, into what Miſeries and Neceſſities, they had reduced their ancient Friends? And that the Oracle was applicable here, which foretold, *That the* Picts *in time ſhould be extirpated by the* Scots. So that now they were puniſhed for betraying the *Scots*: Nay, their own Puniſhment was the *greater* of the two, in regard *Baniſhment* is more tolerable than *Servitude*. For baniſhed Men are free, let their Fortune be what it will; but they themſelves were loaded with the bittereſt of all Evils, which were ſo much the more intolerable, becauſe they fell into them by their own Demerit. But that they might have one to reſort to, and procure a publick Conſultation, for the remedying of theſe Calamities, they create *Durſtus*, the Son of *Herguſtus*, King. The Nobles being aſſembled about him, to provide a Remedy for their Miſeries; their Complaints expreſs'd the Severity of their Bondage. They alledged, that they were now not in an imaginary, but a real Slavery: That they were ſhut up within the Walls of *Severus*, as wild Beaſts, ſeparated from all human Commerce; and that all their Soldiery, under the ſplendid Name of War, were indeed drawn out for the Shambles. That, beſides the Hatred of their neighbouring Nations, they were bitterly reproached by the *Monks* too, who cryed out, that God juſtly deſpiſed and rejected their Prayers, who had ſo cruelly perſecuted his Miniſters, though they were their Brethren, and of the ſame Religion with themſelves, in that they would not ſuffer them, by whom God might have been appeaſed or ſupplicated, to live in the ſame Country with them: Theſe things did grievouſly pinch their Conſciences; ſo that, Adverſity infuſing ſome Sparks of Religion into their Minds, and alſo ſome Eaſe from their Miſeries being obtained, they, at laſt, pitched upon this, as the only way to recover their Liberty. That after they had reconciled themſelves to the *Scots*, they would alſo endeavour to appeaſe the Wrath of God, who was an Enemy to them for their Perfidiouſneſs. In purſuance of this good Reſolution, underſtanding that young *Fergaſius*, of the Blood Royal, was an Exile in *Scandia*; they thought, if he were recalled, that the reſt alſo might be induced, by his Authority, to return. To effect which, they ſent an Embaſſy to him, but ſecretly, for fear of the *Romans*, to ſound his Inclination, as to the return into his own Country.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK V.

AFTER *Eugenius* was ſlain by the *Romans*, as hath been related before, and all the *Scots* baniſhed from their Country, the King's Brother named *Echadius*, or *Ethodius*, for fear of the Treachery of the *Picts*, and alſo diffident of his own Affairs, hired Shipping, and committed himſelf to the Winds, and to Fortune; and ſo ſailed into *Scandia*, together with his Son *Erthus*, and his Nephew *Fergusius*. As ſoon as he arrived there, and came to Court, the King of the Country, being informed who he was, from whence he came, and what adverſe Fortune he had met withal; his Language, and alſo his Habit and Beauty ſoon procuring Credit to his Allegation, he was admitted into near Familiarity with him. *Fergusius* lived there, till he grew up to be a Man, (his Father and Grandfather being

dead) he addicted himſelf wholly to Military Studies; at which time many Expeditions were made by the united Forces of the *North*, againſt the *Roman* Empire. Some of the Forces fell upon *Hungary*, ſome upon *Gallia*; and *Fergusius*, both out of his Love to Arms, and his Hatred to the *Romans*, followed the *Francs*, in their War againſt the *Gauls*: But that Expedition proved not very proſperous, ſo that he returned into *Scandia* with greater Glory, than Succeſs: And when his Name began to be famous, not only there, but alſo amongſt the neighbouring Nations, his Fame alſo reaching to the *Scots* and *Picts*, the *Scots* were in mighty Hopes of recovering their own Country again, and the *Picts* in full Expectation of obtaining their ancient Liberty; if, laying aſide their old Grudges, they ſhould chuſe him General, and try their Fortune againſt the *Romans*. And indeed at that time the Affairs of the *Romans* were brought to ſo low an Ebb, by reaſon of the Succeſſes of the neighbouring Nations againſt them, that the Opportunity it ſelf was Bait enough to excite old Enemies to revenge the former Injuries they had received from them. For, their Emperors, beſides their being weakned by Civil Wars, were ſo vexed on every ſide by the *Gauls*, *Vandals*, *Francs* and *Africans*, who did ſeverally make Inroads upon them, each from his own Coaſt, that, omitting the Care of foreign Affairs, they called back their Armies into *Italy*, to defend *Rome* it ſelf, the Seat of their Empire. In the midſt of theſe Commotions, they, who commanded the *Britiſh* Legions, eſteeming the *Roman* Affairs as deſperate, ſtudy'd each their own Advantages, and ſeverally to eſtabliſh their diſtinct Tyrannies. Neither were they content to vex the Iſlanders with all kind of Cruelty and Avarice, but they alſo haraſſed one another by mutual Incurſions. Thus the Number of the Legionary Soldiers daily decreaſed, and the Hatred of the Provincials againſt them increaſed. So that all *Britanny* would have certainly rebelled, if their Power had been but equal to their Will. But that, above all their other Miſeries, was moſt prejudicial to the *Britains*, which the Emperor *Conſtantine*, the laſt General of the *Roman* Army, cauſed them to endure; for, when he was made Emperor, he withdrew not only the *Roman* Army, but even the *Britiſh* Soldiers too; and ſo left the whole Iſland diſarmed, and expoſed to all Violence, if they had had any foreign Enemy to invade them. This was the chief Occaſion which mightily haſtened the Combination of the *Scots*. When Affairs ſtood in this Poſture, ſecret Meſſengers were diſpatched between the *Scots* and the *Picts*; and they ſtruck up a Peace immediately. Then they both ſent Ambaſſadors to call home *Fergusius*, to take upon him

him the kingly Government, as deſcending to him from his Anceſtors. *Fergusius*, being a military Man, deſirous of Honour, and beſides, not ſo well pleaſed with his preſent State of Life, but encouraged with the Hopes of a better, eaſily accepted the Terms. When his Return was noiſed abroad, many of the exiled *Scots*, nay ſeveral of the *Danes* too, his Acquaintance and Fellow-ſoldiers, being animated with the ſame Hopes, accompanied him home; they all landed in *Argyle*. *Thither* all thoſe Exiles who were in *Ireland*, and the circumjacent Iſlands, having had notice given them beforehand of his coming, reſorted ſpeedily to him; and they alſo drew along with them a conſiderable Number of their *Clans* and Relations, and ſeveral young Soldiers too, who were deſirous of Innovation.

FERGUSIUS II. *The fortieth King.*

FERGUSIUS having got theſe Forces together, was *created* the 40th King of *Scotland*, being Inaugurated according to the manner of the Country. The black Book of *Paſley* caſts his return on the 6th Year of *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, Emperors; Others, upon the 8th of their Reign, that is, according to the account of *Marianus Scotus*, 403, according to *Funccius*, 404 Years, after the Incarnation of Chriſt; and about 27 Years after the Death of his Grandfather *Eugenius*. They who contend out of *Bede*, that this was the *firſt* coming of the *Scots* into *Britain*, may be convinced of a manifeſt Untruth, by his very *Hiſtory*. When the Aſſembly of the Eſtates was diſſolved, *Fergusius* being born and bred to Feats of War and Arms, judging it convenient to make uſe of the Favourableneſs of Fortune, and the Forwardneſs of his Men; and withal deſigning to prevent the Report of his coming, demoliſhed all the neighbouring Garriſons, having not Soldiers enough to keep them; and having recovered his own Kingdom, as ſoon as the Seaſon of the Year would permit, he prepared for an Expedition againſt his Enemy. In the mean time the *Britons* were divided into *Two* Factions, ſome of them deſirous of Liberty, and weary of a foreign Yoke, were glad of their Arrival; others preferred their preſent Eaſe, tho' attended with ſo many and great Inconveniencies, before an uncertain Liberty and a certain War. And therefore, out of fear of the Danger hanging over their Heads; and withal, being conſcious of their own Weakneſs, they agreed upon a double Embaſſy, one to the *Picts*, another to the *Romans*: That to the *Picts* was to adviſe them not to deſert their old Allies the *Romans* and *Britons*, nor to

take part with their ancient Enemies; who were a Company of poor, hopeleſs, and deſpicable Creatures. They farther gave them grave Admonitions, and made them many Promiſes, and added many Threats from the *Romans*, whom (ſaid they) they could never equal in Number, or overcome, tho' the whole Strength of both Nations ſhould jointly make Head againſt them; much leſs could they *now* cope with them, ſince *one* of them was exhauſted by Draughts and Detachments of Soldiers, and the *other* worn out with all manner of Miſeries.

THE Minutes of their Inſtructions to their Ambaſſadors, ſent to the *Romans*, were theſe, that they ſhould furniſh them with Aids in time, whilſt there was any thing left to defend againſt the Rage of a cruel Enemy; which, if they would do, then *Britain* would ſtill remain firm under their Obedience; if not, it were better for them to leave their Country, than to endure a Servitude worſe than Death, under ſavage Nations. Accordingly the *Romans*, tho' preſſed cloſe by Wars on every ſide, yet ſent *one* Legion out of *Gaul* to defend their Province, but with a Command to return as ſoon as they had ſettled Matters in *Britanny*. The *Britons* having received thoſe Auxiliaries, did ſuddenly aſſault the plundring Troops of their Enemies, who were careleſſly ſtraggling up and down, and repulſed them with great Slaughter.

THE Confederate Kings having a well diſciplin'd and regular Army, came to the Wall of *Severus*, and meeting their Enemies by the River *Carron*, a bloody Battel was fought between them. Great Slaughter was made on both ſides, but the Victory fell to the *Romans*; who being in a little time to return into *Gallia*, were content only to have driven back their Enemies, and to repair the Wall of *Severus*, which in many Places was demoliſhed: When they had done this, and had garriſoned it with *Britons*, they departed. The Confederate Kings, tho' they were ſuperior to their Enemies, in making ſwift Marches, and enduring of Hardſhips; yet, being inferior in Number and Force, reſolved not to fight any more pitch'd Battels, but rather to weary their Enemies, by frequent Inroads, and not to put all at a venture in one Fight, ſince they had not as yet ſufficient Forces for ſuch a general Engagement. But when they heard that the *Romans* were returned out of *Britain*, they altered their Reſolutions, and gathering all their Troops together, they demoliſhed the Wall of *Severus*, which was ſlightly repaired, only by the Hands of Soldiers, and but negligently guarded neither, by the *Britons*. Having got by this Means a larger Scope to forage in, they made the Country beyond the Wall, (which

they

they were not able to keep, for want of Men) uſeleſs to the *Britons*, for many Miles: It is reported, that one *Graham* was the principal Man in demoliſhing that Fortification; who, tranſporting his Soldiers in Ships, landed beyond the *Wall*, and ſlew the Guards upon a Surprize, and ſo made a Paſſage for his Men. 'Tis not certain amongſt Writers, whether this *Graham* was a *Scot* or a *Briton*; but moſt think that he was a *Briton*, deſcended of the *Fulgentian* Line, a Prime and Noble Family in that Nation; as alſo, that he was the Father-in-Law of King *Fergufius:* I am moſt inclined to be of this laſt Opinion. The Wall then being thus razed, the *Scots* and *Picts* committed moſt inhuman Cruelties, and Outrages upon the *Britons*, without diſtinction of Age or Sex: For (as Matters then ſtood) the *Britons* were weak, and unaccuſtomed to War; ſo that they ſent a lamentable Embaſſy to *Rome*, complaining of the unſpeakable Calamities they endured, and with great Humility and Earneſtneſs, ſupplicating for Aid; farther alledging, that if they were not moved at the Deſtruction of the *Britons*, and the Loſs of a Province (lately ſo ſplendid an one) yet it became the *Romans* to maintain their own Dignity, leſt their Names ſhould grow contemptible amongſt thoſe barbarous Nations. Accordingly another Legion was again ſent for their Relief, who coming (as *Bede* ſays) in *Autumn*, a Seaſon of the Year when they were unexpected, made great Slaughter of their Enemies. The Confederate *Kings* gathered what Force they could together, to beat them back; and, being encouraged by their Succeſs in former Times, and alſo by the Friendſhip and Alliance of *Dionethus*, a *Briton*, they made Approaches towards the Enemy. This *Dionethus* was well deſcended in his own Country, but always an Adviſer of his Countrymen to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke; and then eſpecially, when ſo fair an Opportunity was offered, and the whole Strength of the Empire was engaged in other Wars, which made him ſuſpected by his own Men as an Affector of Novelty, was hated by the *Romans*, but a Friend to the *Scots* and *Picts*; who, underſtanding, that the Deſign of the *Romans* was firſt to deſtroy *Dionethus*, as an Enemy near at Hand, and in their very Bowels, to obviate their Purpoſe, made great Marches towards them; and joining their Forces with thoſe of *Dionethus*'s, began a ſharp Encounter with the *Romans*; who, over-power'd by Numbers, both in Front and Rear, were put to Flight. When the Ranks of the Legionary Soldiers were thus broken, and gave Ground, the Confederate Kings being too eager in the Purſuit, fell amongſt a *Corps de Reſerve* of the *Romans*, and the reſt of their Army, who

who ſtood in good Order, and were repulſed by them with great Slaughter: So that if the *Romans*, conſcious of the Weakneſs of their Numbers, had not forborn any farther Purſuit, they had doubtleſs received a mighty Overthrow that Day; but becauſe the Loſs of ſome Soldiers in but a ſmall Army was too ſenſibly felt, therefore they rejoiced the leſs on account of the Victory.

MAXIMIANUS (ſo our Writers call him, who commanded the *Roman* Legion) being diſmayed at this Check, retired into the midſt of his Province, and the oppoſite Kings returned each to his own Dominion. Then it was that *Dionethus* took the ſupreme Authority upon him, he cloathed himſelf in Purple after the manner of the *Romans*, and he carry'd himſelf as King of the *Britons*. When the *Romans* underſtood that their Enemies were diſperſed, they gathered what Force they could together, and encreaſed them with *Britiſh* Auxiliaries, and ſo marched againſt *Dionethus*, who infeſted the Provinces adjoining to him; for they thought to ſubdue him, from whom their Danger was neareſt, before his Allies could come to his Relief: But the three Kings united their Forces ſooner than he imagined, and joining all their Forces together, they encouraged their Soldiers as well as they could, and without Delay drew out their Armies in a Line of Battel. The *Roman* General placed the *Britons* in the Front, and the *Romans* in the Reſerves: It was a very ſharp Fight, and the Front giving Ground, *Maximianus* brought on his Legion, and ſtopt the *Britons* in their Flight; and then ſending about ſome Troops to fall on the Rear, ſome Brigades of *Scots*, being encompaſſed by them, drew themſelves into a Circle, where they bravely defended themſelves 'till the greateſt Part of their Enemy's Army falling upon them, they were every Man ſlain; yet their Loſs gave Opportunity to the reſt to eſcape. There fell in that Fight *Fergus* King of the *Scots*, and *Durſtus* King of the *Picts*; *Dionethus* being wounded, was with great Difficulty carry'd off to the Sea, and in a Skiff returned home. This Victory ſtruck ſuch a Terror to all, that it refreſh'd the Memory of ancient Times, inſomuch that many conſulted whither to betake themſelves for their Place of Exile. *Fergusius* died when he had reigned ſixteen Years, a Man of an heroick Spirit, and who may deſervedly be called the ſecond Founder of the *Scotiſh* Kingdom; nay (perhaps) he may be ſaid to exceed the former *Fergusius*, in this, that he came into a naked empty Country, and that by the Conceſſion of the *Picts*; neither had he the unconquered Forces of the *Romans* to deal with, but with the *Britons*; who, tho' ſomewhat (but not much)

much) ſuperior to them in Accoutrements and Proviſions for War, were however inferior to them in enduring the Hardſhips of the Field. But this later *Ferguſius*, when almoſt all were ſlain who were able to bear Arms, being alſo brought up in a foreign Country; and after the 27th Year of his Baniſhment from his own, being ſent for as an unknown King, by thoſe Subjects who were as unknown to him, marched with a mixed Army packed up of ſeveral Nations, againſt the *Britons*, who were ſometimes alſo aſſiſted by the Forces of the *Romans*; ſo that if the divine Providence had not manifeſtly favoured his Deſigns, he might ſeem to have undertaken a very temerarious Attempt, and bordering upon Madneſs it ſelf. When he was ſlain he left three Sons behind him, very young, *Eugenius*, *Dongardus*, and *Conſtantius*; *Graham*, their Uncle by the Mother's ſide, was by univerſal Conſent, appointed *Guardian* over them, and in the mean time, till they came to be of Age, he was to manage the Government as Regent. He was a Perſon of that virtuous Temper, that even in the moſt turbulent Times, and amidſt a moſt fierce Nation; who were not always obedient, no not to Kings of their own Nation, yet there happened no Civil Diſſentions at home in his Time, though he himſelf was a Foreigner.

EUGENIUS, *or* EVENUS II. *The forty firſt King.*

EUGENIUS, or *Evenus* II, the eldeſt Son of *Ferguſius*, had the Name of King, but the Power was in the Hands of *Graham*; he cauſed a Muſter to be made of the Soldiers all over the Land; and when he found that his *Militia* was weakned by former Fights, beyond what he thought, he ſaw that nothing then was to be done, and ſo ceaſed from making any Levies. But the *Roman* Legion having relieved their Allies, and, as they were commanded, being about to return into the Continent, ſpoiled all their Enemies Country within the Wall of *Severus*, and ſlew the Inhabitants; 'tis true, they reſtored the Lands to the *Britons*, but they kept the Plunder and Booty for themſelves. So that the remaining *Scots* and *Picts*, who ſurvived their late Loſs, were again ſhut up between the two Firths of the Sea. Matters being brought to this paſs, the *Romans* declared to the *Britons*, with how great and ſtrong Armies they were beſet, who had conſpired to deſtroy the *Roman* Name and Empire; ſo that they were not able to take ſo much Pains, nor to be at ſo great Expence to maintain Places ſo far off; and therefore they adviſed the *Britons* not to expect any more Aids from them for the future. But they adviſed them rather to take

up

up Arms themſelves, and to inure themſelves to undergo military Pains and Hazards; and, if they had offended before, thro' Slothfulneſs, to begin and make Amends now by Induſtry and Hardineſs, and not permit themſelves to grow ſo contemptible to their Enemies, (to whom they were ſuperior in Number and Forces) as to ſuffer them to drive away yearly Booties from their Country, as if they had only gone abroad like a pack of Hunters for their Prey. And the *Romans* themſelves, that they might do them a laſting Good that might be of great Service to them in future Times, did undertake a great and memorable Work for them. For they gathered together an huge Company of Workmen out of their whole Province, (the *Romans* and *Britons* both vying who ſhould be forwardeſt) and juſt in that Place where the Trench or Graft was drawn by *Severus*, thirty Mile long, there they built a Wall of Stone eight Foot broad, and twelve high; they diſtinguiſhed it by Caſtles, ſome of which repreſented ſmall Towns. It was finiſhed and bounded on the *Weſt* by a Place now called *Kirk Patrick*, and on the *Eaſt* it began from the Monaſtery of *Aberkernick*, as *Bede* affirms; in which Country, about one hundred and twenty Years ſince, there was a ſtrong Caſtle of the *Douglas*'s called *Abercorn*, but no ſign of any Monaſtery at all. Moreover, leſt their Enemies ſhould make a Deſcent by Ships into Places beyond the Wall, (as, in their Memory, they had formerly done) they ſet up many Beacons or Watch Towers on the higher Grounds along the Shore, from whence there was a large Proſpect into the Sea: And, where it was convenient, they appointed *Garriſons*, but conſiſting of ſuch cowardly and effeminate Fellows, that they could not endure ſo much as to ſee the Face of an armed Enemy. The *Roman* Legion did this beneficial and obliging Work for their Provincials, before their Departure. Withal, vehemently exhorting them to defend their own Country, with their own Arms; for they muſt never more hope for Aſſiſtance from the *Romans*, whoſe Affairs were now brought to that Exigence, that they could no longer help their Allies, eſpecially thoſe that were ſo far remote. When the *Scots* and *Picts* underſtood for certain, by their Spies, that the *Romans* were departed, and would return no more; they aſſaulted the Wall with all their Might, and much more eagerly than before; and did not only caſt down their Oppoſers, by hurling Darts at them, but alſo pull'd them down headlong from the top of the Wall with Cramp-Irons, as *Bede* calls them; which were, as I underſtand, crooked Iron Inſtruments, or Hooks, faſtned on the tops of long Poles; ſo that the upper Fortification being thus made deſtitute of its Defenders, they applied their Engines, and deſtroy'd

ſtroy'd the Foundations too; and thus an Entrance and Paſſage being made, they enforced their affrighted Enemies to leave their Habitations and Dwellings, and to fly away for Safety where-ever they could find it. For the *Scots* and *Picts* were ſo eagerly bent on Revenge, that their Enemies had good Reaſon to think all their former Calamities tolerable, in reſpect to thoſe they were now forced to endure. Afterwards, the Aſſailants, rather wearied than ſatisfied with the Miſeries of their Enemies, returned home, and began, at laſt, to bethink themſelves, that they had not ſo much taken away the Goods of their Enemies, as they had waſted and ſpoiled what would have been the Rewards of their Victory. They convened an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, where it was debated amongſt them, how ſo great a Victory might be improved; and their firſt Reſolution was, to fill thoſe Lands which they had taken from the Enemy with freſh Colonies, for the Procreation of a new Progeny. This Counſel ſeemed the more wholſome and adviſeable, becauſe of the abundance of valiant, but indigent Officers and Soldiers, who had not room enough to live in their old Habitations. This Turn of Proſperity, being ſignified to the neighbouring Nations, encouraged not only the *Scotiſh* Exiles, but a great Company of Strangers too, who lived but poorly at home, to flock in, as to a Prey; for they ſuppoſed, that a Man of that Spirit and Conduct as *Graham* was, would never lay down Arms 'till he had brought the whole Iſland of *Britain* under his Subjection, but there they were miſtaken; for he, having run ſo many Hazards, was more inclinable to Peace, with Honour and Glory, than to riſque his preſent certain Felicity, by throwing himſelf into uncertain Dangers. And therefore he made Peace with the *Britons*, who were not only willing to, but alſo very earneſtly deſirous of the ſame. The Terms were, that each People ſhould be contented with their own Bounds, and abſtain from Wrong and Violence towards one another; *Adrian*'s Wall was the Barriers. After this Peace was made, *Graham* divided the Lands, not only among the *Scots*, but alſo among thoſe outlandiſh Men who had followed his Enſigns. By this Means almoſt all the Provinces were called by new Names, becauſe the Perſons that peopled them were Men, for the moſt part, born in Baniſhment abroad, and the reſt perfect Foreigners. *Galway*, a County next to *Ireland*, falling by Lot to the *Iriſh*, is thought to have got its Name, ſo famed in their own Country, from them. *Caithneſs* was ſo called, becauſe it was Mountainous. *Roſs*, becauſe it was a *Peninſula*. *Buchan*, becauſe it paid great Tribute out of Oxen.

Strath-

Strath-Boggy, *Nairn*, *Strathnavern*, *Loch-Spey*, *Strath-Earn*, and *Monteath*, took their reſpective Names from ſeveral Rivers of the ſame Appellation. *Loch-Abyr*, was ſo called from a Lough, or rather, Bay of the Sea. Many of the Provinces ſituate on this ſide the *Forth*, as *Lenox*, *Clydſdale*, *Twedale*, *Tevidale*, *Liddiſdale*, *Eskdale*, *Euſdale*, *Nithiſdal*, *Annandale*, and *Dowglaſ-dal*, had their Sirnames from Rivers: Many Places retained their ancient Names, and ſome had theirs only a little changed. Afterwards, to the end that he might, by juſt Laws, bridle the Licentiouſneſs, which was grown to ſuch a height, by the long continuance of Wars: He firſt called the *Monks* and Teachers of the *Chriſtian* Religion, out of Baniſhment, to their own Homes; and, leſt they might be burthenſome to an indigent People, he ordained, that they ſhould have an yearly Income out of the Fruits of the Earth; which, tho' it was ſmall, (as thoſe times were) was, however, deemed a handſome Competency, ſuch was the Modeſty and Temperance of the Men. He placed Garriſons in the moſt convenient Paſſages, to prevent all ſudden Incurſions of the Enemy; he repaired Places that were demoliſhed, and erected new. The Fury of War being thus extinguiſhed thro' the whole Iſland, tho' the *Britons* being ſaved, as it were, out of a dangerous Tempeſt, did enjoy the Sweets of publick Peace; yet it was doubtful whether the War or the Peace did them moſt Miſchief. For when their Cities were razed, their Villages burnt, their Cattel driven away, and all their Inſtruments of Husbandry loſt; they, who ſurvived this Cruelty of their Enemies, were forced to keep themſelves from ſtarving by Hunting; or elſe to turn their courſe of Plunder from their Enemies upon their own Countrymen: So that a War at home was almoſt like to be the Conſequence of their having made Peace abroad. Neither were they the only perpetual Enemies of Foreigners: For, tho' they abſtained from open Wars, yet ever now and then they ſpoiled the Countries contiguous to them; particularly a Party of the *Iriſh*, encouraged with the hopes of Booty, vexed the poor People, who were already miſerably enough diſtreſſed with their Invaſions by Sea. Their laſt Calamity, and the worſt of all, was a Famine; which did ſo break the Spirit of that Warlike People, that many of them voluntarily ſurrendred themſelves into their Enemies Hands. At laſt, thoſe few of them that remained, lurking in Caves and Dens, were neceſſitated to peep abroad, and ſo to ſcatter the wandring Troops of thoſe Plunderers; they alſo drove the *Iriſh* back to Sea, and forced them to depart from *Albium*. That Miſchief was no ſooner removed, but a Calamity nearer

Hand,

Hand, began to preſs upon them. The *Scots* and *Picts*, their eternal Enemies, were not contented to drive Preys from them by Stealth, but watched an Opportunity to attempt higher Matters. For *Eugenius*, the Son of *Fergus*, who, 'till that time, had lain ſtill, under the Tutorage of another; his Strength being increaſed by a long Peace, and much augmented by a young Liſt of Soldiers flocking in to him, deſired to ſhew himſelf; and beſides the Weakneſs of the *Britons*, there happened likewiſe a private Cauſe of War: *Graham*, being his Grandfather by the Mother's-ſide, and nobly deſcended (as I ſpoke before) in his own Country, was yet of that Faction, which were deſirous to free themſelves from *Roman* Slavery. This was the Cauſe he was baniſhed by the contrary Faction, who were then more powerful, and ſo he fled to the *Scots*, his old Allies, between whom many Civilities had formerly paſſed. After his Death *Eugenius*, by his Ambaſſadors, demanded a Reſtitution of thoſe fruitful Lands which were his Anceſtors, ſituate within the Wall of *Adrian*; intimating plainly to them, that unleſs they did reſtore them, he would make War upon them. When the Ambaſſadors had declared their Meſſage in an Aſſembly of the *Britons*, there were ſuch Heats amongſt them, that they came almoſt to Blows. They who were the fierceſt of them cry'd out, that the *Scots* did not ſeek for Lands ſo much, (of which they had enough) as for War; and that they did not only inſult over their new Calamities, but alſo were reſolved to try their Patience; if the Lands were denied, then a War would preſently follow; if they were reſtored, then a cruel Enemy was to be received into their own Bowels; and yet, they ſhould not have Peace even *then*, unleſs they imagined, that their Covetouſneſs would be ſatisfied with the Conceſſion of a few Lands, who were not contented with large Provinces, which were parted with in the laſt War. And that therefore it was good to obviate their immoderate and unſatiable Deſires, in the very beginning, and to repreſs their Licentiouſneſs by Arms; leſt, by the Grant of ſmall things, their Deſires might be enlarged, and their Boldneſs encreaſed to ask more. There was in that Aſſembly one *Conanus*, a *Britiſh* Nobleman, and eminent amongſt his Countrymen, on the account of his Prudence, who diſcourſed many things gravely, concerning the Cruelty of their Enemies, and of the preſent State of the *Britons*, and that almoſt all their Soldiers were drawn out for foreign Service; adding withal, that War abroad, Seditions at home, and Famine, proceeding from Poverty or Want, would conſume, or elſe weaken, the miſerable Remainders of his Countrymen:

men: As for the *Roman* Legions, they were gone home to quell their own civil Wars, without any hopes of Return; and therefore he gave his Advice, that they ſhould make Peace with their formidable Enemies, if not an advantagious one, yet the beſt they could procure. This Counſel (he gave, as he alledged) not out of any Reſpect to his own private Intereſt, but merely for the Neceſſities of the Publick; which appears (ſaid he) by this, that as long as there was any Probability to defend our ſelves againſt the Cruelty of our Enemies, he never made any mention of Peace at all; he added, that he was not ignorant, that this Peace, which he now perſuaded them to, would not be a laſting one, but only prove a ſmall Reſpite from War, till the Force of the *Britons*, weakned by ſo many Loſſes, and almoſt ruined, might be refreſhed, and gather Strength by a little Intermiſſion: Whilſt he was thus ſpeaking, a great Clamour run thro' the whole Aſſembly, which put him into ſome Conſternation: For the Seditious cryed out, that he did not reſpect the publick Good, but only endeavoured to obtain the Kingdom for himſelf, by means of foreign Aid. Upon that he departed from the Council, and called God to Witneſs, that he had no private End of his own, in perſuading them to a Peace; but a Tumult ariſing amongſt the Multitude, he was there ſlain. His unhappy Lot made the wiſer Sort refrain from ſpeaking their Mind, and giving their Votes freely, tho' they evidently ſaw that the Deſtruction of their Country was at hand. The Ambaſſadors returning home without their Errand, the *Scots* and *Picts* left off all other Buſineſs, and prepared wholly for War; the *Britons* foreſeeing the ſame, after their fit of Paſſion was ſomewhat over, ſend Ambaſſadors to *Scotland*; who, upon Pretence of making Peace, were to put ſome ſtop to the War, and to offer them Money; giving the *Scots* Hopes, that they might get more from them, by way of an amicable Treaty, than they pretended to ſeek for by War; that the Chances of War were doubtful, and the Iſſue uncertain; that it was not the part of wiſe Men, to neglect the Benefit which was in their View; and, upon uncertain Hopes, to run themſelves into moſt certain and aſſured Dangers. Nothing was obtained by this Ambaſſy, for *Eugenius* was informed by his Spies, that the *Britons* did but diſſemble the obtaining of a Peace abroad, whilſt they were highly intent upon making mighty warlike Preparations at home; the *Scots* and *Picts* being inflamed, for that very Reaſon, with their old Hatred, and invited by the Calamities of the *Britons*; or elſe, lifted up with Succeſs, would give them no Conditions, but to yield up their ALL; ſo that both Armies prepared for

for the laſt Encounter. The Confederate Kings having been Conquerors for ſome Years, raiſed in their Expectations, and hoped for a greater Victory; and the *Britons*, on the other ſide, ſet before their Eyes all the Miſeries, that a fierce and conquering Enemy could inflict upon them. In this poſture of Affairs, and temper of Spirit, when both Parties came in ſight of one another, ſuch a ſharp Fight commenced between them, as the Inhabitants of *Britanny* had never ſeen before. It was ſo obſtinately maintained, that, after very long and hot Service, the right Wing of the *Scots* was, tho' with Difficulty, forced to give Ground; which *Eugenius* percieving, having before brought all his other *Reſerves* into play, he at laſt commanded the very Squadrons, left to guard the Baggage, into the Fight: They being intire and freſh Men, routed the *Britons*, which ſtood againſt them; ſo that the Victory began on that ſide, from whence the fear of a total Overthrow proceeded. The reſt of the *Britons* following the Fortune of the other Brigade, ran away too, and flying into the Woods and Mariſhes near the Place where the Battel was fought; as they were thus ſtraggling, diſperſed, and unarmed, their Enemy's Baggage-men, and Attendants, ſlew abundance of them. There fell of the *Britons* in this Fight 14000, of their Enemies 4000. After this Fight, the *Britons* having loſt almoſt all their Infantry, ſend Ambaſſadors to the *Scots* and *Picts*, commiſſioning them to refuſe no Conditions of Peace whatſoever: The Confederate Kings ſeeing they had all in their Power, were ſomewhat inclined to Mercy, and therefore Terms of Peace were offered, which were hard indeed, but not the ſevereſt; which (in ſuch their afflicted State) they might have propounded: The Conditions were, *That the* Britons *ſhould not ſend for any* Roman, *or other foreign Army, to aſſiſt them; That they ſhould not admit them, if they came of their own accord, nor give them Liberty to march through their Country; That the Friends and the Enemies of the* Scots *and* Picts *ſhould be theirs in the ſame manner; and that, without their Permiſſion, they ſhould not make Peace or War, nor ſend Aid to any, who deſired it; That the Limits of their Kingdom ſhould be the River* Humber; *That they ſhould alſo make preſent Payment of a certain Sum of Money by way of Fine, to be divided amongſt the Soldiers, which alſo was to be paid yearly by them; That they ſhould give an hundred Hoſtages, ſuch as the Confederate Kings ſhould approve of.*

THESE Conditions of Peace were taken by ſome of the *Britons* with a very ill Will, and it was out of mere Neceſſity they were all oblig'd to accept them: The ſame Neceſ-

ſity which procured it, made them keep the Peace for ſome Years: The *Britons* being left weak, and quite forſaken by the Foreigners, that they might have an Head to reſort to, for publick Advice, made *Conſtantine*, their Countryman, a Nobleman of high Deſcent, and of great Repute, (whom they had ſent for out of *Gallick Britanny*) their King. He perceiving that the Forces of the *Britons* were broken, both abroad by Wars, and at home by Feuds, Robberies and Diſcords, thought fit to attempt nothing by Arms; but, during the ten Years he reigned, he maintained Peace with his Neighbours; 'till at laſt he was maſſacred by the Treachery of *Vortigern*, a potent and ambitious Man: He left three Sons behind him, of which two were under Age; the third and eldeſt, as unfit for Government, was ſpirited into a Monaſtery, and there confin'd: However he got to be created King by the Aſſiſtance of *Vortigern*, who ſought to obtain Wealth and Power to himſelf, under the Envy of another Man's Name. The Peace which had given large Opportunities of cultivating and tilling Lands, yielded, after a moſt grievous Famine, ſuch a plentiful Crop of Grain, that the like was never before heard of in *Britain*. From hence aroſe thoſe Vices which uſually accompany Peace; as Luxury, Cruelty, Whoredom, Drunkenneſs, which are more pernicious than all the Miſchiefs of War. Truth and Sincerity were ſo far from being any where to be found, that Equity, Faith, and conſtant good Diſcipline, were not only Subjects of Scorn and Laughter among the Rabble, but among the *Monks*, and thoſe who profeſs'd a religious Life; of which *Bede*, the *Anglo-Saxon*, and *Gildas* the *Briton*, do make an heavy Complaint. In the mean time the Ambaſſadors, who returned from *Ætius*, brought word, That no Relief could be expected from him, for the *Britons* had ſent Letters to *Ætius*, ſome Clauſes of which I ſhall here recite as they are delivered by *Bede*; both becauſe they are a ſuccinct Hiſtory of the Miſeries of that Nation, and alſo, becauſe they demonſtrate how much many Writers are miſtaken in their Memoirs. The Words are theſe, *To* Ætius, *the third time Conſul, the Complaints of the* Britons. And a little after, *The* Barbarians *drive us to the Sea, the Sea beats us back again upon the* Barbarians; *we have no Choice but one of theſe two kinds of Deaths, either to be killed or drowned.* Now *Ætius* in his third Conſulſhip had *Symmachus* for his Collegue, in the 450th Year after Chriſt. Neither could there any Aid be obtained from him, who was then principally intent upon obſerving the Motions of *Attilla:* The reſt of the *Britons* being driven to this deſperate Point, *Vortigern* alone

was

was glad of the publick Calamity; and, in ſuch a general Confuſion he thought he might, with greater Impunity, perpetrate that Wickedneſs, which he had long before deſigned in his Mind; which was, to cauſe the King to be ſlain by thoſe Guards whom he had appointed to be placed about his Perſon; and afterwards, to avert the Suſpicion of ſo foul a Parricide from himſelf, in a pretended Fit of Anger, as if he were impatient of Delay in executing Revenge, he cauſed the Guards alſo to be put to Death, without ſuffering them to plead for themſelves. Thus having obtained the Kingdom by the higheſt degree of Villany, maintained it in no better a manner than he uſurp'd it. For, ſuſpecting the Faith of the People towards him, and not confiding in his own Strength, which was but ſmall, he engaged the *Saxons* to take his part, who were then turn'd Pirates at Sea, and infeſted all the Shores far and near. He procured their Captain *Hengiſt*, with a ſtrong Band of Soldiers, to come to him with three Galleys, and he aſſigned over Lands to him in *Britain*; ſo that now he was to fight, not as for a ſtrange Country, but as for his own Demeſne and Eſtate, and therefore was likely to do it with the more good Will. When this was noiſed abroad, ſuch large Numbers of three Nations, the *Jutes*, the *Saxons*, and the *Angles* are reported to have flocked out of *Germany* into *Britain*, that they became formidable even to the Inhabitants of the Iſland. Firſt of all, about the Year of our Lord 449, *Vortigern* being ſtrengthened by thoſe Auxiliaries, joined Battel with the *Scots* and *Picts*, whom he conquered, and drove beyond the Wall of *Adrian*. As for what relates to *Eugenius*, the King of the *Scots*, there goes a double Report of him; ſome ſay he was ſlain in Fight beyond the River *Humber*; others, that he died a natural Death. However he came by his End, this is certain, he governed the *Scots* with ſuch Equity, that he may deſervedly be reckoned amongſt the Beſt of their Kings. For tho' he ſpent the firſt part of his Life, almoſt from his Childhood, in War, yet he made ſuch a Proficiency under the Diſcipline of his Grandfather, from whom he learnt ſuch an Evenneſs of Mind and Temper, that neither the Licence of Camps (as it uſually doth) could draw him to Vice; nay, could make him more negligent in conforming his Manners to the ſtrict Rules of Piety; nor could his proſperous Succeſs make him more arrogant. And on the other ſide, the Peace and Calm he enjoyed, abated not at all the Sharpneſs of his Underſtanding, nor did it break his martial Spirit; but he led his Life with ſuch an Equality of Behaviour, that merely by the Advantage of his natural Diſpoſition, he equal'd, or

rather exceeded, thoſe Princes who are inſtructed in the Liberal Arts, and from thence come to the Helm of Government.

DONGARDUS, *The forty ſecond King.*

THE ſame Year that *Eugenius* died, which was in the 452d Year of our *Lord*, his Brother, *Dongardus*, ſucceeded him in the Throne. He was of a Diſpoſition like his Brother; for, as he was willing to embrace Peace upon good Conditions; ſo, when Occaſion required, he was not afraid of War. And therefore, in reference both to Peace and War, he not only prepared all things neceſſary to reſiſt the Invaſion of an Enemy, but he likewiſe trained up the Youth and Soldiery of his Country to Pains and Parſimony; that ſo they might be reſtrained from Vice, and their Minds not grow feeble and languid by long Quiet, and too much Proſperity. But the Seditions at home, raiſed by the *Britons*, were the Cauſe that his Arms were not much famed abroad. But being freed from that Incumbrance, he gave himſelf wholly up to the Reformation of Religion; for the Relicks of the *Pelagian* Hereſy did as yet trouble the Churches. To confute them Pope *Celeſtine* ſent *Palladius* over, (in the Life of his Father *Eugenius)* who inſtructed many, that grew afterwards famous for Learning and Sanctity of Life; and eſpecially *Patricius*, *Servanus*, *Ninianus*, *Kentigernus*. The ſame *Palladius* is reported to have firſt of all appointed Biſhops in *Scotland*. Whereas, 'till then, the Churches were govern'd only by *Monks*, without Biſhops, with leſs Pomp and external Ceremony, but with greater Integrity and Sanctimony of Life. The *Scots* being thus Intent about purging and ſetling Religion and divine Worſhip, eſcaped free from that Tempeſt of War which ſhatter'd almoſt all the World. In the ſecond Year of the Reign of *Eugenius*, *Vortigern* was depoſed, and his Son, *Vortimer*, choſen King of the *Britons*. He renewed the ancient League with the *Scots* and *Picts*, (that ſo he might more eaſily break the Power of the *Saxons)* which was a Tripple Alliance that the three Nations had enter'd into againſt the *Romans* in the Days of *Caroufius*. *Dongardus* did not long ſurvive this League, for he died after he had reigned five Years.

CON-

CONSTANTINE I. *The forty third King.*

CONSTANTINUS, his youngeſt Brother, ſucceeded him in the Government; who, in his private Condition lived temperately enough, but as ſoon as he mounted the Throne he gave a looſe to Debauchery. He was covetous and cruel to the Nobility, but familiar with Men of an inferior Rank. He gave himſelf wholly up to the debauching both of Virgins and Matrons, and to riotous Feaſts; having always Muſicians and Stage-players about him, and all other Paraſites that would adminiſter to his Luſts and Pleaſures. The *Scotch* Nobility, being offended at theſe Miſcarriages, came often to him, to put him in mind of his Duty. He received their Admonitions very haughtily, bidding them to look after their own Affairs; and ſaying, That he had better Advice from others: He told them too, That they were much miſtaken, if they thought to limit their King, on Pretence of adviſing him. And as he was thus arrogant towards his Subjects, ſo he was abject and ſubmiſſive to his Enemies. For he granted them Peace at firſt asking, and forgave them the Injuries they had committed; nay, he demoliſhed ſome Caſtles, and deliver'd up others to them. This Carriage of his did ſo far incenſe the *Scots* and *Picts*, that the *Scots* were ready to rebel; and the *Picts*, who before had dealt underhand with the *Saxons*, ſet up for themſelves, and at laſt made a publick League with them. But amongſt the *Scots* there was one *Dugal* of *Galway*, of great Authority amongſt the Commons. He, for the preſent, reſtrained the Multitude by an inſinuating Oration, in which he acknowledged, That many of thoſe things which they complained of were true, and that what they deſired was juſt. But yet if a War ſhould happen to break out, as an Addition to their other Miſeries, the Kingdom would be endangered, nay, hardly retrievable from Deſtruction; eſpecially, for that the *Picts* were alienated from them; the *Britons*, ſince *Vortimer*'s Death, but their uncertain Friends; and the *Saxons* (who were very ſtrong and potent, and who managed their Victories with great Cruelties, and in whoſe Commerce there was no Faith to be repoſed) were always intent upon the Deſtruction of all their Neighbours.

THE People being thus appeaſed by the Wiſdom and Prudence of ſome of their grave Elders, the King continued to reign, tho' with the Hatred and Contempt of all; but was at length ſmote by a Nobleman of the *Æbudæ*, for raviſhing his Daughter, in the fifteenth Year of his Reign. This is the

common Report concerning his Death; but I rather incline to the Opinion of *Johannes Fordonus*, who ſays in his *Scotochronicon*, that he reigned 22 Years, and at laſt died of a lingering Diſtemper. In his Reign *Aurelius Ambroſius* came into this *Britain*, out of the Leſs-*Britanny* beyond Sea; he was the Son of *Conſtantine*, who held the Kingdoms ſome Years before; but he being treacherouſly ſlain, and his Brother, who reigned after his Father, being alſo maſſacred by *Vortigern*, thro' the like Treachery, the two other remaining Sons of *Conſtantine* were conveyed by their Father's Friends into *French Bretagne*. I think this Original of *Aurelius Ambroſius*, is truer than that which others deliver, (among whom is *Bede*) for they ſay, that he was the laſt of the *Roman* Stock who reigned in *Britanny*: Theſe two Brothers, when *Vortimer* was murder'd by the Fraud of his Stepmother; and *Vortigern* had made himſelf King without Authority or Power, being now grown up and fit to govern, returned, with the great Favour and Expectation of all Men, into the Iſland, to recover their Father's Kingdom; and withal, they brought no inconſiderable Number of *Britons* out of *Gaul* along with them. After their Arrival, before they would alarm the Strangers, they ſubdued *Vortigern* in *Wales*, and then ſent Meſſengers to the *Scots* and *Picts*, deſiring their Alliance, and craving the Aſſiſtance of their Arms againſt the *Saxons*, the moſt bitter Enemies of the *Chriſtian* Name. Their Embaſſy was kindly received by the *Scots*, and the League before made with *Conſtantine*, was again renewed, which from that Day remained almoſt inviolate, till the Kingdom of *Britanny* was oppreſſed by the *Angles*, and the Kingdom of the *Picts* by the *Scots*. But the *Picts* anſwered the *Britiſh* Ambaſſadors, That they had already made a League with the *Saxons*, and that they ſaw no Cauſe to break it; but they were reſolved to run all Hazards with them for the future, and to be Partakers of their good or bad Succeſs. Thus the whole Iſland was divided into two Factions, the *Scots* and *Britons* waging continual War againſt the *Picts* and *Saxons*.

CONGALLUS I. *The forty fourth King.*

CONGALLUS ſucceeded *Conſtantine*, the Son of *Dongardus*, *Conſtantine*'s Brother: He was inclinable to Arms, but durſt not then attempt any thing, becauſe the People were effeminated and weakened by Sloth and Luxury, during the Reign of his Uncle. And, tho' many, in compliance with his Diſpoſition, (as uſually Kings have many ſuch

ſuch Paraſites) often perſuaded him to take up Arms, yet he would never be brought to hearken to it. Firſt then he applied himſelf to correct the publick Manners, neither did he attempt to reduce the ancient Diſcipline, 'till he had created new Magiſtrates; and, by their Means, had cut off many Suits and Controverſies, and reſtrained Theſts and Robberies. Peace being ſetled at Home, he endeavoured to reclaim others to a more civil Courſe of Life; firſt of all by his own Example, and ſecondly by gently chaſtiſing, or elſe contemning thoſe as Infamous who took no Copy from him, but perſiſted obſtinately in their evil Courſes; and thus he quickly brought all things to their former Condition. Seeing (as I ſaid before) at the beginning of his Reign he gave himſelf wholly up to the Study of Peace, the *Britons* began to perſuade *Aurelius Ambroſius* to recover *Weſtmorland* from the *Scots*, which they had poſſeſſed many Years. Upon this ſeveral Embaſſies being ſent to and fro betwixt them, the Matter was like to be decided by the Sword, if fear of the common Enemy had not put an end to the Diſpute; ſo that the League made by *Conſtantine* was renewed, and no Alteration made in reference to *Weſtmorland*. *Congallus* had War with the *Saxons* all the time of his Reign; but it was a ſlow and intermitting one, as Parties met by Chance when out upon Plunder, and carrying off their ſeveral Booties; in which kind of fighting, the *Scots* being nimble, light, and moſt Horſemen, accounted themſelves ſuperior to their Enemies, but they never came to a pitch'd Battel: For *Congallus* was of Opinion, That it was beſt to truſt as few things as poſſible to the Deciſion of Fortune, and therefore he ſent part of his Forces to help *Aurelius Ambroſius*; and with the reſt he wearied his Enemy, and never ſuffered them to reſt Night or Day. *Merlin* and *Gildas* lived in the Days of theſe and the next Kings; they were both *Britons*, and ſettled a great Fame amongſt Poſterity, who conceived a vaſt Opinion of their Prophecies and Divinations. *Merlin* was a little the more ancient of the two, a Cheat and Impoſtor, rather than a Prophet. His Vaticinations are ſcattered up and down, but they are obſcure, and contain no Certainty at all, to encourage any Hopes before their fulfilling; or, to ſatisfy them when they are fulfilled; ſo that there is no Truth in them on neither account. And beſides, they are ſo framed, that you may accommodate or apply them to different or contrary Events, as you will your ſelf. Yet, tho' they are daily furbiſhed up, and alſo augmented by new Additions, ſuch is the Folly of credulous Men, that what they underſtand not, they are yet bold to affirm to be as true as Goſpel; and tho'

they be taken in a notorious Lye, yet they will not bear to be convinced of it.

GILDAS was later than he, a learned and good Man, and one who was held in great Veneration both in his Life-time and after his Death, becauſe he was excellent in Learning, and eminent for Sanctity. The Prophecies which go under his Name are ſuch ridiculous Sentences, and ſo coarſe and ſo ill-framed in the wording of them, and alſo in the whole Series of their Compoſure, that no wiſe Man can eſteem them to be his; yet each Prophet (as you call them) had a Patron ſuitable to his own Diſpoſition. *Merlin* had *Vortigern* for his Patron, and after him *Uter*, to whom he was a Pander in his Luſt. *Gildas* had *Aurelius Ambroſius*, a Perſon no leſs admirable for the Probity of his Life, than for his Victories in War; after whoſe Death *Gildas* retired into *Glaſtenbury* in *Somerſetſhire*, where he lived and died very devoutly. Our Books of the Life of *Aurelius Ambroſius* make mention of him: After his Death, *Uter*, the youngeſt of *Conſtantine*'s three Sons ſucceeded him, in the Year of our Lord 500. And the next Year after *Congallus*, King of *Scotland*, departed this natural Life, in the twenty ſecond Year of his Reign.

GORANUS, *The forty fifth King.*

GORANUS, his Brother, ſucceeded him; who, after his Example, governed *Scotland* with great Piety and Juſtice, as far as foreign Wars would permit him to do ſo; for he not only travelled all over the Kingdom (as the good Kings of old were wont to do) to puniſh Offenders, but alſo to prevent the Injuries which great Men offer'd to the Poor; who, in ſuch Caſes, dar'd not to complain; and to curb their oppreſſive way of Lording it over them, he appointed *Informers*; who were to find out ſuch Miſcarriages, write them down, and bring them to him: A Remedy neceſſary, perhaps, for thoſe Times, but a very hazardous one in theſe our Days. He was the chief Means and Occaſion, that the *Picts*, deſerting the *Saxons*, made a joint League with the *Scots* and *Britons*. At that time *Lothus* was King of the *Picts*, a Perſon who excelled the Princes of his time in all Accompliſhments, both of Body and Mind. *Goranus* dealt earneſtly with him, to break his Alliance with thoſe *barbarous* Nations; alledging, That he ought to remember his own Country, in which they were all born, and eſpecially their common Religion. That he was much deceived if he imagined, that the Peace betwixt him and the *Saxons* would

be

be faithfully kept, when once the *Britons* and *Scots* were overthrown; ſeeing he had to do with Men of inhuman Cruelty, and inſatiable Avarice: That they had given ſufficient Proofs how little they eſteemed Leagues, or any other thing, when they wickedly ſlew the Nobility of the *Britons*, who had ſo well deſerved of them, upon Pretence of calling them out to a Conference. That the Son-in-Law was ſaved alive by the Father-in-Law, not for any relief of his Calamity, but for upbraiding of the Enemy; he added, That the ſacred Tie of Leagues, which, amongſt other Nations, are accounted the firmeſt Bonds of Union, was amongſt them as a Snare or Bait, to catch the ſimple and unwary in. To what purpoſe was it to run ſo many Hazards, to free themſelves from the Tyranny of the *Romans*, if they muſt of their own accords give themſelves up to the much harder and baſer Servitude of the *Saxons*? This were not to make a Change of their *Condition*, but of their *Maſter* only: Nay, it was to prefer a blood-thirſty and *barbarous* one, before *one* that was *mild* and *gentle*. What a fooliſh, and what a wild thing was it, to take away Lands from the *Scots* and *Britons*, and to deliver them to the *Germans*? And ſo to deſpoil thoſe who were but lately their Friends, and endeared to them by many ancient Courteſies and Reſpects, that they might enrich *Pirates*, the common Enemies of Mankind, even to their own Deſtruction. That it ought to be eſteem'd the moſt grievous thing of all, by one who was a true Chriſtian, to conſent to that League, whereby Chriſtian Religion muſt be extinguiſhed, profane Rites renewed, and wicked Tyrants, the Enemies of Piety and Humanity, armed with Power againſt God and his Law.

LOTHUS knew all this to be true, which he had ſpoken, and therefore he committed the whole Affair to *Goranus* his Management; he eaſily perſuades *Uter*, not only to make an Alliance, but to contract an Affinity too with the *Picts*; giving him *Anna*, who was either his Siſter, or elſe his Daughter, begotten in lawful Wedlock, to Wife: I am rather of their Opinion, who think ſhe was his Siſter, as judging that the Miſtake aroſe from hence; That *Uter* had another natural Daughter, call'd *Anna*, by a Concubine. After this League between theſe three Kings, many Victories were obtained over the *Saxons*, ſo that the Name of *Uter* began to be great and formidable all over *Britain*. After all the Commanders of the *Saxons* were ſlain, and the Power of thoſe that remain'd broken, and ſo things made almoſt hopeleſs and deſperate among them. *Uter* might have been accounted one of the greateſt Kings of his Age, had he not by one foul and impious

impious Fact, brought a Cloud over all his other great Virtues. There was one *Gorlois*, a *Noble Briton*, of great Valour and Power, when *Uter* as yet was but a private Man, he fell mightily in Love with his Wife, named *Igerne*, a very beautiful Woman; but her Chaſtity being a long time a Guard againſt his Luſt, at laſt her Continency was conquered by *Merlin*, a Man audaciouſly wicked; and in this adulterous Courſe he begat a Son on her, named *Arthur*. *Uter*, his own lawful Wife being dead, himſelf now freed from nuptial Bonds, and made a King; and ſo (as he thought) free from Law too, not being able to bear the Abſence of *Igerne*, out of Love to her, attempted a very raſh Project. He framed an Accuſation againſt *Gorlois*, beſieged his Caſtle, took it, ſlew him, married *Igerne*, and owned *Arthur* for his own Son, educating him nobly, in hopes of leaving him Heir to the Kingdom. And ſeeing the Infamy reflecting on him, by reaſon of his Wife, could not be conceal'd, that he might ſomewhat extenuate it, they forged a Tale, not much unlike that which had been often acted in Theatres, about *Jupiter* and *Alcmena*, *viz.* That *Uter*, by the Art of *Merlin*, was changed into the Shape of *Gorlois*, and ſo had his firſt Night's Lodging with *Igerne*; and indeed, this *Merlin* was a Man of that Kidney, that he had rather be famous for a wicked Deed, than none at all. *Arthur*, thus begot by a ſtoln Copulation, as ſoon as he grew up, appeared ſo amiable in the Lineaments of his Body, and in the Inclinations of his Mind, that the Eyes of his Parents, and of all his Subjects too, were fixed upon him, and he gave many *Omens* of his future Greatneſs, that, after his Father's Death, all deſigned him to be their King. And his Father was ſo much pleaſed with this Humour of the People, that he cheriſhed it by all the Arts he could; ſo that now it was the common Opinion, that none but *Arthur* ſhould be Heir to the Crown. *Uter* died when he had reigned 17 Years, and preſently *Arthur* was ſet up in his ſtead; tho' *Lothus*, King of the *Picts*, did much oppoſe it, grievouſly complaining, that his Children (for he had two, begotten on *Anna*, *Arthur*'s Aunt, who were now of Years) were deprived of their Kingdom; and that a Baſtard, begotten in Adultery, was preferr'd before them. On the other ſide, all the *Britons* ſtood for *Arthur*, and deny'd that he was to be counted ſpurious, becauſe *Uter* marry'd his Mother at laſt, tho' it were after his Birth; and by that Marriage had treated him as his legitimate Son, and had always accounted him ſo to be: But altho' they pretended this Colour of Right, yet that which ſtood

Arthur

Arthur in moſt ſtead, was his great Ingenuity, and thoſe Specimens of his Virtue which he often ſhewed; nay, there was a tacit Impreſſion (as it were) on the Minds of all Men, preſaging his future Greatneſs. So that all ran in thick and threefold (as we ſay) to his Party, inſomuch that *Lothus*, being born down not only by that Pretence of Right, (which, after that time, was always obſerv'd in *Britanny*) but by the Affections of the People running another way, deſiſted from his Enterprize in demanding the Kingdom; which he did ſo much the rather do, becauſe he was loth to truſt his Children, for whom that Kingdom was deſired, to the *Britons*, who had ſhewn themſelves ſo averſe to them. Beſides, the Intreaties of his Friends prevail'd with him, who all alledg'd, That no Kingdom ought to be ſo dear to him, as to make him merely, for the ſake of a Throne, join in Affinity with Infidels, (to the Overthrow of the *Chriſtian* Religion) who would no more inviolably keep their League and Alliance with him, than they had done before with the *Britons*. Moreover, the liberal and promiſing Diſpoſition of *Arthur*, and the Greatneſs of his Mind, even above his Age, very much affected him. Inſomuch, that the League made by former Kings, betwixt the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Britons*, was again renewed, and upon that ſo great a Familiarity enſued, that *Lothus* promiſed to ſend *Galvinus*, the youngeſt of his two Sons, to the *Britiſh* Court, as ſoon as he was old enough to bear the Fatigue of the Journey. *Arthur* entred upon the Regal Government before he was quite 18 Years old: But as his Courage was above his Age, ſo Succeſs was not wanting to his daring Spirit; for whereas his Father had divided the Kingdom by certain Boundaries, with the *Saxons*, and had made Peace with them on Conditions: The fair Opportunity offered them, by reaſon of the youthful Age of the King, more prevailed with them, to break the Peace, than the Sanctity of the League could prevail with them to obſerve it. *Arthur*, that he might quench the Fire in the beginning, gathered an Army together ſooner than any Man could imagine, and, being aſſiſted with Auxiliaries from the *Scots* and *Picts*, he overthrew the Enemy in two great Battels, compelling them to pay Tribute, and to receive Laws from him. With the ſame Eagerneſs and Speed he took *London*, the *Metropolis* of the *Saxon*'s Kingdom; and, having ſettled things there, he marched his Army directly towards *York*. But the Report of Auxiliary Forces coming out of *Germany*, and the Approach of Winter, compelled him to raiſe his Siege from thence. But the next Summer after, as ſoon as ever he came before *York*, he had it immediately ſurrendred

rendred to him; ſuch and ſo great was the Panick, that his unexpected Succeſs, the Year before, had ſtruck into the Minds of Men. He took up his Winter-Quarters there, whither there reſorted to him the prime Perſons of the Neighbourhood, and of his Subjects, where they ſpent the latter end of *December* in Mirth, Jollity, Drinking, and the Vices which are too often the Conſequences of them; ſo that the Repreſentations of the old heatheniſh Feaſts, dedicated to *Saturn*, were here again revived; but the Number of Days they laſted were doubled, and amongſt the wealthier Sort trebled, during which time they counted it almoſt a Sin to treat of any ſerious Matter. Gifts are ſent mutually from and to one another; frequent Invitations and Feaſtings paſs between Friends, and domeſtick Offenders are not puniſhed. Our Countrymen call this Feaſt *Juletide*, ſubſtituting the Name of *Julius Cæſar* for that of *Saturn*. The Vulgar are yet perſuaded, that the Nativity of Chriſt is then celebrated, but miſtakingly; for 'tis plain, that they imitate the Laſciviouſneſs of the *Bacchanalia*, rather than the Memory of Chriſt, then, as they ſay, born.

IN the mean time, the *Saxons* were reported to have pitched their Tents by the River *Humber*; and, whether it was ſo or no, *Arthur* marched towards them: But in as much as the *Britons* were effeminated by Pleaſures, by that Means they were leſs fit for military Services; inſomuch that they did not ſeem the ſame Men, who had overthrown the *Saxons* in ſo many Battels heretofore; for, by their luxurious Idleneſs, they had added ſo much to their Raſhneſs, as they had loſt of their ancient Severity of Diſcipline. They being ſo, Advice was given by the wiſer Sort, to ſend for Aid from the *Scots* and *Picts*. Accordingly Ambaſſadors were ſent, and Aid eaſily obtained; ſo that thoſe who had been almoſt disjoin'd by Ambition, were ſo reconcil'd by a mutual Care of Religion, and Emulation too, that Forces were ſent from either King, ſooner than could well have been imagined. *Lothus* alſo, that he might give a publick Teſtimony of his Reconciliation, brought his Sons, *Modredus* and *Galvinus*, with him into the Camp; *Galvinus* he gave to *Arthur*, as his Companion, whom he receiv'd with ſo great Courteſie, that from that Day forward they lived and died together. The Army of the three Kings being thus ready, and their Camps joined, it was unanimouſly agreed between them, That as the Danger was common to them all, and the Cauſe of it was alſo *the ſame*, ſo they would drive out the *Saxons*, and reſtore the Chriſtian Rites and Religion, which were profan'd by them. The Armies drawing near the one to the other, *Occa*, Son of a former *Occa*, who was then General of the

Saxons,

Saxons, made haſte to join Battel. In the Confederate Army, the two Wings were allotted to the *Scots* and *Picts*, the main Battel to *Arthur*. The *Scots*, at the firſt Onſet, wounded *Childerick*, Commander of that Wing of the Enemy, that fought againſt them: He falling, by reaſon of his Wounds, ſo terrify'd the Reſt, that the whole Wing was broken. In the other Wing, *Colgernus* the *Saxon*, after having cry'd out Shame upon the Perfidiouſneſs of the *Picts*, aſſaulted *Lothus*, whom he knew by his Habit and his Arms, with great Violence, and diſmounted him; but he himſelf being hemm'd in among the midſt of his Enemies, was run thro' by two *Picts*, with Spears on both ſides of his Body. The main Battel, where the Fight was the ſharpeſt, having loſt both Wings, did at length give Ground; *Occa* being wounded, was carry'd to the Sea-ſide, with as many as could get on Shipboard with him, and tranſported into *Germany*; thoſe of the remaining *Saxons* who were moſt obſtinate in their Error, were put to Death; the reſt, pretending to turn to the Chriſtian Religion, were ſaved.

THERE were other great Forces of the *Saxons* yet continuing in the *Eaſtern* part of *England*, and in *Kent*. The Summer after *Arthur* marched againſt them, having 10000 *Scots* and *Picts* for his Aſſiſtance; *Congallus*, the Son of *Eugenius*, commanded the *Scots*; and *Modredus*, the Son of *Lothus*, the *Picts*; both young Men of great Hope, and who had often given good Teſtimonies of their Valour and Conduct. This Army of three Kings being about five Mile from the Enemy, and their Camps being diſtant one from another; The *Saxons* being inform'd by their Spies, that the *Picts* (who were fartheſt diſtant from the other Forces) were very careleſs and ſecure, they made a ſudden and unexpected Aſſault on them in the Night. *Modredus* made a gallant Reſiſtance for a time; at laſt, when things were almoſt deſperate on his Side, he mounted on an Horſe with *Gallanus*, his Father-in-Law, and ſo fled to King *Arthur*. *Arthur* was nothing diſmay'd at the Loſs of the *Picts*, but ſpent that Day in ſetling things which were diſcompos'd; after that, his Army being commanded to march in the third Watch, he came upon the Enemy with a treble Army, and was at the *Saxons* Camp before they knew what the Matter was: The *Saxons*, all in a terrible Diſmay, ran up and down, having no time to take Counſel, or to arm themſelves; thus their Camp being enter'd, they were ſlain by the *Britons*, but more eſpecially the enrag'd *Picts* were cruel to all without Diſtinction.

SOME Writers of *Engliſh* Antiquities ſay, That *Arthur* fought twelve pitch'd Battels with the *Saxons*; but becauſe they

they give us only the Names of the Places where they were fought, and nothing elſe, I ſhall mention them no otherwiſe. To ſpeak briefly of his famous Actions, this is manifeſt, that he wholly ſubdued the Forces of the *Saxons*, and reſtored Peace to *Britain*; and when he went over to ſettle Things in *Leſs Britain* in *France*, he truſted the Kingdom to *Modredus* his Kinſman; who was to manage the Government, as King, till his Return. I have no Certainty of the Exploits he perform'd in *Gaul*: As to what *Geoffry* of *Monmouth* attributes to him there, it hath no Shadow, much leſs Likelihood of Truth in it; ſo that I paſs it all by as impudently forged, and as cauſeleſly believed. But to return to the Matter.

WHILST *Arthur* was abſent, and intent on ſetling the *Gallick* Affairs, were ſown the Seeds of a War, moſt pernicious to *Britain*. There was a certain Man in *Arthur*'s Retinue, nam'd *Conſtantine*, the Son of *Cadoris*; who, for the excellent Endowments both of his Body and Mind, was highly in all Mens Favour. He ſecretly aim'd at the Kingdom, and to make the People his own; whereupon the Nobles, at a convenient time, when the King was free from Buſineſs, caſt in Words concerning his Succeſſor; beſeeching him to add this alſo to the other innumerable Bleſſings he had procur'd for his Country; that if he died childleſs he would not leave *Britain* deſtitute of a King, eſpecially when ſo great Wars were like to be waged againſt them. Hereupon when ſome named *Modredus* as neareſt of Kin, and already accuſtom'd to the Government, both in Peace and War; and one too who had given good Proof of himſelf in his Viceroy-Ship, who was alſo likely to make no ſmall Addition to the *Britiſh* Affairs. This ſaid, the Multitude who favour'd *Conſtantine*, cry'd out, That they would not have a Stranger to be their King; and that *Britain* was not ſo bare of Great Men, but that it would afford a King within its own Territories: They added alſo, That it was a fooliſh thing to ſeek for that abroad, which they could have at home. *Arthur* knew before the Love of the People to *Conſtantine*; and therefore, tho' being a Man otherwiſe ambitious, yet he eaſily took part with the People; and, from that Day, ſhew'd him openly, and cheriſhed in him the Hopes of the Kingdom. *Modredus* his Friends took this ill, and look'd upon it as a great Wrong to him: They alledg'd, That by the League made by *Arthur* with *Lothus*, it was expreſſly caution'd, that none ſhould be prefer'd to the Succeſſion of the Kingdom before the Sons of *Lothus*. To which the contrary Party anſwer'd, That That

League

League was extorted by the Neceſſity of the Times againſt the common Good of the whole Nation, and that they were not oblig'd to keep it, now *Lothus*, with whom it was made, was dead. And that therefore the *Picts* would do well to be contented with their own Bounds, and not to invade other Mens. That the Kingdom of *Britain*, by God's Bleſſing, was now in that State, that it could not only defend it ſelf againſt *new* Injuries, but alſo revenge the *old*.

THESE things being brought to *Modredus*'s Ear, quite alienated his Mind from *Arthur*, and inclin'd him to ſet up for himſelf by maintaining his own Dignity, only he a little ſuſpended the War till he had try'd the Minds of the *Scots*; when they were brought over to his Party, an Army was liſted conſiſting of many *Picts*, *Scots*, and ſome *Britons*, who were induc'd to ſide with *Modredus*, either for the Equity of his Cauſe, the Love of his Perſon, or their private Hatred of *Arthur*. Nay, *Vannora*, the Wife of *Arthur*, was thought not to be ignorant of theſe new Cabals, as having been too familiar with *Modredus*. Both Armies pitch'd their Tents by *Humber*, and being ready to engage, Propoſals were made by the Biſhops on both Sides, in order to a Peace, but in vain; for *Conſtantine*'s Friends obſtructed all, affirming, that the Felicity of *Arthur*'s Fortune would bear down all Oppoſition. Hereupon a deſperate Fight began on both Sides, but two things eſpecially turn'd to the Advantage of *Modredus* and his Confederates, one was a Marſh in the midſt between them, which the *Britons* could not eaſily paſs; the other was this; in the heat of the Fight there was one ſuborn'd to ſpread a Report among the *Britons*, that *Arthur* was ſlain, and therefore all being loſt, every one ſhould ſhift for himſelf. The Rumour ſpread preſently, they all fled, yet there was great Slaughter on both Sides neither was the Victory joyous to either Party; for on the one ſide *Modredus* was ſlain, and on the other his Brother *Galvinus*; *Arthur* himſelf mortally wounded, and a great Booty taken.

I very well know what fabulous Matters are reported by many, concerning the Life and Death of *Arthur*, but they are not fit to be related, leſt they cauſe a Miſt to be caſt over his other famous Actions; for when Men confidently affirm Lyes, they cauſe the Truth it ſelf many times to be called in queſtion. This is certain, he was a great Man, and very valiant, bearing an intire Love to his Country, in freeing them from Servitude: in reſtoring the true Worſhip of God, and in reforming it when it was corrupted: I have ſpoken theſe things concerning his Lineage, Life and Death more prolixly than the Nature of my Deſign required; for

I never

I never meant to record all the Exploits of the *Britons*, but to free and preſerve the Affairs of our own Nation from the Oblivion of Time, and the fabulous Tales of ſome lewd and ill-diſpos'd Writers. I have inſiſted longer on the Exploits of *Arthur*, partly becauſe ſome curtain them out of Envy, and others heighten them with oſtentatious Hyperboles. He died in the Year of our Lord five hundred and fifty two, after he had reign'd twenty four Years.

BUT to return to the Affairs of *Scotland*; *Goranus* the King now grown old, departed this Life, after he had governed *Scotland* thirty four Years; 'tis thought he was treacherouſly ſlain by his Subjects. There was one *Toncetus*, Chief Juſtice in criminal Matters, a Man no leſs cruel than covetous; who play'd many foul Pranks againſt the richer Sort, and thought he might eaſily get Pardon of all from the King, becauſe by this Means he had augmented his Revenue. The People could not eaſily obtain Admittance to the King, now grown weak with Age and Sickneſs, to make their Complaints; and, if they had Acceſs, they judged their Allegations would not have been believed againſt ſuch a principal Officer, and ſo high a Favourite, ſo that they ſet upon *Toncetus* and murder'd him. But after the Heat of their Anger was over, when they began to think with themſelves how foul a Fact they had committed, and that there was no Pardon to be expected by them, they turned their Wrath and Fury upon the King himſelf; and, by the Inſtigation of *Donald* of *Athol*, they entred into his Palace and ſlew him alſo.

EUGENIUS III. *The forty ſixth King.*

EUGENIUS, the Son of *Congallus*, ſucceeded him; when he was adviſ'd by ſome of the Nobility to revenge the Death of his Uncle *Goranus*, he entertain'd the Motion ſo coldly, that he himſelf was not without Suſpicion in the Caſe, and the Suſpicion was encreas'd, becauſe he took *Donald* of *Athol* into his Grace and Favour. So that the Wife of *Goranus*, for fear, fled with her ſmall Children into *Ireland*. But *Eugenius*, to purge his Life and Manners from ſo foul an Imputation, ſo manag'd the Kingdom, that none of the former Kings could be juſtly preferr'd before him; he aſſiſted *Modredus*, and alſo *Arthur*, againſt the *Saxons*. He ſent ſeveral Captains to make daily Incurſions into the *Engliſh* Borders; but he never fought a pitch'd Battel with them. He died in the Year of Chriſt five hundred and fifty eight, having reign'd twenty three Years.

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CONGALLUS II. *The forty ſeventh King.*

HIS Brother *Congallus* next govern'd the Kingdom, and govern'd it ten Years with the greateſt Peace and Tranquillity; a Man whoſe excellent Virtues render'd him worthy of eternal Memory; for, beſides his Equity in Matters of Law, and an Averſion which he had from his very Soul to all Covetouſneſs, he vyed with the very *Monks* themſelves, in point of Sobriety of Life; tho' they, at that time, went under a moſt ſevere Diſcipline. He enriched Prieſts with Lands and other Revenues, more out of a pious Intention, than with any good Succeſs. He reſtrain'd the Soldiers, who were declining to Effeminacy and Luxury (and abus'd the Bleſſing of Peace) rather by the Examples and Authority of his Life, than by the Severity of Laws. He call'd home the Sons of *Goranus*, who, for fear of *Eugenius*, had fled into *Ireland*; but before their Return he died, in the Year five hundred and ſixty eight. He never fought a Battel himſelf, but only aſſiſted the *Britons* with Auxiliary Forces againſt the *Saxons*, with whom they had frequent Combats, the Succeſſes of which were very different.

KINNATELLUS, *The forty eighth King.*

WHEN he was dead, and the Throne devolv'd upon his Brother *Kinnatellus*, *Aidanus*, the Son of *Goranus*, came into *Scotland*, by the Perſuaſions of *Columba*; who, two Years before, had come out of *Ireland*. This Perſon introduc'd him to the King: who, beyond his own, and the Expectation of all other Men receiv'd him very graciouſly, and deſired him to be of good Cheer, for it would ſhortly be his turn to reign. For *Kinnatellus*, worn out with Age and Sickneſs, and not capable of going through with the Adminiſtration himſelf, placed *Aidanus* at the Helm of Affairs, and ſo died, having reigned fourteen (ſome ſay) fifteen Months. Some Writers leave him out, and will have it, that *Aidanus* immediately ſucceeded *Congallus*; but there are more who give *Kinnatellus* a Place betwixt them.

AIDANUS, *The forty ninth King.*

AIDANUS being nominated King by *Kinnatellus*, and confirmed by the People, was Inſtall'd by *Columba*: For the Authority of that Man was ſo great, in thoſe Days, that neither Prince nor People would undertake any thing

without his Advice. And, at that time, after he had, in a long Speech, exhorted the King to rule equitably over his People, and the People to be loyal to their King, he earneſtly preſſed them both to perſevere in the pure Worſhip of God, for that then both of them would proſper; but if they made any Defection from it, they muſt expect Deſtruction as the Reward of their Apoſtacy. Having performed this Service, he returned into his own Country.

THE firſt Expedition of *Aidanus* was againſt the Robbers who infeſted *Galway*. As ſoon as he arrived he put their Ringleaders to Death, nd Fear reſtrain'd the reſt; but he met with a greater Storm at his Return. For, after he had three Conventions of the Eſtates in *Galway*, *Abrya* or *Lochabyr*, and *Caithneſs*, and thought all things were ſetled there, there was a Tumult aroſe amongſt them as they were a Hunting, that much Blood was ſpilt, and the King's Officers, who came to puniſh the Offenders, were repulſed and beaten: The Authors, for fear of Puniſhment, fled into *Lothian*, to *Brudeus* King of the *Picts*; when Ambaſſadors were ſent to him, to deliver them up according to the League betwixt them, they were refuſed; whereupon a fierce War commenced betwixt the *Scots* and *Picts*, but it was quickly put an end to by the Means of *Columba*, who was highly eſteemed by both Nations, according to his diſtinguiſhed Merits.

IN the mean time *England* was again divided into ſeven Kingdoms, and the *Britons* were driven into the *Peninſula* of *Wales*; but the *Saxons*, not contented with ſuch large Dominions, kindled a new War betwixt the *Scots* and *Picts*. The chief Author and Incendiary in this Point was *Ethelfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, a covetous Man, and who was weary of Peace, out of a mere craving Appetite of enlarging his Dominions. He perſuaded the *Picts*, but with very much ado, for *Brudeus* would hardly be brought to conſent to it, to drive away Preys out of the *Scots* Territories, and that would be a Handle for a new War. *Aidanus* being perfectly well apprized of the Treachery of the *Saxons*, that he might alſo ſtrengthen himſelf with foreign Aid, renewed the ancient League with *Malgo* the *Briton*. He ſent his Son *Griſinus*, and his Siſter's Son, *Brendinus*, a petty King of *Eubonia*, now called the *Iſle of Man*, a military Perſon, with Forces; who, joining with the *Britons*, entred *Northumberland*, and after three Days march came to the Enemy; but the *Engliſh* declined an Engagement, becauſe they expected new Succours, which were reported to be near at hand: For indeed *Ceulinus*, King of the *Eaſt Saxons*, a very warlike Man, was coming to them with great Forces; but

but the *Scots* and *Britons* intercepted, and fell upon him in his March, and wholly deſtroyed the Van of his Army, which was a long way before the reſt, together with his Son *Cutha*: but they were afraid to attack thoſe behind, leſt they ſhould be circumvented and ſurrounded by *Ethelfrid*, who was at no great diſtance. The two Kings of the *Saxons* being joined together, renewed the Fight, with much Slaughter on both Sides, and the *Scots* and the *Britons* were vanquiſhed and put to flight. There were ſlain of the *Scots* Nobles, *Griſinus* and *Brendinus*; in the oppoſite Army *Ethelfrid* loſt one of his Eyes, and *Brudeus* was carried wounded out of the Field, to the great Aſtoniſhment and Diſmay of his Party.

THE next Summer after *Ethelfrid* uniting his Forces with thoſe of the *Picts*, marched into *Gallway*, ſuppoſing he ſhould find all things there in great Conſternation, by reaſon of their ill Succeſs the laſt Year: But *Aidanus* coming with his Forces thither ſooner than his Enemies thought, ſet upon the ſtraggling Plunderers, and drove them full of fear and trembling to their Camp. Thus having chaſtized their Raſhneſs, and ſuppoſing they would then be more quiet, the Night after he paſſed by their Camp, and joined the *Britons*. Both Armies having thus united their Forces, pitch'd their Tents in a narrow Valley of *Annandale*; and their Enemies, as now Cock-ſure of their Deſtruction, beſet the Paſſages entring into it. But they having fortify'd their Camp, as if they intended to keep that Ground, took the Opportunity at Night-time, when the Tide was out, to paſs through a Ford, which was dangerouſly full of Quick-Sands, but that they knew every part of it, and ſo march into *Cumberland*, and afterward into *Northumberland*, making great Havock in every Place they came at. The Enemy followed them at their Heels, and when they came in ſight of one another, both Armies prepar'd themſelves for the Fight. The *Scots* and *Britons* made four Commanders more than they had before; who were noble Perſons, of great Experience in military Affairs, that ſo the Headſtrong common Soldiers might have the Advantage of a greater Number of Captains to guide their Fury right. The Officers ſuperadded were *Conſtantine* and *Mencrinus*, *Britons*; *Caleanus* and *Murdacus*, *Scotſmen*. By their Conduct and Encouragement the Soldiers fell upon the Enemy, with ſo great Violence, that they were preſently broken and put to flight. There goes a Report, that *Columba*, being then in the Iſle *Icolumbkil*, told his Companions of this Victory, the very ſame Hour in which it was obtained. Of the *Saxon*

Nobles there were ſlain, in this Fight, *Cialinus* and *Vitellius*, both great Warriors, and highly deſcended. About eleven Years after this Victory, the *Saxons* and *Picts* infeſted the adjacent Country; whereupon a Day was appointed, on which the *Britons* and *Scots* ſhould meet, and, with their united Forces, ſet upon the *Saxons*. *Aidanus*, though very old, came to the Place at the appointed time, and ſtaid for the *Britons*, but in vain, for they came not, yet he drove Preys out of his Enemies Country: *Ethelfrid* having now got a fair Opportunity of putting himſelf upon Action, ſet upon the diſperſed *Scots*, and made a great Slaughter amongſt them. *Aidanus* having loſt many of his Men, fled for his Life; yet the Victory was not unbloody to the *Saxons*, for they loſt *Theobald*, *Ethelfrid*'s Brother, and ſome of thoſe Squadrons that followed him were almoſt wholly cut off. *Aidanus* having met with this ſad Overthrow, and being alſo informed of the Death of *Columba*, that holy Man, whom he ſo highly honoured, and plainly foreſeeing to what Cruelty the Remnant of *Chriſtians* was likely to be expoſed, Grief and Age ſo wore him out, that he did not long ſurvive; he reigned 34 Years, and died in the Year of our Lord 604. In his Reign it was, That a certain *Monk*, named *Auſtin*, came into *Britain*, being ſent by Pope *Gregory*; who, by his Ambition, in ſearching a *new* Form of Religion, mightily diſturbed the *old*, for he did not ſo inſtruct them in the Diſcipline of Chriſtianity, as the Ceremonies of the *Roman* Church. Nay, the *Britons*, before his coming, were converted to, and taught the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, by the Diſciples of *John* the *Evangeliſt*, and were inſtituted in the ſame by the *Monks*, who were in that Age Learned and Pious *Monks*. As for *Auſtin*, he laboured to reduce all things to the Dominion of the Biſhop of *Rome* only, and gave himſelf out to be the only Archbiſhop of the Iſle of *Britain*; and withal, introduced a Diſpute, neither neceſſary nor advantageous, concerning the Day on which *Eaſter* was to be kept; and did, by this Means, mightily trouble the Churches: Nay, he ſo loaded the Chriſtian Diſcipline, which was then inclining towards Superſtition, with ſuch new Ceremonies and Figments of Miracles, that he ſcarce left any Mark or Footſtep of true Piety behind him.

KENNETHUS I. *The fiftieth King.*

AFTER *Aidanus*, *Kennethus* was elected King; he did nothing memorable in his time. He died the 4th, (or, as ſome ſay) the 12th Month, after he began to reign.

EUGENIUS

EUGENIUS IV. *The fifty first King.*

NEXT after him, *Eugenius*, the Son of *Aidanus*, was proclaimed King. In the Year of our Lord 605. he was brought up (as the *Black Book of Paſley* hath it) piouſly and carefully under *Columba*, being very well educated in human Learning; yet in this he ſwerved from the Inſtitution of his Maſter, that he was more addicted to War than Peace; for he exerciſed the *Saxons* and *Picts* with daily Incurſions. His Government was very ſevere and rough; thoſe who were proud and contumacious, ſooner felt the point of his Sword than they received from him any Conditions of Peace; but to thoſe who asked Pardon for their Offences, and voluntarily ſurrendred themſelves, he was very merciful and eaſy to forgive, and not at all inſolent in his Victories. This is what that Book reports concerning *Eugenius*. But *Boetius* ſays, on the contrary, That he lived in great Peace; which happened not ſo much from his foreign Leagues, as from the Diſcords of his Enemies, who kept up a Civil War among themſelves. For the *Engliſh*, who inhabited the *South* Parts, and profeſs'd the Name and Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, whilſt they were endeavouring to revenge the Injuries offer'd to them, deprived *Ethelfrid*, the then moſt potent King of *Northumberland*, both of his Life and Kingdom together. *Edvinus* ſucceeded him, and *Ethelfrid*'s Relations fled into *Scotland*, amongſt whom were ſeven of his Sons, and one Daughter. This came to paſs in the tenth Year of the Reign of *Eugenius*. As theſe *Saxons* flew to him for Refuge, ſo he (though he knew them to be Enemies both to him and the whole Chriſtian Name) entertain'd and protected them with great Courteſy and Humanity as long as he lived: He gave them no leſs than Royal Reception, and took mighty care to have them piouſly educated in the Chriſtian Religion. He died in the ſixteenth Year of his Reign, and was much lamented by all Men, who had every one a Loſs, and found every one a want of him.

FERCHARDUS I. *The fifty ſecond King.*

HIS Son, *Ferchardus*, was ſubſtituted in his room, in the Year of Chriſt 622, and in the 13th Year of *Heraclius* the Emperor. He being a Politick Man, and very wickedly guileful, endeavoured to change the lawful Government of the Land into Tyranny; in order to which he nouriſhed Fa-

ctions amongſt the Nobility, ſuppoſing by that Means to effect what wickedly he deſign'd with Impunity. But the Nobles, underſtanding his malicious Aim, ſecretly made [illegible] Breach amongſt themſelves; and, calling an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, ſummoned him to appear; which he refuſing to do, they ſtorm'd the Caſtle where he was, and ſo drew him, *per Force*, to Judgment. Many and grievous Crimes were objected againſt him, and particularly the *Pelagian* Hereſy, the Contempt of Baptiſm, and other ſacred Rites. Then, as he was not able to purge himſelf from any one of them, he was committed to Priſon; where, that he might not live to be a publick Spectacle of Diſgrace, he put an end to his own Life in the 14th Year of his Reign.

DONALDUS IV. *The fifty third King.*

HIS Brother *Donaldus*, or *Donevaldus*, mounted the Throne in his ſtead; who, calling to mind the Elogy of his Father, and the miſerable End of his Brother, made it his Buſineſs to maintain the true Worſhip of God; and that not only at home, but he ſought, by all lawful Means, to propagate it abroad. For when *Edwin* was dead, he furniſhed the Relations and the Children of *Ethelfrid*, who had remained Exiles in *Scotland*, for many Years, with Accommodations to return home; he beſtowed upon them Gifts, he ſent Forces to accompany them, and gave them free Liberty to paſs and repaſs, as Occaſion ſhould require. This *Edwin*, ſpoken of above, was ſlain by *Kedvalla*, as *Bede* calls him, King of the *Britons*, and by *Penda*, King of the *Mercians*; one of which was his Enemy, out of an old Pique to the Nation it ſelf: The other out of a new one for his having embraced Chriſtianity; but both, ſtill more out of an Emulation of his Power. The Victory is reported to have been more cruel than any in the Monuments of Hiſtory; for whilſt *Penda* endeavoured to root out the Chriſtians; and *Kedvalla*, the *Saxons*; their Fury was ſo great, that it ſpared neither Sex nor Age. After the Death of *Edwin*, *Northumberland* was divided into two Kingdoms. *Oſticus*, Couſin-German to *Edwin*, was made King of the *Deiri*; and *Eanfrid*, as *Bede* calls him, but our Writers name him *Andefridus*, *Ethelfride*'s eldeſt Son, King of the *Bernici*. They renounced the Chriſtian Religion, in which they had been diligently educated; one by the *Monks*, the other by *Paulinus* the Biſhop, and revolted to their ancient Superſtition; but were both, ſhortly after, deprived both of their Kingdoms, and their Lives, by *Penda*. *Oſwald*, the

Son

Son of *Ethelfrid*, ſucceeded them both, a ſtudious Promoter of the Chriſtian Religion. He did but deſire *Donaldus* by his Ambaſſadors, to ſend him ſome Doctors of the Chriſtian Church, and he did ſend him ſome, and thoſe truly Men of great Sanctity and Learning; who were accordingly received by him with great Humanity, entertained magnificently, and moſt bountifully rewarded. Neither did he think it below his Kingly Dignity, to interpret the Sentences of their Sermons, preached to the People, who did not ſo well underſtand the *Scotiſh* Language, and he would often gather them together for that Purpoſe; all which is clearly expreſſed by *Bede*. *Donaldus* died in the 14th Year of his Reign, leaving a precious Memory of his Virtues behind him.

FERCHARDUS II. *The fifty fourth King.*

FERCHARDUS, his Brother, the old *Ferchardus*'s Son, ſucceeded him, a Perſon the moſt flagitious in Nature. He had every Vice ſtampt upon his Heart, inſatiable were his Deſires of Wine, and Wealth. His Cruelty towards Men was perfectly inhuman, his Impiety towards God thoroughly diabolical. When his Cruelty and Rapine had raged among other Folks, he converted his Fury at laſt upon his own Domeſticks. He kill'd his own Wife, and he raviſhed his own Daughters: For theſe crying Sins he was excommunicated from the Society of Chriſtians. And as the Nobles were juſt going to aſſemble, by way of Conſultation, about his Puniſhment; *Coleman*, that holy Biſhop, ſtopped them; for he openly told him, *That divine Vengeance would ſpeedily overtake him*. And truly the Event verified his Prediction; for a few Days after, as he was a Hunting, he was hurt by a Wolf, and fell into a Fever; and yet after that, not being able to abſtain from his former Intemperance, at laſt his Body was eaten up with the *Louſie Diſeaſe*; and then he is ſaid to have cried out, That he was deſervedly puniſhed, becauſe he had not hearken'd to the wholſom Warning given him by *Coleman*. Thus at laſt, ſeeing his Error, and *Coleman* comforting him with Hopes of Pardon, in caſe he truly repented, he cauſed himſelf to be carried abroad in a Litter, meanly apparel'd, and there he made a publick Confeſſion of his Wickedneſs, and ſo died, in the Year of our Redemption 668. *Scotland* groaned under this Monſter 18 Years.

MALDVINUS, *The fifty fifth King.*

MALDVINUS, the Son of *Donald*, ſucceeded [illegible], who, that he might ſtrengthen thoſe Parts of the Kingdom which were weakened by the Tyranny of the former King, made Peace with all his Neighbours: But having made all things quiet abroad, he was diſturbed by a Sedition at home, ariſing between the *Argyle* and *Lennox* Men. *Maldvinus* went in Perſon againſt the Authors of this Tumult, that ſo he might puniſh them without prejudicing the common People. They, to avoid the King's Wrath, compoſed their private Jars, and fled into the *Ebudæ* Iſles. The King ſent for them to have them puniſhed, and the Iſlanders not daring to retain them, delivered them up; their Puniſhment kept the reſt in their Duties. About this time it was, that when the *Scotiſh Monks* had propagated the Doctrine of Chriſt almoſt all over *England*, and had ſo inſtructed the *Engliſh* Youth, that now they ſeemed able of themſelves to preach the Goſpel in a proper manner to their own Countrymen, that their Envy againſt their very Maſters grew in proportion to their Learning; and this Prejudice went ſo far, that the *Scots-Monks* were forced to return into their own Country. As this Contumely cut off the Concord between the two Kingdoms, ſo the Modeſty of thoſe who had received the Wrong, kept both Nations from an open formal War; but all frequent Incurſions were made, and Skirmiſhes happened in divers Places. There broke out at this time a terrible Plague over all *Europe*, ſuch as was never recorded by any Writer before, only the *Scots* and *Picts* were free from the Contagion.

By reaſon of the frequent Injuries mutually offered, and Preys driven away on both ſides, each Nation was like to break out into an open War, if the Death of *Maldvinus* had not prevented it. After he had reigned 20 Years, his Wife, ſuſpecting that he had to do with an Harlot, ſtrangled him, and four Days after ſhe ſuffered for the Fact, and was burnt alive.

EUGENIUS V. *The fifty ſixth King.*

EUGENIUS next, the fifth Son of King *Dongardus*, began his Reign. *Egfrid*, the King of *Northumberland* (with whom he chiefly deſired to be at Peace) endeavoured to deceive him by feigned Truces; play'd the ſame Game of State, and turn'd *Egfrid*'s Artifices upon himſelf. Thus when

when both made a ſhew of Peace in Words, they each ſecretly prepared for War; when the Truce was ended, *Egfrid*, though his Friends diſſuaded him from it, joined Forces with the *Picts*, and entring into *Scotland* he ſent out his Marroders all over *Galway*; but he was overthrown by *Eugenius*, the *Picts* giving Ground in the Fight, and loſt almoſt all his Army, ſo that he hardly eſcaped; but at laſt wounded, and with but a few Followers, he made ſhift to get home. The next Year, his Friends *then alſo* diſſuading him, he drew forth his Army againſt the *Picts*; who, pretending to run away, enſnared him into an Ambuſh, and cut him off, with all his Men. The *Picts* laying hold of this ſo fair an Opportunity, recovered thoſe large Territories which had been taken from them in former Wars; and the *Britons* who freed themſelves from the Government of the *Angli*, or *Engliſh*, together with the *Scots*, entred *Northumberland*, and made ſuch an Havock there, that it never recovered it ſelf ſince. Soon after *Eugenius* died, in the fourth Year of his Reign.

EUGENIUS VI. *The fifty ſeventh King.*

EUGENIUS the VIth, the Son of *Ferchard*, ſucceeded *Eugenius* the Vth; as did *Alfrid*, Brother to *Egfrid*, ſucceed him in *Northumberland*: Both Kings were very learned, eſpecially in *Theology*, as Learning went at that time of Day; and alſo friendly one to the other, on the Account of their common Studies, ſo that the Peace was faithfully maintain'd betwixt them. *Alfrid* made uſe of this Tranquillity to ſettle the Bounds of his Kingdom, tho' in narrower Limits than before; but the *Scots* had neither an eſtabliſh'd Peace, nor yet a declar'd War, with the *Picts*: Excurſions were frequently made, with very various Succeſſes, though *Cutberectus*, an *Engliſh* Biſhop, and *Adamannus*, a *Scotiſh* Biſhop, labour'd in vain to reconcile them; yet they ordered Matters ſo well, that they never fought a pitch'd Battel. In the mean time, *Eugenius* being inflamed with an inexpiable Hatred againſt the Perfidiouſneſs of the *Picts*, was ſtopped in the midſt of his Career to Revenge, for he died having reigned 10 Years. In his Reign it is reported that it rained Blood all over *Britain* for ſeven Days, and that the Milk, Cheeſe, and Butter were alſo turned into Blood.

AMBER-

AMBERKELETHUS, *The fifty eighth King.*

AFTER him *Amberkelethus*, the Son of *Findanus*, and Nephew of *Eugenius* the fifth, obtained the Kingdom. At the beginning of his Reign he counterfeited Temperance, but ſoon returned to his natural Diſpoſition, and broke out into all manner of Wickedneſs. *Garnard*, King of the *Picts*, laying hold of this Opportunity, gathered a great Army together, and invaded the *Scots*. *Amberkelethus* could hardly be excited to take Arms, without much Importunity, but at laſt he did: As he was going in the Night-time to do his private Occaſions, having but two Servants with him, he was ſlain with an Arrow, (it was not known who ſhot it) when he had not reigned full two Years; but ſome ſay that when he preſſed upon the Enemy in a thick Wood, that he was hurt with an Arrow by them, and ſo died 10 Days after.

EUGENIUS VII. *The fifty ninth King.*

EUGENIUS the ſeventh, Brother of the former King, was declared King by the Suffrage of the Soldiers in the Field, that ſo the Army might not disband, nor be without an Head. He putting little Confidence in an Army, levied by a ſlothful King, lengthened out the War by Truces, and at laſt concluded it by marrying *Spondana*, Daughter of *Garnardus*. She, not long after, was murder'd in her Bed by two *Athol* Men, who had conſpired to deſtroy the King. The King himſelf was accuſed of the Murder, but *falſely*; and, before he was brought to Judgment, the Murderers were found out, whereupon he was freed. The Offenders were put to the moſt exquiſite of Tortures. When Matters were compoſed abroad, the King turned himſelf to the Affairs of Peace, and his Delight lay very much in Hunting, but his chief Care was for Religion: It was his firſt Deſign, and by his Appointment, that the noble Acts and Enterprizes of Kings ſhould be regiſtred in Monaſteries. He maintained an uninterrupted Peace 17 Years with all his Neighbours, and then died at *Abernethy*.

MORDACUS, *The ſixtieth King.*

EUGENIUS, a little before his Death, commended *Mordacus*, the Son of *Amberkelethus*, to the Nobility to be his Succeſſor. There was Peace all over *Britain* during his *Reign*, as *Bede* ſays about the end of his Hiſtory. He imitated

imitated *Eugenius*, not only in maintaining Peace, but in endowing of *Monaſteries* alſo. He repaired the Convent of [illegible]*born*, which was demoliſhed. He died at the entrance into the 16th Year of his Reign.

ETFINUS, *The ſixty firſt King.*

IN the Year of our Lord 730, *Etfinus*, the Son of *Eugenius* the ſeventh, entered upon the Kingdom. He being emulous of the Kings before him, kept the Kingdom in great Peace during the ſpace of 31 Years, that he managed the Government: When he was old, and could not perform the Kingly Office himſelf, he appointed four Vice-gerents to adminiſter Juſtice to the People. Whilſt theſe preſided over the Affairs of *Scotland*, ſome looſe Perſons reſuming their former luxuriant Extravagancies, by Neglect, or (as ſome think) even by the abſolute Fault of the Magiſtrates, put all things into Confuſion; but their wicked Pranks were the leſs taken Notice of, by reaſon of the exceſſive Cruelty and Pride of one *Donaldus*, who, ranging over all *Galway*, made the Country People pay Tribute to him; or elſe he robbed them, and reduced them to great Want.

EUGENIUS VIII. *The ſixty ſecond King.*

AMIDST theſe Tumults, *Eugenius* the eighth, the Son of *Mordacus*, was ſet up in the room of *Etfinus*, deceaſed; his firſt Enterprize was to ſuppreſs *Donaldus*, whom he overthrew in many bloody Fights, and at laſt took him Priſoner, and publickly executed him, to the Joy of all the Spectators. He put *Mordacus* to Death, Vice-gerent of *Galway*, for ſiding with *Donaldus*, and ſet a pecuniary Fine on the reſt of the Vice-gerents: He made Satisfaction to the People who had been robbed, out of the Offenders Eſtates. Wicked Men being terrified for fear of theſe Puniſhments, a great Calm enſued after a moſt violent Tempeſt, and he confirmed the Leagues formerly made with the neighbouring Kings. Yet after all this, he, who got ſo much Glory in War, when once Peace was ratify'd, gave himſelf up to all manner of Vice; and ſeeing he would not be reclaimed, neither by the Advices of his Friends, nor of the Prieſts, all the Nobles conſpired to deſtroy him, which they did in a publick Convention, in the third Year of his Reign. The Companions and Aſſociates of his wicked Practices ended their Lives at the Gallows, all Men rejoicing, made a Holiday too to ſee their Executions.

FER-

FERGUSIUS III. *The ſixty third King.*

FERGUSIUS III, the Son of *Etfinus*, ſucceeded him; who, under a like counterfeit pretence of Virtue, being horribly vicious at the bottom, died alſo after the like violent manner, having reigned the ſame Number of Years, *viz.* three. He was poiſoned by his Wife; others write, That when his Wife had often upbraided him with living in Contempt of Matrimony, and following whole Flocks of Harlots, and found no Amendmenr from her Reproofs, ſhe ſtrangled him at Night, as he was ſleeping in his Bed: When Enquiry was made into his Death, and many of his Friends were accuſed, yet, though ſeverely tortured, would confeſs nothing: The Queen, tho' otherwiſe of a fierce Nature, and impetuous, yet pitying the ſuffering of ſo many innocent Perſons, appeared, and from a lofty Stand that ſhe had choſen on ſome high Place, told the Aſſembly, *That ſhe was the Author of the Murder*; and preſently, leſt ſhe ſhould be made a living Spectacle of Reproach, ſhe ſtabbed her ſelf dead with a Knife; which Fact of hers was variouſly ſpoken of, and deſcanted upon, according to the ſeveral Humours and Diſpoſitions of the Men of thoſe Days.

SOLVATHIUS, *The ſixty fourth King.*

KING *Solvathius*, the Son of *Eugenius* the eighth, is the next in order; who, if he had not contracted the Gout, by being in Damps and Colds, in the third Year of his Reign, might well be reckoned for his Perſonal Valour amongſt the beſt of Kings; yet notwithſtanding his Diſeaſe, he ſtill ſhew'd his great Wiſdom and Prudence in the Choice of his Generals, by whom he appeaſed all Tumults. Firſt of all *Donaldus Banus (i. e.) White*, ſtanding in no fear of being attacked by a lame and gouty Prince, had the Boldneſs to ſeize upon all the *Weſtern* Iſlands, and to call himſelf King of the *Æbudæ*. Afterwards, making a Deſcent on the Continent, and carrying away much Prey, he was forced by *Cullanus*, General of the *Argyle-men*, and by *Ducalus*, Captain of the *Athol-men*, into a Wood, out of which there was but one Paſſage; ſo that their Endeavours to eſcape were fruitleſs, but he and his *Party* were there ſlain to a Man. One *Gilcolumbus*, out of the ſame Hopes, and with the ſame Audacity, aſſaulted *Galway*, which his Father had oppreſs'd before, but he alſo was overthrown by the ſame Generals, and ſhared the ſelf-ſame Fate. In the mean time there was no Diſturbance

turbance from the *Engliſh* and *Picts*, but the continuance of Peace was occaſioned by their Combuſtions at home. *Solvathius* reigned 20 Years, it being the Year of *Chriſt* 787, [illegible] and had the general Applauſe of Mankind.

ACHAIUS, *The ſixty fifth King.*

ACHAIUS, the Son of *Etſinus*, ſucceeded him; he had made Peace with the *Angles* and *Picts*, but underſtanding, that War was threatned from *Ireland*, compos'd the Seditions that were like to happen at Home; and this he did not only by his Induſtry, but by his Largeſſes and Bounty. The Cauſe of the *Iriſh* War, was this. In the Reign of the former King, who was unfit to make any Expedition, the *Iriſh* and the *Iſlanders*, out of hope of Prey and Impunity, had made a Deſcent upon *Cantire*, the adjoyning Peninſula with great Armies, both at one and the ſame time. But a Feud ariſing between the Plunderers, many of the *Iſlanders*, and all the *Iriſh*, were ſlain. To revenge this Slaughter, the *Iriſh* rigged out a great Navy, to ſail into the *Æbudæ*. *Achaius* ſent Embaſſadors to them, to acquaint them, that they had no juſt Cauſe for a War, in regard that Thieves, fighting for their Prey, had ſlain one another; That the Loſs was not, that ſo many were ſlain, but rather, that any of them had eſcaped. They farther alledged, that the King and his National Councils were ſo far from offering any Injury to the *Iriſh*, that they had put all the Authors of the late Slaughter to death. The Embaſſadors, diſcourſing many things to this purpoſe, all they could ſay was ſo courſly and barbarouſly rejected by the *Iriſh*, that they ſent out their Fleet againſt the *Albine Scots*, even before the Departure of thoſe Embaſſadors; when their Fleet was on the *Main*, a Tempeſt aroſe, in which they univerſally periſhed. This Miſchance occaſion'd ſome Sentiments of Remorſe and Pity in the *Iriſh*, ſo that now they humbly ſued for that Peace, which they had before diſdainfully refuſed.

BUT firſt of all, *Achaius* made Peace between the *Scots* and the *French* chiefly for this Reaſon, becauſe not only the *Saxons*, who inhabited *Germany*, but even thoſe who had fixed in *Britanny*, infeſted *Gaul* with Piratical Invaſions. And beſides, *Charles the Great*, whoſe Deſire was to ennoble *France*, not only by Arms, but Literature, had ſent for ſome learned Men out of *Scotland*, to read *Greek* and *Latin*, at *Paris*. For there were yet many Monks in *Scotland*, eminent for Learning and Piety, the antient Diſcipline being then not quite extinguiſhed; amongſt whom was *Johannes*, ſirnamed

firnamed *Scotus*, or, which is all one, *Albinus*, for the *Scots* in their own Language call themſelves *Albini*; He was the Preceptor of *Charles the Great*, and left many Monuments of his Learning, behind him, and in particular, ſome Rules of *Rhetorick*, which I have ſeen, with the Name *Joannes Albinus* inſcribed, as Author of the Book. There are alſo ſome Writings of *Clement* a *Scot*, remaining, who was a great Profeſſor of Learning, at the ſame time in *Paris*. There were many other *Scotiſh* Monks, who went over into *France*, out of their Zeal for God and Godlineſs, who preached the Doctrine of Chriſtianity to the People inhabiting about *Rhene*, and that with ſo great Succeſs, that the People built *Monaſteries* in many Places. The *Germans* owe this to their Memory, that even to our Days, *Scots* are made the Governors over thoſe Monaſteries. Though *Achaius* was deſirous of Peace, yet the *Pictiſh* Concerns drew him on to a War. For when *Athelſtan*, the *Engliſh-Man*, had waſted the neighbouring Lands of the *Picts*, *Hungus* their King obtained the Aid of ten thouſand *Scots*, from *Achaius*, who before was diſguſted with the *Engliſh*. He placed his Son *Alphinus*, a Commander, over them, who was born to him by the Siſter of *Hungus*; by the Aſſiſtance of thoſe Auxiliaries, he carried a great deal of Plunder out of *Northumberland*. *Athelſtan*, a fierce Warriour, was almoſt at his Heels, and overtook him not far from *Hadington*. The *Picts* diſmay'd at the ſudden Approach of their Enemies, ſtood immediately to their Arms, and kept themſelves in their Stations, 'till very late; having ſet their Watches for the Night, *Hungus* being inferior in other things, deſired Aid of God, and gave himſelf up wholly to Prayer. At laſt, when his Body was wearied with Labour, and his Mind oppreſſed with Care, he ſeemed to behold *Andrew* the Apoſtle, ſtanding by him in his Sleep, promiſing him the Victory. This Viſion being declared to the *Picts*, filled them full of Hope, ſo that they prepared themſelves with great Alacrity for a Combat, which it was in vain to think of avoiding. The next Day they came to a pitched Battel. Some add, that another Prodigy was ſeen in the Heavens, a Croſs like the Letter X, which did ſo terrifie the *Engliſh*, that they could hardly ſuſtain the firſt Onſet of the *Picts*. *Athelſtan* was ſlain there, who gave Name to the Place of Battel, which is yet called *Athelſtan's Ford*. *Hungus* aſcribed the Victory to St. *Andrew*, to whom, beſides other Gifts, he offered the Tithes of his royal Demeaſns: I am of Opinion, that this was the *Athelſtan*, Commander of the *Daniſh* Nation, to whom the *Engliſh* affirm, that *Northumberland* was granted by *Alured*.

Achaius.

Achaius died the thirty ſecond Year of his Reign, and in the Year of *Chriſt* eight hundred and nine.

CONGALLUS III. *The ſixty ſixth King.*

CONGALLUS, his Couſin German, ſucceeded him, who reigned five Years, in Peace both at home and abroad.

DONGALLUS, *The ſixty ſeventh King.*

DONGALLUS, the Son of *Solvathius*, was next King to him. The Soldiers, not able to endure the Severity of his Government, gathered themſelves together and went to *Alpinus*, the Son of *Achaius*; and becauſe they could not perſuade him by fair means to undertake the Government of the Kingdom, they compelled him by Force and Menaces to be ſeemingly on their Side. He having raiſed and form'd an Army, and pretending to do, as they would have him, diſappointed them and fled to *Dongallus*; his coming was acceptable to the King, but a great Diſmay to the Rebels; and therefore they accuſe him to the King, as if *Alpinus* himſelf had perſuaded them to rebel. The King well perceiving their Calumny, prepared an Army ſo ſuddenly, that he was upon them before there could be the leaſt Rumour of his coming. Thoſe of them whom he took he put to Death.

IN the mean time, *Hungus* died, and his eldeſt Son *Dorſtologus* was ſlain, by the Treachery of his Brother *Eganus*; neither did the Murtherer long ſurvive his Brother. So that the Male-ſtock of *Hungus* being extinct, his Siſter's Son *Alpinus*, as next Heir, both by an ancient Law, and in Right of Blood, claimed the Kingdom. The *Picts* diſdained him as a Foreigner, whereupon *Dongallus* ſent Meſſengers to them, to expoſtulate the Matter, but they refuſed to give them Audience, and even commanded them to depart in four Days. *Dongallus* intended to make War upon them, with all his might: But in the midſt of his Preparation, as he was paſſing over the *Spey*, whoſe Current was very violent, the Veſſel, in which he was, ſunk, and he was drowned, after he had reigned ſix Years, ſome ſay, ſeven.

ALPINUS, *The ſixty eighth King.*

ALPINUS, the Son of *Achaius*, led the Army raiſed by *Dongallus*, againſt *Fredereth*us, who had ſeized upon, and arrogated the Kingdom of the *Picts* to himſelf. The

Armies

Armies met at *Reſtenot*, a Village of *Angus*; the Fight was maintained with great Obſtinacy and cruel Bloodſhed, even until Night; the Victory was uncertain, tho' the Death of *Frederethus* made it incline to the Side of the *Scots*. For when he ſaw his Men fly in the Fight, with a Troop of young Noblemen he broke through the main Body of the *Scots*, and being thus ſeparated from his Men, was there ſlain, with the Flower of his Nobility. *Brudus* was ſubſtituted in his Place, a ſlothful Perſon, and unfit for military Affairs. In his Reign, the *Scots* drove Preys out of their Enemies Country, without Reſiſtance; and the *Picts* raiſing up a Tumult on purpoſe amongſt themſelves, ſlew *Brudus*, before he had reigned one Year. Then they ſet up *Kennethus*, another of *Frederethus* his Sons, in his ſtead; one neither more valiant, nor more ſucceſsful, than his Brother: For, when he had levied an Army, and came in Sight of his Enemies, he ſtole privately away, and ſo was kill'd by a Countryman, who upbraided him as a Fugitive, not knowing who he was. The *Picts* having loſt their King, before their Enemies were ſenſible of it, returned home and made another Perſon, named *Brudus*, King, one of high Deſcent and noble Atchievements. He, as ſoon as he entred upon the Government, ſet upon the ſtraggling Plunderers, and curbed their Raſhneſs, making a great Slaughter amongſt them; after that, that he might ſtrengthen his weak Forces by foreign Aids, he ſent Ambaſſadors, with great Gifts, to the *Engliſh*, who were the neareſt to him. They received their Gifts, and were large enough in their Promiſes of Aſſiſtance; but, though the *Picts* earneſtly preſſed them, yet they put them off, laying the Fault on their own Combuſtions at home. The *Picts* being diſappointed of their Hope there, levied every Man of their own, that were able to bear Arms, and reſolved to venture their *All*; with this Reſolution they marched directly toward the Enemy, who were encamped not far from *Dundee*. As ſoon as they met, the Battel was ſo much the more ſharp, by reaſon of the old Hatred, and the recent and freſh Diſguſt, the many mutual Slaughters, and the frequent Injuries and Wrongs, committed on both Sides. The Conflict was a long time doubtful, when at laſt, an hundred *Pictiſh* Horſe roſe out of an Ambuſh; who, that they might ſeem to be a greater Number, had alſo mounted their Baggage Men, and Attendants, upon their Baggage Horſes, and ſo, ſhewing themſelves upon the tops of the Hills, they wheeled about, as if they would have ſet upon the Rear of the Army, which was engaged, That Apprehenſion ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the *Scots*, that they preſently ſcattered

tered, and fled into the neighbouring Woods; by which many of them ſaved their Lives, only ſome few were ſlain in the Fight, but more in Flight, by the nimble Baggagers, who ſet on horſeback. King *Alpinus*, and many of his Nobles were taken Priſoners, and inhumanly put to Death. The King's Head was faſtned to a Pole, and carried up and down the Army; 'till, at laſt, they ſet it up for a Spectacle in the moſt eminent Place of the greateſt Town they had, (which then was *Abernethy.*) The Place, where he was ſlain, as yet retains his Name, being called, *Bas Alpin*, i. e. *The Death of Alpin.*

KENNETHUS II. *The ſixty ninth King.*

ALPINUS being ſlain, after he had reigned three Years, his Son *Kennethus* ſucceeded him. The next Summer, the *Picts* having ſome Hopes, that if they did but endeavour it, the *Scots* might eaſily be driven out of *Britain*, as they had been heretofore; they hired ſome Troops of the *Engliſh*, and joyned them with whatever Forces of their own they could raiſe. But a ſudden Sedition aroſe betwixt the Commanders, and that ſo outragious an one, that King *Brudus* himſelf could not compoſe it, ſo that the Army disbanded upon it; and *Brudus* died about three Months after, rather of a broken Heart, than of any Diſeaſe. His Brother *Druskenus* was declared King in his room, who, in vain attempted to compoſe things at home; but in the interim, ſome young *Scots* ſtole away the Head of *Alpinus*, from the Place where the *Picts* had ſet it up, and brought it to *Kennethus*; he not only commended them for their noble Exploit, but alſo rewarded them with a Grant of ſome Lands. *Kennethus* ſummoned together an Aſſembly to conſult about a War with the *Picts*; and though the King himſelf, and the forwardeſt of the Soldiers, were for revenging the Treachery of ſuch a perfidious People; yet, the major Part, and eſpecially the graver Sort, thought it more adviſeable to ſtay, 'till their Forces which had been weakened in former Wars had recovered themſelves afreſh; in the mean time, they would neither ſeek Peace, nor yet make War with the *Picts*, 'till a better Opportunity, for either, ſhould offer it ſelf. This Opinion prevailed, ſo that there was Peace betwixt the two Nations, for three Years, as if it had been by common Conſent. But in the fourth Year, *Kennethus*, eager to renew the War, and yet finding few of the Nobles of his Mind, invited them to a Banquet: The Entertainment continued 'till late at Night, ſo that they were all obliged in neceſſity

to lodge there, which they might the more eaſily do, in Regard every Man, according to the Cuſtom of his Anceſtors, lay on the Ground, and ſo they diſpoſed of them in that large Houſe, having nothing under them but Leaves and G[illegible]. When they were gone to ſleep, the King ſuborned a Youth one of his Kinſmen, commanding him to cloth himſelf with the Skins of Fiſhes, dried in the Wind, and ſo to enter by Night; and to ſpeak through a long Tube, that the Voice might better reach their Ears at a diſtance, and thus to exhort them to War; as if a Meſſage had been ſent them from Heaven to that Purpoſe. The Nobles were ſuddenly awakened at this Voice, which at that time ſeem'd to them to be greater and more auguſt than a Man's; many alſo were laden with Wine, and the ſudden flaſhing of Light, from the Fiſhes Skins, darting upon their drowſie Eyes, and dazling them, put them into a very great Aſtoniſhment; in fine, an unwonted Apparition affected the Eyes of them all, and a kind of religious Conſternation ſeized upon their Minds. And that which increaſed the Admiration was, that the Meſſenger, ſtripping himſelf of his diſguiſed Habit, and, by a ſecret Paſſage, conveighing himſelf away, as in an Inſtant, ſeemed to have vaniſhed out of Sight. When the News of it was brought to the King in the Morning, and many added to the Story, as is uſual in ſuch Caſes, he was pleaſed to affirm too that he ſaw the like Apparition in his Sleep. Immediately a War was concluded upon by the general Conſent of them all, as if they had received the Word of Command from God himſelf. When the Armies were led forth to Battel, as ſoon as ever they came in Sight one of another, every one ran upon the Enemy, which ſtood next to him, without ſo much as ſtaying for the Command of their Captains. The Fight was as fiercely continued, as it was eagerly begun. At laſt, the Victory inclined to the *Scots*. Thoſe, in whom the *Picts* put moſt Confidence, proved their Ruin. For the *Engliſh Troops*, ſeeing that all things were managed without Order, and by tumultuary Force, retreated to the next Hill, as if they had only been Spectators of other Mens Dangers. There was a mighty Slaughter made of the *Picts*. For the *Scots* were highly provoked againſt them, not only by their ancient Hatred, but by the Remembrance of their later Cruelty againſt *Alpinus*, and againſt the reſt, whom they had taken Priſoners with that King: But that which chiefly inflamed their Minds, was a Watch-Word, ſpread abroad among the *Scots*, *That they ſhould remember* Alpinus; The Moment that Word was given, they ſpared neither Age, nor any Rank of Men: The Hills coverd the Retreat of the *Engliſh*, and the *Scots* were

were ſo vehemently intent upon revenging themſelves on the *Picts*, that they could not purſue them. This Victory reduced the *Picts* to ſo low an Ebb, and rendred their Condition ſo deplorable, that, though they endeavoured to make Peace, yet all was in vain, for the *Scots* would hearken to no Conditions, but the full and entire Surrender of their whole Kingdom. The next Year, when all Places were ſurrendred up beyond *Forth*, Northwards; and Garriſons placed in them, as *Kennethus* was marching his Army againſt thoſe on this Side of it, word was brought, that ſome of the Garriſons, which he had left behind, were taken, and the Soldiers ſlain: Upon theſe Advices, he marched his Army back againſt the rebellious *Picts*, of whom he ſpared neither Man, Woman, nor Child; but put the whole Country to Fire and Sword. *Druskenus*, ſeeing the *Picts* were inraged, almoſt like Madmen, at the Cruelty exerciſed over them, and knowing now that they muſt fight, not for their Kingdom, but for their very Lives, and the Lives of their Wives and Children, gathered together all the Force that ever he could make; and ſo paſſing the *Forth*, came to *Scone*, a Town ſituate on the Bank of the River *Tay*, where he waited for the coming of the *Scots*: There they again endeavoured to make a Pacification, offering to ſurrender all the Country beyond the *Forth*, but the *Scots* would have all, or none. The Fight, as muſt be ſuch Circumſtances of Neceſſity, was very fierce. At laſt, the *Picts* after an obſtinate Reſiſtance were broken, and the River *Tay*, putting a Stop to their Flight, was the Cauſe of their Deſtruction. For *Druskenus*, and almoſt all his Nobility, being not able to paſs it, were there ſlain: And the common Soldiers had no better Fortune; for as they crowded to the River in ſeveral Places to ſave themſelves, they laboured alſo under the ſame Incapacity of paſſing it, and ſo they every one of them loſt their Lives. Hence it is, (as I judge,) that our Writers ſay, we fought with the *Picts* ſeven times in one Day. The Force of the *Picts* was wholly broken by this Overthrow, and *Kennethus* laid *Lothian* and the adjacent Country waſte, together with thoſe beyond the *Forth*, that they might never be able to recover themſelves again. The Garriſons, for Fear, ſurrendred themſelves. Thoſe few *Picts*, who were left alive, fled into *England*, in an indigent and neceſſitous Condition.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Book VI.

AS I formerly called *Fergusius* the firſt, and after him, *Fergusius* the ſecond, the Founders of the *Scotiſh* Kingdom, and that with very great Reaſon; ſo I may juſtly reckon *Kennethus*, the Son of *Alpinus*, a third Founder of it. *Fergus* the firſt, from a mean Beginning, advanced the Affairs of the *Scots* to ſuch an height, that they were envy'd by their Neighbours. *Fergus* the ſecond, when they were baniſhed and diſperſed into remote Countries, and in the Judgment of their Enemies, almoſt extirpated, did, as it were, recal them to Life, and, in a few Years, reſtored them to their ancient Splendor. But *Kennethus* was ſo couragious, as to accept of the Kingdom, at a time when Affairs

Affairs were almoſt become deſperate; nay, at a time when others thought, that the ſmall Remainder of *Scots* could hardly have been defended, or kept together; and not only ſo, but he confounded the Power of the Enemy, (tho' aſſiſted with foreign Aids, and big with a late triumphant Victory) in many ſharp, yet proſperous Fights; and, when he had thus weakned them, he drove them out of *Britanny*, and took from their King the Royal Name, which to this Day he could never recover again. Tho' theſe were the *great* Atchievements, yet they were not the *greateſt* he performed; For, as he enlarged his Kingdom, and made it the double of what it was before; ſo he governed it in ſuch a manner, both by making new Laws, and alſo by reviving the old ones; that neither Licentiouſneſs, the Child of War, nor Pride, the Product of Victory, nor any Footſteps of thoſe Evils, which are wont to accompany Luxury and Eaſe, did appear, during his Life. Nay, the Affairs of *Scotland* ſeem'd to be ſupported for many Years after, by the Laws, called, by Poſterity, the *Macalpin* Laws, as much as they were by Arms. But to let theſe things paſs; I ſhall proceed to relate his noble Acts, as I have begun. *Kennethus*, having driven out the *Picts*, diſtributed their Lands amongſt his Soldiers, according to each Man's Valour and Merit: who out of an Ambition gave many Places and Countries new Names, and abrogated the old ones. He parted *Horeſtia* betwixt two Brothers, *Æneas* and *Mern*; one part of which, in old *Scotiſh*, is yet called *Æneja*, (they, who more affect the *Engliſh* Speech, call it *Angus:*) the other, *Mern*. The Country adjoyning from *Tay* to the *Forth*, was called by the Ancients, *Roſs*, *i. e.* a *Peninſula*; there are ſome Signs of the Name yet remaining, as *Culroſs*, a Town, which is, as it were, the Back or hinder Part of *Roſs*; and *Kinroſs*, which ſignifies the Head of *Roſs*. Now at this day, all that County is called *Fife*, from an Eminent Perſon, called, *Fifus*, whoſe Sirname, they ſay, was *Duffus*; *Barodunum*, a Town in *Lothian*, or, as ſome call it, *Dunbar*, was ſo called (as it is thought) from a great Man, named, *Bar*. *Lothian* had its name, not long ago, from *Lothus* King of the *Picts*. *Cuningham* is wholly a *Daniſh* Word; uſed, as I think, by the *Danes*, after the Death of *Kennethus*, who poſſeſſed that Country for ſome Years, having driven the *Scots* beyond the Wall of *Severus*; for *Cuningham* ſignifies, in the *Daniſh* Language, the King's Houſe or Palace. 'Tis alſo probable, That *Merch* was ſo called by the *Danes*, becauſe it fixed the Limits betwen both Kingdoms. As for *Edinburgh*, either by the groſs Ignorance, or perverſe Ill-will of ſome, it is ſometimes called, *Vallis Doloroſa*, *i. e.* The

Doleſom Valley, and ſometimes, *Caſtrum Puellarum*, *Maiden-Caſtle*; the Name in it ſelf is not very obſcure, tho' it is made ſo by ill Management. They borrowed thoſe Names from the *French* Fables, which were deviſed within the Space of 300 Years, laſt paſt. This is certain, that the ancient *Scots* called it, *Dunedinum*; the latter *Edinburgum*, in which they follow the Country Cuſtom in impoſing of Names; whereas, that Caſtle in a middle Appellation between both, I think may be better named, *Edinum*. But enough in this Place concerning the *old* and the *new* Names of the Countries, of which I have ſpoken more largely, before. To return then to *Kennethus*; Having enlarged his Kingdom, as I ſaid before, and ſettled wholſome Laws for the good Adminiſtration of the Government; he endeavoured farther to confirm his Royal Authority by mean and trivial Things, even bordering upon Superſtition it ſelf; There was a Marble-Stone, which *Simon Breccus* is reported to have brought into *Ireland* out of *Spain*, which *Fergus*, the Son of *Ferchard*, is alſo ſaid to have brought over into *Scotiſh Albion*, and to have placed it in *Argyle*. This Stone *Kennethus* removed out of *Argyle*, to *Scone* by the River *Tay*, and placed it there, incloſed in a Chair of Wood. The Kings of *Scotland* were wont to receive both the Kingly Name and the Royal Robes, ſiting in that Chair, 'till the Days of *Edward* the *Firſt*, King of *England*, of whom in his Place. *Kennethus* tranſlated the Epiſcopal See, which the *Picts* had placed at *Abernethy*, to *Fanum Reguli*, which the After-Ages called St. *Andrews*. But the ancient Scots-Biſhops, being choſen out of Monaſteries, not then contending for Place or Honour, but for Sanctity and Learning, performed their Functions every where, occaſionally, as Opportunity offered, without Envy or Emulation; no certain Dioceſſes being allotted to them, in regard the Eccleſiaſtical Function was not yet made a Poſt of Gain and worldly Lucre. After this ſort, *Kennethus* reigned twenty Years. In the Beginning of his fifth Year he overthrew the *Picts*, as the *Black Book* of *Paſley* hath it. The other ſixteen Years, after he had deſtroyed the Government of the *Picts*, he lived in great Tranquillity, having maintain'd Peace at home, by reaſon of his juſt Government; and Peace abroad, by the Power of his Arms. He enlarged his Dominions from the *Orcades* to the Wall of *Adrian*. A. C. 854.

DONALDUS

Donaldus V. *The ſeventieth King.*

DONALDUS, his Brother, was choſen King next, who quite altered the whole publick Diſcipline, together with his own Demeanour. For, whereas, in the Life-time of *Alpinus*, he made a ſhew of Temperance, and, by that means, had obtained the Love of the better ſort; When his Brother was dead, as if he had been freed from all Fear and Reſtraint, he gave himſelf up wholly to Pleaſure. And, as if there had been no danger from any Enemy without, he neglected all military Study, and kept almoſt none about him, but Hunters, Hawkers and Inventors of new Pleaſures. Upon theſe he ſpent the publick Revenue. The younger Sort, who were prone to Pleaſures, extoll'd the King to the Skies, as a noble and generous Prince; and ſcoffed at the Parſimony of former Times, as rude and illiberal. The ancient Counſellors, ſeeing all things likely to run to Ruin in a very ſhort time, came to the King, and put him in mind of his Duty; of his preſent Evils and Miſcarriages; and of the Dangers impending upon him. He, nevertheleſs, perſiſted in his ſlothful kind of Life, which gave Opportunity to the Remainders of the *Picts* (as if an hopeful Alarm had been given them, even from the very bottom of Deſpair) to addreſs themſelves to *Osbreth* and *Ella*, two of the moſt potent and prevalent Kings of the *Engliſh*, (for then *England* was divided into many Kingdoms.) They bewail'd their Misfortune to them; and crav'd earneſtly their Aſſiſtance; promiſing, that they and all their Poſterity would become Feudataries to the *Engliſh*, in caſe they obtained the Victory over the *Scots*, which, they prejudg'd, would be an eaſy one, by reaſon of the ſlothful Nature of *Donald*. The *Engliſh* were eaſily perſuaded, and having ſettled things at home, they led out their Army into *Merch*, from whence they ſent Heralds to *Donaldus*, requiring, that the Lands which the *Scots* had forceably taken away from the *Picts*, their Friends and Allies, might be reſtored; which, unleſs he would do, they would not neglect their old Confederates, who had newly ſolicited their Aſſiſtance. *Donaldus*, by the Advice of the Eſtates, which, in this time of imminent Danger, he had (tho' unwillingly) convened, levied an Army, and met with the Enemy at *Jedd*, a River of *Teviotdale*, where he joined Battel, and overthrew *Osbreth*, forcing him to fly to the next Mountains: From thence he marched on by *Tweed* to the Sea ſide, recovered *Berwick*, which had been taken by the *Engliſh*, and was again deſerted by them, upon the ill News of the Succeſs of the Battel; where he

took all the Ships riding in the Mouth of the River, and ſeized upon all the Enemies Proviſions there. He got there an Opportunity to renew his interrupted Pleaſures; and, as if his Enemies had been wholly overthrown, he indulged himſelf in all kind of Voluptuouſneſs. The *Engliſh*, who, in the laſt Fight were rather ſcattered than ſubdued, underſtanding by their Spies, the Careleſneſs and Security of the *Scots*, gathered together what Force they could out of the Neighbourhood, and ſet upon the *Scots* by Night, who were drown'd in Wine, and faſt aſleep, making a great Slaughter amongſt them; but they took the King who was between ſleeping and waking, Priſoner. From thence they followed the Courſe of their Victory, and to make their Revenge more compleat, they divided their Army into two Parts, and ſo marched into the Enemies Country; part of them when they came to the *Forth*, got Veſſels, and endeavoured to paſs over by Water into *Fife*, but a great Number of them were ſhipwrackt, and drowned; and the reſt, by the Violence of the Storm, were forced back to the Shore, where they embarked; from whence, marching to *Sterling*, and joining with the reſt of their Army, they paſs over the *Forth*, on a Bridge. The *Scots*, after their flight, gathered themſelves into a Body thereabouts, having the bare ſhew, rather than the Strength, of an Army; and ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Engliſh* for Peace; which they did not refuſe, becauſe their Strength was weakned by the unſucceſsful Battel of *Jedd*, and alſo by the late Shipwrack. The *Engliſh* propounded hard Conditions, yet ſuch as the preſent State of Affairs made to ſeem tolerable. As that, *The* Scots *ſhould yield up all the Land, which was within the Wall of* Severus; *That their Bounds ſhould be beneath* Sterling, *the* Forth; *beneath* Dunbarton, *the* Clyd; *and between the two Rivers, the Wall of* Severus. Amidſt ſuch hard Terms of Peace, yet this happened, as welcome as it was unexpected, to the *Scots*, that no mention was made concerning the Reduction of the *Picts*. For the *Engliſh* and *Britains* divided the Lands, ſurrendred up, betwixt them; the River being a Boundary betwixt them both. There are ſome, who think, the Money yet called *Sterling* was then coined there. The Lands being thus divided, the *Picts*, who thought to recover their own, being eluded of their Hopes, paſſed over to the *Cimbrians* and *Scandians*, (*i. e.*) (as we moderns ſpeak) to *Denmark* and *Norway*. Thoſe few of them, that ſtaid in *England*, were all put to death by them, upon pretence, that they would attempt Innovations by their ſoliciting of Foreign Aids. *Donaldus*, after he had made Peace, upon his Return was honourably received, partly, out of Reſpect to his Anceſtors,

ceſſors, and partly in Hopes of his Repentance and Amendment. But he, perſevering in his wonted Slothfulneſs, the Nobles fearing that ſo ſluggiſh a Perſon, who would neither hearken to the Counſels of his Friends, nor be reclaimed by his own Calamities, would loſe that part of the Kingdom which remained, confin'd him to a Priſon; where, either out of Grief and Anguiſh of Heart, as having his Pleaſure reſtrained; or, out of Fear of being made a publick Spectacle of Scorn, he laid violent Hands on himſelf, in the ſixth Year of his Reign. Others report, that this *Donaldus* performed many noble Exploits, both at home and abroad; and that he died a natural Death at *Scone*, in the Year of our Lord 858.

CONSTANTINUS II. *The ſeventy firſt King.*

CONSTANTINUS, the Son of *Kennethus*, was crowned after him, at *Scone*; he was a Prince of a great Spirit, and highly valiant. He was deſirous to wipe away the Ignominy received under *Donaldus*, and to enlarge his Kingdom to the Bounds his Father had left; but he was otherwiſe adviſed by his Nobles, becauſe the greateſt part of the Soldiery were ſlain under *Donaldus*; and the Remainder was grown ſo corrupt, that it was not fit to put Arms into their Hands. This being ſo, the King firſt bent his Care to amend the publick Diſcipline; and accordingly, he reduced the Order of Prieſts to their ancient Parſimony, by ſevere Laws, in regard they had left off preaching, and had given themſelves up to Luxury, Hunting, Hawking, and to Courtly-Pomp. He cauſed the young Soldiers who were grown effeminate with Voluptuouſneſs and Eaſe, to lie on the Ground, and to eat but once a Day. Drunkards were puniſhed with Death. He forbid all Sports, but thoſe which ſerved to make the Body hardy, and inure the Mind to War. By theſe Laws, the Soldiery of the Kingdom were brought to a better paſs; when preſently, a certain Iſlander, named *Evenus*, whom the King himſelf had made Governor of *Loch-Abyr*, a Man of an unquiet Spirit, and ambitious of Dominion, roſe up in Arms; he knowing, that the military Youth could not well ſtomach the Severity of theſe new Laws, firſt, gathered together a ſmall Number, and then a greater, complaining of the preſent State of things. And when he found his Diſcourſe was acceptable to them, he eaſily perſuaded them to conſpire about the taking off of *Conſtantine*. But being more active than cautious in gathering Strength to their Faction, they were betrayed by ſome of their own Confederates, and ſlain, before they knew any Forces were coming againſt them.

Evenus,

Evenus, the Head of the Conſpiracy, was hanged. About this time it was, that the *Danes*, then the moſt potent and flouriſhing Nation amongſt the *Germans*, were ſolicited by the *Picts* againſt the *Scots*, and alſo by one *Buernus*, (or as others write, *Verna*, whoſe Wife had been raviſhed by *Osbreth*) which they, being over-ſtocked with young People at home, eaſily aſſented to, and ſo they came over in numerous Tranſports, and with a great Navy, into *Britain*. Their firſt Deſcent was in *Fife*, there they ſlew all they met, without Diſtinction, out of Hatred to the *Chriſtian* Religion; and dividing their Army, they ſpoiled the Country two ſeveral ways. *Conſtantinus* made head againſt them, and firſt he ſet upon that Brigade, which *Hubba*, Brother to the *Daniſh* King, commanded; who, being hindred from joyning the other Body of Troops, by the ſudden ſwelling of the River *Levin*, were there eaſily overcome and ſlain, except a few of his Men, who could ſwim over the River, and they fled to their other Commander, called *Humber*. *Conſtantinus* purſued them, and marched as if he went to a Prey, not to a Battel, and overtook them not far from the Town of *Carail*, but not before they had well fortify'd their Camp. For the *Danes*, being very provident after their late unhappy Fight, had made a kind of defenſive Fortification, upon ſome ſmall winding Rocks, near the Shore, by heaping up a Parcel of Stones together, which lay thereabouts. In that poſture, *Conſtantine* aſſaulted them; where, by reaſon of the Incommodiouſneſs of the place, and the Deſpair of the *Danes*, he paid dear for his Raſhneſs; for he loſt a great part of his Army; he himſelf was taken Priſoner, haled into a little Cave, hard by, and there ſlain. There are ſome Monuments of this Fight remaining to this Day, as the Cave, the Circumference of their Camp, which was not cut out regularly, or by equal Spaces, but turning and winding according to the Bending of the Rocks. Some lay the Blame of this unlucky Accident upon the *Picts*, who, being admitted into *Conſtantine*'s Fealty and Army, were the firſt that ran away, and drew the greateſt part of the Army after them. The *Danes* gathered up the Spoils, and departed to their Ships. The King's Body was found the day after, and carried to the Sepulchres of his Anceſtors in the Iſland *Icolumb-kil*. He poſſeſſed the Kingdom ſixteen Years, and died in the Year of our Lord 874.

ETHUS,

ETHUS, *The seventy second King.*

HIS Brother, *Ethus*, succeeded him; from the Swiftneſs of his Feet, ſirnamed *Alipes*; he was elected King upon no higher, or other, Account, but becauſe he gathered together the Relicts of the Army, which was ſcattered by the *Danes*. Amongſt the Prodigies of his Time, they reckon thoſe Sea-Fiſhes then appearing, which are ſeldom ſeen, and not after long Intervals of Time, but they never appear but in Sholes, nor without ſome unlucky Preſage. The Common People call them *Monachi-marini*, *i. e. Sea Monks*; others give them the Title of *Baſſineti*, *i. e.* hooded, or helmeted Fiſh. *Ethus*, quite unmindful both of his Brother and of his Anceſtors, and giving himſelf up to all manner of Vices, and drawing the young Soldiers, who were by Nature very eaſily ſeduced along with him, was taken Priſoner by a Combination of the Nobles; and, after all the flagitious Acts of his Life had been declared to the People, in a long Speech, he was forced to abjure the Government, in the ſecond Year of his Reign. Three Days after he died in Priſon, for Grief. That which chiefly offended the Men of military Diſpoſition, was, his ſlothful Inactivity, becauſe when the *Danes* were at War with the *Engliſh*, and many bloody Battels had been fought between them, yet he never bethought himſelf of the recovering the Country he had loſt; nor would he ſuffer himſelf to be ſo much as put in mind of it, by others. Some write, that he was not forced to relinquiſh his Kingdom, but that he was wounded in a Combat by *Gregorius*, who was deſirous of getting the Reins of the Empire into his own hands, and that he died two Months after, *Anno Chriſti* 875.

GREGORIUS, *The ſeventy third King.*

GREGORIUS, the Son of *Dongallus*, was ſet up King in his ſtead: a Perſon of a truly Royal Spirit, in whom no Virtue was wanting, that was requiſite to compleat a Monarch. Firſt, he reconciled all thoſe to him, who were againſt him when he endeavoured to gain the Throne; and then, he proceeded to compoſe the Diſcords of the Nobles amongſt themſelves; He ſo tempered the Severities of his Government with Affability, that he got the Command of his Subjects more by Love, than by Fear: He reſtored the *old* Laws, concerning the Immunity of the Miniſters of the Church, (who were but in the nature of Slaves, under the *Picts*)

Picts) or elſe he made *New*, to the ſame purpoſe. His firſt Expedition was into *Fife* againſt the *Picts*, left there by the *Danes*, whilſt they were employing their Arms againſt the *Engliſh*. He drove them not out of *Fife* only, but out of *Lothian*, and *Merch* too. The *Danes*, when he came to *Berwick*, fearing, if they ſhould have any Misfortune, the *Engliſh* would be upon their Backs too, durſt not join in a Field-Fight with *Gregory*; but ſent part of their Forces over the River into *Northumberland*, commanding them to join with a ſmall Brigade of their Country-men, who had gathered together, and were newly landed, there; the reſt of them entered *Berwick* to ſtrengthen that Garriſon. But the *Engliſh*, who were, but unwillingly, under the Command of the *Danes*, (as being Men of a different Religion from them) gave Admiſſion to the *Scots* in the Night-time, by which means all the *Danes* were put to the Sword. From thence, *Gregory* marched into *Northumberland*, and fought a proſperous Battel againſt *Hardnute*, where he made ſo great a Slaughter of them, that their Numbers, which were lately formidable to all *Britain*, were mightily diminiſhed, partly by *Gregory* of *Scotland*, and partly by *Alfrid* of *England*. *Gregory* took in all *Northumberland*, and gave free Leave to thoſe *Engliſh* that had a mind, to depart; and he very courteouſly diſtributed Lands among the reſt, who choſe to remain there. The greateſt part of the *Engliſh* ſtaid behind; partly out of Love to their native Soil; partly by reaſon of the King's Bounty to them, and partly alſo for Fear of their Enemies. For, as they had, for many Years then paſt, entred into ſeveral cruel Engagements with the *Danes*, the Victory being many times uncertain, many of the *Engliſh* choſe rather to be under the Dominion of the *Scots*, who, though formerly Enemies, were yet *Chriſtians*, than either to fall into the Power of the bloody *Danes*, or, to hope for uncertain Aids from their own Countrymen; eſpecially, ſince things were in ſuch a general Confuſion over all *Britain*, that the *Engliſh* knew not which Party to ſuccour firſt. After he had chaſtiſed the *Danes*, to ſo ſmart a Degree, that he expected no more Trouble from them, he turned his Arms upon the *Britons*, who, as yet, held ſome of the *Scotiſh* Dominions; But he made Peace with them too, upon their reſtoring the ſaid Lands, and promiſing to aſſiſt him againſt the *Danes*, if they ſhould return; and upon that, he disbanded his Army. But the *Britons*, after their Return home, repented of the Peace they had made; and entring *Scotland* again in an hoſtile manner, they were driving away a great Booty, but *Gregory* met them at *Loch-Maban*, and, after a bloody Fight, overthrew them, and *Conſtantine*,

ſtantine, their King, fell in the Field. The *Britons*, having received this Fruit of their ill Counſel, made *Herbert*, the Brother of *Conſtantine*, King; and then began to think, in what a dangerous Caſe they were, having both the *Scots* and *Danes* their Enemies; and their Alliance with the *Engliſh* ſeldom long-liv'd. Upon this Conſideration, they ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Scots* for Peace, who would not hearken to any ſuch thing, unleſs *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland* were reſtored to them, which was accordingly done, and the Peace made on thoſe Conditions. About the ſame time, there came alſo Ambaſſadors from *Alured* of *England*, partly, to congratulate the Victory over the *Danes*, which ought (ſaid they) to be juſtly acceptable to all *Chriſtians*; and partly, to enter into a new League againſt all the Enemies of the *Chriſtian* Faith and Religion. Peace was concluded on theſe Conditions; "That they ſhould oppoſe a foreign Enemy with "their joynt Forces, if they made a Deſcent into the Bor-"ders of either People; and that the *Scots* ſhould quietly en-"joy what they had got from the *Danes*." Peace being concluded, on thoſe Terms, and a League made and eſtabliſh'd, word was brought *Gregory* upon his Return, that the *Iriſh* had made an Irruption into *Galway*. The Cauſe of the War was pretended to be, becauſe the Men of *Galway* had in a hoſtile manner ſeized upon, and plundered ſome Galleys, driven on their Coaſts, belonging to the Inhabitants of *Dublin*, a City in *Ireland*. The *Iriſh*, hearing of *Gregory*'s coming, in great Conſternation retired preſently, with their Prey to their Ships; and *Gregory*, with a good Navy, and ſtrong Army, as ſoon as he could with conveniency, tranſported himſelf into *Ireland* alſo. *Duncan*, or *Donatus*, or rather *Dunachus*, was, at that time, their King; but being under Age, *Brienus* and *Cornelius*, two of the moſt powerful of the Nobility next to him, had divided the whole Land into two Factions. But patching up a Truce at the Arrival of a foreign Enemy, they pitched and fortified their Camps apart, near the River *Bann*, a Place which ſeemed convenient enough for that Purpoſe. Their End in ſo doing, was, to take off the Edge of *Gregory*'s Valour by delay, and to force him to withdraw his Army from a foreign haraſſed Country, for want of Proviſions. *Gregory* ſmelt out their Deſign, and therefore, very ſecretly, in the Night, he ſent part of his Army to ſeize upon an Hill which was, as it were, over *Brienus*'s Head. The Day after, when the Battel was joyned, in the Heat of the Fight, they threw down mighty Stones into his Camp, which cruſhed many of his Men to Pieces, and ſo terrify'd the reſt, that their Ranks were broken; and

they fled away in great Diſorder and Confuſion. *Cornelius*, hearing of the Event of this Fight, withdrew his Army, without ſtriking a Blow, into Places of greater Safety. *Brienus* was ſlain in his Camp; the reſt had as much Quarter given them, as poſſible, by *Gregory*'s Command. He then marched over the Country without any Depopulation at all, which Lenity occaſioned many rather to ſubmit themſelves to the Mercy of the King, than to try it out by Force. The fortified Towns were ſtrengthened with Garriſons. *Gregory* reduced *Dundalk* and *Drogheda*, two ſtrong Places, made ſo both by Art and Nature; and then determined to march directly to *Dublin*. But, hearing that *Cornelius*, General of all the *Iriſh* Forces, was coming againſt him with a great Army, he turned aſide, fought with, and overthrew, him, following the Chaſe as far as *Dublin*, which he beſieged. But there was not Proviſion enough in the City for ſo many People, as had fled thither; ſo that, in a ſhort time, it was ſurrendred to him by *Cormachus*, the Biſhop of the City. *Gregory*, at his Entrance into it, did no Prejudice at all to any of the Inhabitants; but viſited King *Duncan*, his Kinſman, and proteſted, that he came not thither out of an ambitious Deſire to take away the Kingdom from him, or to amaſs up Riches for himſelf, but only to revenge the Injuries he had received. Accordingly he committed the Care of the young King to ſuch of his old Counſellors, as he judged moſt faithful to him; and himſelf bore the Name of his Tutor or Guardian, till he came to be of Age: He alſo put Garriſons into the Forts, and exacted an Oath from the Nobility; that they ſhould admit neither *Engliſh*, *Dane*, nor *Briton* into the Iſland, without his Permiſſion: He appointed Judges in convenient Places, who were to judge betwixt Man and Man in Matters of Controverſy, according to the Laws of the Country; and receiving ſixty Hoſtages for the Performance of thoſe Conditions, he returned home in Triumph. The Fame of his Juſtice made the Peace firmer for the future, than any Terror of Arms could have done. Having thus managed Matters both at home and abroad, he departed this Life in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, being no leſs eminent for his Juſtice and Temperance, than for his Valour and Magnanimity. So that he was juſtly ſirnamed, by his Countrymen, *Gregory* the *Great*. He died *Anno Chriſti* 892.

DONALDUS VI. *The ſeventy fourth King.*

DONALD, the ſixth of that Name, the Son of *Conſtantine* the ſecond, was made King, next after *Gregory*, having

ing been recommended by that his great Predeceſſor, before his Death, to the Nobility. He deceived not the Opinion, which Men had conceived of him, *i. e.* that he was a very prudent Prince; for he loved Peace no otherwiſe, than as he made it a time of Preparation for War: And when, for a long time, he had no Enemy to encounter with, yet he took Care, that the Soldiery ſhould not grow too luxurious, or by being corrupted by Eaſe and Reſt, grow inclinable to run into all manner of evil Practices. When a new Army of *Danes* drew near to the Coaſts of *Northumberland*, and lay at Anchor there for ſome Days, without prejudicing any body, *Donaldus* gathered an Army together, and being watchful of all Opportunities, went to guard that Province. But, hearing that the *Danes* had made a Deſcent upon the Country of the *Engliſh*, he ſent Aid to King *Alured*, who fought a bloody Battel with the *Danes*. Yet, after the Battel, he was content to admit them into Part of his Dominions, provided they would turn *Chriſtians*. Peace was made on thoſe Terms, the Army disbanded, and a new home-bred Commotion entertained *Donaldus* at his Return. There happened ſo great a Feud betwixt the *Roſſians*, and the *Merch*-men, cauſed by ſome ſmall Robberies at firſt, that more were ſlain by occaſional Combats, than if they had met in a pitched Battel. *Donald* marched thither, and, having ſlain the Heads of the Factions, reſtored Peace to the reſt. *Johannes Fordanus* a *Scotiſh* Chronologer, ſays, that in this Expedition he died at *Foreſs*, not without the Suſpicion of Poiſon; But *Boetius* affirms, that he returned to *Northumberland*, to ſee what would become of the Peace he had made with the *Danes*, of whom he was always ſuſpicious; and that he died there, after he had reigned eleven Years. His Memory was precious both to Rich and Poor. His Death was *A. C.* 903.

CONSTANTINE III. *The ſeventy fifth King.*

CONSTANTINE the third, the Son of *Ethus*, was ſubſtituted King in his room; a Man of no ill Diſpoſition, yet could he not be truly ſaid to be firmly and conſtantly good. The *Danes*, who could by no Promiſes, by no Perſuaſions whatſoever, incline *Gregory* and *Donald*, the two laſt Kings of the *Scots*, to take up Arms againſt the *Engliſh*, who were then *Chriſtians*, eaſily wrought upon *Conſtantine* by Gifts, and by the vain Hope of enlarging his Dominions, to make a League with them; which laſted ſcarce two Years, but the *Danes*, deſerting the *Scots*, ſtruck up a League with the *Engliſh*. This League had ſcarce continued four Years, before

before *Edward* of *England* gathered an Army ſpeedily together, and ſpoiled the Country of the *Danes*; by which they were reduced to ſuch Streights, that they were forc'd to return to the *Scots*, whom they had lately deſerted: To whom they ſwore moſt religiouſly, that they would for ever after obſerve the Amity, moſt inviolably, betwixt them. This ſecond League is reported to have been entred into, with great Ceremony, in the tenth Year of *Conſtantine*'s Reign. He gave, the ſame Year, *Cumberland* to *Malcolm*, Son of the laſt King, which was as an honourable *Omen* to him, that the next Reign ſhould be his own. And afterwards the ſame Cuſtom was obſerved, by ſome ſucceeding Kings, to the manifeſt diſanulling of the old way of convening the Eſtates, whoſe free Suffrages ought not to have been thus abridged; but this was like the Deſignation of the Conſuls, by the *Cæſars*, which put an End to the *Roman* Liberty. A War being now commenced between *Edward*, the Son of *Alured*, and the *Danes*; *Conſtantine* ſent Aids to the *Danes*, under the Conduct of *Malcolm*. He joined his Army with the *Danes*, and being ſuperior in Number, they haraſſed the adjoyning Countries of the *Engliſh*, and made great Devaſtation, whereſoever they came; to the End, that they might force the *Engliſh*, who had a far leſs numerous Army, to fight: Nay, they were ſo arrogantly confident of their Numbers, that, they thought, their Enemy would never ſo much as look them in the Face; ſo that now, as ſecure of the Victory, they began to talk of dividing the Spoil. But, *as Proſperity doth blind the Eyes of the Wiſe; ſo Adverſity, and the foreſight of Danger, is a good Schoolmaſter, even to the weaker ſide*; What the *Engliſh* wanted in Strength, they ſupplied with Art, Skill and Stratagem. Their Army was well ſeconded with Reſerves, and ſo they began the Fight; the firſt Ranks being commanded ſo to do, give ground, and under the Pretence of being diſcomfited, made a feint as if they were flying, that ſo, their Enemies purſuing them in Diſorder, they might again return upon them in that ſtraggling Poſture: *Athelſtan*, the baſe-born Son of *Edward*, was General of all the *Engliſh* Forces, as our Writers affirm; and *Graſton* alſo ſays the ſame thing: They make this *Athelſtan* guilty of Parricide, for killing his Father, and his two Brothers *Edred* and *Edwin*, whoſe Right it was immediately to ſucceed their Father, in the Kingdom: Fame increaſes the Suſpicion, that *Edward* was violently put to Death, becauſe it attributes to him the Title of a Martyr. For that Fact he was hated; and therefore, to recover the Favour of the People, he reſolved upon ſome eminent Enterprize, and accordingly determined at laſt

to

to expiate the Blood of his Kindred, by ſhedding that of his Enemies: In purſuance of this Reſolution, when he had fought ſtoutly for a time, he gave Ground by little and little; but afterward retreated with more Precipitation, and in greater Fear and Confuſion, as if he intended abſolutely to run away. The *Danes* and *Scots*, ſuppoſing themſelves Conquerors, were unwilling to make any brisk Purſuit, leſt the cowardlieſt of the Soldiers ſhould enjoy all the Booty, and therefore they returned to plunder their Camp. Upon that *Athelſtan* gave a Signal, and the *Engliſh* returning to their Colours, ſet upon them as they were ſcattered and laden with Spoil, and killed them like Dogs. The greateſt part of the *Scotiſh* Nobility was loſt in this Fight, who choſe rather to die on the Spot, than to undergo the Ignominy of deſerting their Companions of the War. *Malcolm* being much wounded, was carry'd off the Field by his own Men, and ſent the doleful Tidings of the Loſs of his Army to King *Conſtantine*, neither was the face of things more pleaſant amongſt the *Danes*. *Athelſtan*, during this Aſtoniſhment of his Enemies, took *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland* from the *Scots*, and *Northumberland* from the *Danes*. *Conſtantine* having not Force enough either to wage War, or to carry on Matters in Peace, called a Convention of the Eſtates, at *Abernethy*, and willingly reſigned the Kingdom, and betook himſelf to the *Culdei*, (certain Hermits, ſo called, living in Cells) Worſhippers of God, (for ſo the Monks of that Age were called) as into a Sanctuary, amongſt whom he ſpent the reſt of his Life at St. *Andrews*. Here the *Engliſh* Writers, who are profuſe enough in their own Praiſes, do affirm, That *Athelſtan* was the Monarch of all *Britanny*, and that the reſt, who had the Names of Kings, in *Albium*, were but precariouſly ſo, and his Feudataries only, as taking an Oath of Fidelity to him, as the ſupreme Lord. And they introduce many ignoble *Engliſh* Authors as Favourers of that Opinion; and to procure them the greater Credit, they add alſo *Marianus Scotus*, who was indeed an illuſtrious Writer. But here I deſire the Reader to take Notice, that there is not the leaſt mention of any ſuch thing in that Edition of *Marianus*, which was printed in *Germany*; but if they have another *Marianus*, different from him who is publickly read, and interpolated or foiſted by them, let them produce him if they can. Beſides, they being Men generally unlearned, do not in ſome Places ſufficiently underſtand their own Writers, neither do they take Notice, that *Bede*, *William* of *Malmſbury*, and *Geoffry* of *Monmouth*, do commonly call that part *Britain* over which the *Britains* ruled, *i. e.* That within the

Wall of *Adrian*; or, when they ſtretched their Dominions fartheſt, within the Wall of *Severus*; ſo that the *Scots* and *Picts* are oftentimes reckoned by them to be out of *Britain*, and are frequently called *Tranſmarine* People. And therefore, when they read, that the *Engliſh* ſometime reigned over all *Britanny*, they underſtand the Authors ſo, as if they meant all *Britanny*, *i. e. Albium* or *Albion*; whereas they do often circumſcribe *Britanny* within narrower Limits, as I have ſaid before: But of this I have ſpoken more largely in another Place. To return then to the Affairs of *Scotland*.

MALCOLM I. *The ſeventy ſixth King.*

CONSTANTINE having retired himſelf into the Cloyſter of the Monks, *Malcolm*, the Son of *Donald*, was declared King. *Athelſtan* being dead, and his Brother *Edward* reigning, *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland* revolted from the *Engliſh*, and returned to their old Maſters. Moreover, the *Danes*, who remained in *Northumberland*, ſent for *Avalaſſus*, their Countryman, of the Royal Progeny, who was baniſhed into *Ireland*, to make him King; *Edmund*, foreſeeing what Clouds of War were gathering over his Head, yielded up *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland* to *Malcolm*, upon this Condition, That he, who ſhould next ſucceed in the *Scotiſh* Kingdom, ſhould take an Oath to the King of *England*, as the Lord Paramount of that Country. Afterwards he eaſily reduced the *Danes*, who had been afflicted with ſo many Calamities; neither did he long ſurvive his Victory. The *Engliſh* choſe his Brother *Edred* King after him; againſt whom the *Danes*, who poſſeſſed *Northumberland*, and never cordially obſerved any Peace made with the *Engliſh*, rebell'd, and took from him many ſtrong and well fortify'd Places, whilſt he was buſied in other Parts of his Kingdom, and principally *York*; but he overcame them by the Aſſiſtance of 10000 *Scots*: *Malcolm* returning home, gave himſelf wholly up to the Arts of Peace; and, to cure the Inconveniencies occaſioned by the Wars, eſpecially Luxury and Bribery, he himſelf uſually viſited all the *Scots* Courts of Judicature once in two Years, and adminiſtred Juſtice with great Equity. At length, whilſt he was buſy in puniſhing Robbers, and in reſtraining the lewd Manners of the younger Sort, he was ſlain by ſome Conſpirators of *Murray*-Land, in the Night, in the fifteenth Year of his Reign. The Perpetrators of that Villany were, with great Diligence, ſought after, and found out by the Nobles; and, being apprehended, were put to ſeveral exquiſite Deaths, according to every ones ſhare of Demerit, in committing the Parricide. INDUL-

INDULFUS, *The ſeventy ſeventh King.*

INDULFUS reigned after him, who, having ſettled things in Peace at home, lived ſeven Years after in great Tranquillity; but in the eighth Year of his Reign the *Danes*, taking it amiſs that the Alliance with the *Engliſh* was preferred before theirs, and that a perpetual League was made between the two Kings againſt them, came with a Navy of fifty Ships into the Firth of *Forth*, when the *Scots* little expected any ſuch thing; inſomuch, that they had like to have given them an univerſal Overthrow by way of Surprize. In ſuch a ſudden Emergency all were full of Fear and Amazement; ſome carried their Goods into the midland Country, as a Place of more Safety; others came to the Sea-ſide, to hinder the Enemies landing. *Hago* and *Helricus* were the two Admirals of the Fleet. They endeavoured firſt to land in *Lothian*, and afterwards in *Fife*, but in vain; then they eſſayed to enter the *Firth* of the River *Tay*, but there alſo they were hindred from making any Deſcent on Land; ſo that they coaſted about the Shores of *Æneia* or *Angus*, of *Mern*, *Marr*, and *Buchan*; but in all Places being hindred from landing, they hoiſted their Sails and went into the main Ocean, as if they intended to return home. But within a few Days, when all was ſecure, they came back again, and having gotten a convenient place in *Boyn*, at the Mouth of the River *Cullin*, they there landed their Men without Oppoſition, before the Country People could give any Alarm of their Arrival. When *Indulfus* heard of their landing, he marched towards them, before they could well have any Notice of his coming; and firſt he ſet upon the ſtraggling Plunderers, and drove them to the reſt of their Army, but made no great Slaughter of them, becauſe the Camp of the *Danes* was near, to which they might make their Retreat. When the Armies came in ſight of each other, they both drew up in Battel array, and fell to it with equal Force and Courage: Whilſt they were thus fiercely fighting, *Grame* and *Dumbar*, with ſome Troops of *Lothian*-Men, appeared on the Rear of the *Danes*; which put them in ſuch a Pannick, that they all run away, ſome to their Ships, others to unknown Places, whitherſoever the Fear of the Enemy drove them: But the greater part of them drew up in the Form of a Circle, in a woody Vale, and there waited an occaſion of acting with Valour, or dying with the laſt Reſolution. *Indulfus*, as if his Enemies had been wholly overcome, rode up and down with a few Attendants, and, caſually lighting into their

Hands, was ſlain, at the beginning of the tenth Year of his Reign. Some ſay that he was kill'd by an Arrow, ſhot out of a Ship, having diſarmed himſelf, that he might be more nimble in the Purſuit, and preſs the more eagerly upon them, as they were going a Shipboard.

DUFFUS, *The ſeventy eighth King.*

AFTER his Death, *Duffus*, the Son of *Malcolm*, got the Kingdom; in the beginning of his Reign he made *Culenus*, Son of King *Indulfus*, Governor of *Cumberland*, and ſent him into the *Ebudæ*, which were then in War and Diſorder, by reaſon of the frequent Robberies committed there. For the young Soldiers of the Nobility, having got a great Pack of their Fellows about them, made the common People tributary to them, impoſing a pecuniary Mulct on every Family, beſides Free-quarter; and yet *Culenus* dealt not more harſhly with them, than with the very Governors themſelves of the Iſland, who ought to have reſtrained ſuch Outrages. He commanded, That, for the future, they, by whoſe Negligence theſe Diſorders had happen'd, ſhould make Satisfaction to the Commonalty, and alſo pay a Fine to the King. This Injunction ſtruck ſuch a Terror into theſe idle paultry Fellows, that many of them went over into *Ireland*, and there got their Living by their daily Labour. As this Matter was acceptable to the Commons, ſo it was as offenſive to the Noble Allies of thoſe who were baniſhed, and to many of the younger Sort, who were in love with that idle kind of Life. Theſe Men, in all their Meetings and Aſſemblies, did firſt ſecretly, and afterwards in the Preſence of a Multitude of ſuch as applauded them, begin openly to revile their King; alledging, That he deſpiſed the Nobility, and was drawn away and ſeduced by the Counſel of ſorry Prieſts; That he degraded and put Men of gentile Extraction to ſervile Offices; That he advanced the moſt abject of the People to the higheſt Honours; That, in fine, he made ſuch Medleys, as to turn every thing upſide down. They added farther, That, if things ſhould continue at that Paſs, either the Nobility muſt tranſport themſelves into other Countries; or elſe muſt make them a new King, who might govern the People by thoſe ancient Laws, by which the Kingdom had arrived to that heighth of Grandeur from ſuch a ſmall Beginning. Amidſt theſe Confuſions the King was ſeized with a new and unuſual Diſeaſe, and no evident Cauſe of it appearing, when all Remedies had been tried in vain, a Rumour was ſpread abroad, by I know not whom, that

he was bewitched: The Suſpicion of this Witchcraft aroſe either from ſome Indications of his Diſeaſe, or elſe becauſe his Body waſted and pined away by continual Sweating, and his Strength was ſo much decay'd, that the Phyſicians, who were ſent for far and near, knew not what to apply for his Relief. Thus, no *common* Cauſes of the Diſeaſe diſcovering themſelves, they e'en laid it to the Charge of a *ſecret* one. And whilſt all were intent on the King's Malady, at laſt News was brought, That nightly Aſſemblies and Conſpiracies were made againſt him at *Foreſs*, a Town in *Murray*: The Report was taken for Truth, there being nothing to contradict it; therefore ſome faithful Meſſengers were ſent to *Donald*, Governor of the Caſtle, in whom the King confided much, even in his greateſt Affairs, to find out the Truth of the Matter. He, from a Diſcovery made by a certain Harlot, whoſe Mother was noted for a Wizard, detected the whole Conſpiracy. For the young Girl having blabbed out, a few Days before, ſome Words concerning the Sickneſs and Death of the King; being apprehended and brought to the Rack to be tortured, at the very firſt ſight of it preſently declared what was deſigned againſt the Life of the King. Upon this ſome Soldiers were ſent, who found the Maid's Mother, and ſome other Goſſips, roaſting the King's Picture, made in Wax, by a ſoft Fire; their Deſign was, that as the Wax did leiſurely melt, ſo the King, being diſſolved into a Sweat, ſhould pine away by degrees; and when the Wax was quite conſumed, then, his Breath failing him, he ſhould preſently die: When this Picture of Wax was broken, and the Witches puniſhed, in the ſame Month (as ſome ſay) the King was freed from his Diſeaſe. Theſe things I deliver as I receiv'd them from our Anceſtors; what to think of this ſort of Witchcraft, I leave to the Judgment of the Reader, only minding him, That this Story was found amongſt our ancient *Archives* and Records. Amidſt theſe things, the Fear of the King being laid aſide, becauſe they hoped he would ſhortly die, many Robberies and Murders were committed every where. *Duffus*, having recovered his Strength, purſued the Robbers through *Murray*, *Roſs* and *Caithnes*, and kill'd many of them at ſeveral Skirmiſhes, as occaſion would permit; but he brought the Chief of them to *Foreſs*, that their Puniſhment might be the more conſpicuous in that Town. There *Donaldus*, Governor of the Town and Caſtle, petitioned the King to pardon ſome of his Relations, who were of the Plot; but, being denied, he fell into a mighty Indignation, as if he had been highly wronged: His whole Mind was taken up with the thoughts

of Revenge; for he judged, that his Deſerts from the King were ſo great, that he ought, let him have asked what he would, not to be denied: And beſides, the Wife of *Donald* finding that ſome of her Kindred too were like to ſuffer, did further inflame the already diſaffected Heart of her Husband, by artful and bitter Expreſſions; moreover exciting him to attempt the King's Death, affirming, That ſince he was Governor of the Caſtle, the King's Life was in his Power; and, having that Power, he might not only perpetrate the Fact, but conceal it, after it was committed: Accordingly, when the King, fatigu'd and weary'd out with Buſineſs; was founder aſleep than ordinary, and his Attendants, made drunk by *Donald*, were laid faſt in a dead Sleep alſo; he ſent in *Aſſaſſins*, of which no Soul was aware, and after they had murther'd the King, they carry'd him out ſo cunningly a back way, that not ſo much as a drop of Blood appear'd; and ſo he was bury'd two Miles from the Abby of *Kinloſs*, under a little Bridge, in a blind place, having graſſy Turfs of Earth caſt over him, that there might be no ſign of any Ground which was digg'd up. This ſeems a more likely Story to me, than what others write, that the courſe of the River was turn'd, and ſo his Body was caſt into a hole at bottom; but when the Waters were return'd again to their own Channel, then his Grave, ſuch as it was, was cover'd: Beſides, the Executioners of that bloody Fact were ſent away, becauſe there is an Opinion, receiv'd from our Anceſtors, which as yet obtains amongſt the Vulgar, *That Blood will iſſue from a dead Body many Days after the Party's being murder'd, if the Murderer be preſent, juſt as if the Fact had been but newly committed.* The Day after, when the Report was ſpread abroad that the King was miſſing, and that his Bed was all ſprinkled over with Blood; *Donald*, as if he had been ſurpriz'd at the Atrocity of the Fact, flies into the King's Bed-Chamber, and, as if he had been mad with Anger and Revenge, he ſlew the Officers appointed to attend him; after that, he preſently made diligent Enquiry every where, if any Diſcovery of the dead Body could be made. The Reſt being amaz'd at the Action, and afraid too of their own ſelves, return'd every one to his own Houſe. Thus this good King was moſt inhumanly and impiouſly murder'd in the Flower of his Age, after he had reign'd four Years and ſix Months; and as ſoon as they conveniently could, the Eſtates aſſembled to create a new King.

CULENUS,

CULENUS, *The ſeventy ninth King.*

CULENUS, the Son of *Indulfus*, being made King by the Aſſembly of the Eſtates, the next thing that was done was to enquire into the Murder of King *Duffus*; and they made the more haſte to examine that Affair, becauſe of ſome Prodigies that had happen'd, *one* of which ſeem'd particularly to regard the Murder. An Hawk was *ſlain*, truſs'd by an Owl, and his Throat cut by him: The other Prodigy was alſo referr'd to the ſame thing, in the Interpretation of the Vulgar. For ſix whole Months after the Murder was committed, extraordinary Fires appeared in the Element; the Air was agitated with extraordinary Winds; nay, the Heavens were ſo colour'd and defac'd with Clouds, that neither Sun nor Moon could be ſeen in *Scotland* all that time. This made all Mankind intent upon revenging the Death of the good young King; and, to that purpoſe, *Culenus* went into *Murray*, hoping to find ſome ſurer Diſcoveries of the Murder upon the Spot where it was committed. *Donald* hearing of his coming, and conſcious to himſelf of his nefarious Cruelty and Parricide, of which alſo his over-curious, and ſeemingly wild Inquiſitiveneſs, made in Search after the Authors thereof, rendred him ſtill more ſuſpected, procured a Ship at the Mouth of the River *Spey*; where, with ſome others, he embarked himſelf, unknown even to his Wife and Children. This he did out of Fear, leſt the Truth ſhould have been extorted from him by the Rack. His haſty Flight, his dejected Countenance (as it was obſerved) his few Attendants, his trembling at his Entrance into the Ship, which was but caſually riding there, without any Preparation for his Voyage, rais'd ſo great a Suſpicion of him in the Minds of all who were preſent, that they forbore not to vent all manner of Contumelies againſt him; calling him an impious, ſacrilegious Fellow, and a Parricide, and what other black terms of Reproach their inflamed Anger could ſuggeſt. They added alſo, That tho' he had prevented the coming of the King, yet he could never avoid the vindictive Providence, and the avenging Judgment of Almighty God. In a word, they purſu'd him with all the Execrations which the higheſt Indignation could excite in Minds thoroughly provoked, even till the Ship was quite out of ſight. When *Culenus* heard of his haſty Flight, he march'd thither with Precipitation, where he apprehended the Wife of *Donaldus*, and his three Children; and, for fear of Torture, compelled them to diſcover the whole Series of the Conſpiracy; as alſo

how, by whom, and where the Body was bury'd; and that ſhe her ſelf was not only privy to the Murder, but alſo an Acceſſary to the very Action, and the Perſon who perſuaded her Husband to the bloody Deed. When the People heard this (for ſhe was publickly try'd) the Magiſtrates could hardly diſſuade them from tearing her to pieces. The Day after, *Donaldus*, having been toſs'd ſome Days, with contrary Winds at Sea, was ſhipwrack'd and caſt aſhore, and being brought to the King, *he* and all *his* underwent the Puniſhments they ſo richly deſerv'd. They who brought him to the King were liberally rewarded, his Caſtle was burnt, and all that were in it were kill'd upon the Spot. The Body of *Duffus* was honourably interr'd amongſt his Anceſtors. As theſe things very highly ingratiated *Culenus* to thoſe who were good, ſo the remaining part of his Life accumulated ſo much *Odium* upon him, as never any King before him ever labour'd under: For, whether induc'd by his own Nature, or urg'd for fear of Danger, (as he would have it thought) he ſuffer'd the Severity of the Diſcipline, us'd under *Indulfus* and *Duffus*, to grow cold and remiſs; and permitted the younger Tribe, being given up to unſeaſonable Debauchery, and foreign Delights, to run into thoſe licentious Practices which were forbid by the Laws; till, at laſt, they broke forth into open Violence and Robbery. And when he ſaw the greateſt part of the young Nobility addicted to thoſe Vices, he plung'd himſelf in the like wicked Courſes; ſo that he abſtain'd not from corrupting noble Matrons, and even debauching religious Nuns, (which, in that Age, on the account of their Chaſtity, were had in great Veneration) no, nor from his own Siſters or Daughters neither; nay, he kept whole Coveys of other Harlots, hir'd by his Panders, and kept them too in his own Court, and turn'd his Palace into the Stews. When he was admoniſh'd and put in mind of theſe things, by Perſons of Prudence and Wiſdom; on the behalf of the young Nobility he anſwer'd, That ſomething was to be allow'd to their Age; and as for himſelf, though he confeſs'd, that ſome things were amiſs, yet he was forc'd out of Fear to tolerate them: For I remember, ſaid he, what great Calamity the unſeaſonable Severity of the former King brought, not only on himſelf, but on the whole Kingdom; That the Nobility were the Stay and Prop of the Throne; That it was not true, that the martial Spirits of Men were always broken by this free kind of Life, or made low and abject; nor, that the Thoughts of Arms were ſo neglected by them in Peace, as if they expected that there would never more be a return of War. 'Tis true, (proceed-

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ed he) the Luxury of youthful Age is ſo far to be reſtrain'd, that it may not proceed too far, for fear the good Seed of Ingenuity be choaked (as it were) in the very Bud, and loſt in too much Licentiouſneſs; yet, it is not *wholly* to be abridg'd, or taken away, leſt the Seeds of Virtue ſhould ſuffer in common with the Vices, and be both pluck'd up together. When the Nobles heard this Plea, which he urg'd in his own Defence, and perceiv'd they could do no good with him, by their Perſuaſions; but that they ſhould more probably create Trouble to themſelves, if they us'd the ſame liberty of Speech to him in their Rejoinders, they withdrew from Court, fearing leſt they ſhould be compell'd to be Witneſſes; nay, and not only that, but even Partakers of theſe facinorous Practices, the very ſight and hearing of which they deteſted and abhorr'd. The King, freed from ſuch troubleſome Impoſers, gave himſelf wholly up to Wine and Women. He propoſed Rewards to thoſe who could invent any new kind of Pleaſure, tho' never ſo ſordid, never ſo deteſtable; His whole Court rung all the Night, and all the Day, with the lewd Songs of Debauchees, and the Huzza's of Drunkards. Thus Intemperance and Impudence were as much applauded by him, as Modeſty and Chaſtity are wont to be eſteem'd by good and pious Princes. Thoſe Evils which, tho' allow'd or conniv'd at by the Law, in other Men, are notwithſtanding the Impunity acted by them in *ſecret*, were here *openly* committed without Shame. The young Nobility, thus grown effeminate with Pleaſure, and a multitude of Paraſites and Flatterers with them, extol the King to the Skies, as if he were the very *firſt* of their Kings, who had join'd Splendor and Magnificence with Authority; as tempering the Severity of his Government with Lenity, and eaſing the Burdens of Care and Labour, with ſome Relaxation of Spirit, and Allowance of Delight.

NOW, to continue theſe luxuriant Courſes, there was need of great Expence, and therefore the wealthier Sort were fined upon feign'd Accuſations; and the *Plebeians* were ſuffer'd to be made a perfect Prey of, and harraſs'd with all Sorts of ſervile Offices. He that was not pleas'd with the preſent State of things, was accounted no better than a ruſtick Clown, or a mere Savage; or, if he ſeem'd to be of an higher Spirit than ordinary, he was preſently accus'd by a pack of Informers, as if he ſtudied Innovation in the State. After three Years were ſpent in this flagitious Liberty, or rather Licence; when Men were ſilent, out of Fear or Sloth, Luxury began to grow its own Puniſhment: For when the King's Strength was exhauſted by immoderate Luſt,

Luſt, and his Body had contracted Deformity by the Exceſſes of riotous luxurious Feaſts, thoſe Diſeaſes follow'd which are the uſual and almoſt the conſtant Companions of ſuch Vices; ſo that there only remain'd a rotten Carcaſs, fit for nothing but to bear the Puniſhment of its former miſpent Time. The King thus diſabled for all the Duties and Functions of Life, the Strength both of his Body and Mind being enervated and weaken'd by Intemperance; and his Courtiers alſo following the ſame Practices, ſome *audacious* Fellows, being encourag'd by hopes of Prey and Impunity, committed publick Robberies and Murders, regarding neither the *Plebeians*, as being Men of poor ſervile Spirits; nor the Courtiers, as Perſons enfeebled by all kinds of Debauchery.

THE ſounder Part of the Nobility being thus hemm'd in, as it were, by a double Miſchief, and therefore forc'd to look to the main Chance, call'd an Aſſembly of the States at *Scone*. The King alſo was deſir'd to be preſent, That he might conſult in common with the Reſt, in ſuch a dangerous Juncture of Affairs, for the publick Safety. He, inwardly ſtruck at this Summons, and awaken'd, as it were, from his drowſy Sloth, began to adviſe with his Confederates, What a Man, in ſuch Streights, had beſt to do? And, tho' he knew not either how to reſiſt, or yet how to fly; and tho' his Mind too preſag'd no good to him, yet he reſolv'd to go to the Aſſembly. And, as miſerable Men are wont to flatter themſelves in Adverſity, ſo he did not altogether Deſpair, that he, either out of Pity, or out of Reſpect to his Father's Memory, ſhould procure ſome Favour, not be ſuddenly hurl'd down from ſo high a Dignity, to the loweſt Abyſs of Miſery and Wretchedneſs. In his Journey to *Scone*, having a Train big enough, but unarm'd and diſpirited, about him, he was ſlain at a neighbouring Village call'd *Methvin*, by the *Thane*, or Sheriff of that Country, for having raviſh'd his Daughter. When his Death came to be publickly known, tho' all Men were heartily pleas'd at being got free from ſuch a Monſter, with leſs Trouble than they ſuppos'd they ſhould, yet the Perpetration of the Fact by *Rohardus*, or *Rodardus*, the *Thane*, was very much diſlik'd by all People. He reigned, as the former King did, four Years and ſix Months.

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KENNETHUS III. *The eightieth King.*

KENNETHUS, the Brother of *Duffus*, and third of that Name, ſucceeded *Culenus*: He, being contrary to the former King, in his Diſpoſition, Manners, and the whole courſe of his Life, us'd as much Diligence in reforming the Lives of the younger Sort, as the other had done in corrupting them; tho' in this his Task was the greater, that Men are carry'd down headlong into Vices, with a greater Propenſity of Mind, but the way to Virtue is by a ſteep Aſcent. And indeed this was the thing that gave the chief occaſion to the Opinions of ſome Philoſophers, who contended, That Man was naturally made to enjoy Pleaſure, but that he was haled to Virtue, as it were, violently, and againſt his own Inclination. I grant both parts of the *Dilemma* are falſe; but, perhaps, the original of the Miſtake was from hence, That ſeeing there is a double Power of Nature in Man, one of his Body, the other of his Mind; the Vigour of the Body ſeems to exert it ſelf, ſooner and quicker than that of the Mind; And, as Plants do firſt ſend forth Stalks, Leaves and Flowers, pleaſant to behold, before the Seed begins to be form'd in its proper Pod and Receptacle; but when the Seed ripens, all thoſe other things fade away, and at laſt quite wither and decay; ſo do our Bodies grow youthful, before the Virtue of our Mind, (which is then but weak and tender) can exert its Force; but as the Members grow old by degrees, ſo the Strength of the Mind and of the Judgment expands and diſcloſes it ſelf more and more: And therefore, as in Corn, we reſtrain the luxuriant Growth of it either by cauſing it to be eaten up, or by cutting its over-rank Blade down; ſo in young Men the Law ſuppoſes, That the forwardneſs of Wit, which over-haſtens to ſhew it ſelf, ſhould be reſtrain'd by careful Culture, until growing Reaſon may be able, of it ſelf, to repreſs the Violence of the yet infirm Body. But to return to *Kennethus.*

HE well knowing, *That the Commonalty do uſually comply with the Humour of the Prince, and diligently imitate what he loves*; firſt form'd a good Diſcipline in his own Court and Family, that ſo he might expreſs in Deeds what he commanded in Words; and, as he propounded his own Life to be an Example to his Houſhold, ſo he would have the Manners of his Domeſticks be the Patterns for other People. He firſt purg'd his Court from all the vile Miniſters of Luſt and Wickedneſs, that he might be the better juſtify'd

juſtify'd when he undertook to do the ſame in other Parts of his Kingdom: For this good End he reſolv'd to travel over the whole Country, to call together Aſſemblies, for the preventing and puniſhing of Thefts, Murders and Robberies, for the encouraging of Men to Labour by Rewards, and for exhorting them to Concord by winning Speeches, that so the ancient Diſcipline might be reſtor'd. But, in the Execution of this his Purpoſe, he found greater Difficulty than he imagin'd; for the major part of the Nobility either had guilty Conſciences themſelves, and ſo fear'd their own perſonal Puniſhments; or elſe were ally'd in Blood to thoſe who were guilty: and therefore the firſt Aſſembly being call'd at *Lanerick*, a Town of *Clyſdale*, they, who were ſummon'd to appear, being forewarn'd of their Danger by their Relations, ſome of them fled into the *Æbudæ* Iſles; others, to other Parts, very infamouſly famous for Robberies. The King underſtanding the Cheat, and being not ignorant of the Authors of it, diſſembl'd his Anger, and diſſolv'd the Aſſembly; and ſo paſs'd with a few of his Confederates into *Gallway*, as if he were to perform a Vow, he had made, to St. *Ninian*. Being come thither, he conſulted with thoſe whom he judg'd moſt faithful to him, What was to be done in ſuch a Caſe. The Reſult was, That a Convention of all the Nobility ſhould, the next Year, be held at *Scone*, upon Pretence of ſome conſiderable Matters to be advis'd upon, concerning the Good of the whole Nation in general; That there the Heads of the Factions might be apprehended without any Tumult; and when they were impriſon'd their Clans and Tenants might be made to bring in the Malefactors to the King. This Project was judg'd moſt adviſeable, but it was kept ſecret, and communicated but to few, until the meeting at *Scone* came. There the King had caus'd his Servants to prepare Soldiers, and to keep them privately in the next Houſe to his Palace, the Day before the States aſſembled; and at the opening of it the Nobility, being very numerous, came, where they were courteouſly treated by the King; but, upon a Sign given, they were immediately beſet with arm'd Men. They were all in a Surprize, and overwhelm'd with Fear, at this ſudden Change, but the King encourag'd them, by a gentle Speech, telling them, *That they need not be afraid, for he intended no hurt to any good or innocent Man, and thoſe Arms were not provided for their Deſtruction but for their Defence. He farther alledg'd, how they could not be ignorant, That all his Endeavours, ſince he firſt came to the Crown, tended to this, That wicked and debauch'd Perſons might be puniſh'd, and the Good enjoy the Eſtates,*

Eſtates, either left them by their Anceſtors, or acquir'd by their own Induſtry; and beſides, might have the quiet Enjoyment of thoſe Rewards, which the King bountifully had beſtowed upon them, according to every one's Worth and Merit; and that things might eaſily be brought to paſs, if they would lend their helping Hands: The laſt Year (ſaid he) *when I ſummon'd ſome of the Offenders to appear on a certain Day, none at all came; that Failure* (as he underſtood) *was not made, ſo much out of Confidence of their own Strength, as of the Aſſiſtance of ſome of their Relations and Friends; which, if true, was dangerous to the Publick, and a great Reflection upon ſuch Families into the Bargain. Now was the time when they might redeem both themſelves from Crimes, and the Kingdom from being moleſted by Robberies. This was eaſy to be done, if thoſe, who were moſt powerful in every County, would cauſe the Malefactors to be apprehended and brought to condign Puniſhment; and that where thoſe Malefactors were, was viſible to all: But if they made Excuſes, and having ſo fair Opportunity to deſerve well of their Country, were guilty of a voluntary Neglect, and were deficient in improving it, the King, to whoſe Care the Safety of the whole People was committed, could not be excus'd, if he ſet them at Liberty, before the Offenders were brought to Puniſhment, and that this was the End why he detain'd them in Cuſtody: And if any one thought, his long durance would be a trouble to him, he might thank himſelf, ſeeing it was in his own Power, not only to procure his Liberty, but alſo to obtain Honour, Reward, and the Praiſe of all good Men into the Bargain.* The Nobles having heard this Harangue, unanimouſly anſwer'd, *That they had rather aſſert their Innocency by Deeds than Words.* Accordingly they promis'd him their Aſſiſtance, and deſir'd him to lay aſide all Suſpicion, if he had conceiv'd a ſiniſter Opinion of any of them. Upon this their ſolemn Engagement, the King told them the Names of the Offenders. The Nobles, by their Friends, made diligent Search after them, and, in a ſhort time, they were brought to the King, and puniſh'd according to Law. After that the Nobles were diſmiſs'd, having receiv'd ſome Gifts, and many large Promiſes, from the King; and the Commonalty alſo pray'd heartily for his Majeſty.

MATTERS being thus compos'd at Home, he faithfully obſerv'd the League made by ſome former Kings with the *Engliſh*. But this great Tranquillity of all *Britain* was ſoon diſturb'd by the *Danes*, who appear'd with a great Fleet, and anchor'd near the *Red-Promontory*, or Red-Head, a Place in *Æneia*, or *Angus*. There they ſtaid ſome Days in Conſultation,

ſultation, Whether they ſhould land in that Place, or direct their Courſe towards *England*, as they intended at firſt. Many of them were of Opinion, That it was moſt advisable to make for *England*, an opulent Country, where they might have both Proviſion enough for their Army, and alſo ſome hopes of Auxiliaries and Recruits, in regard that many who were deriv'd from *Daniſh* Anceſtors, were yet alive amongſt them, and many others ſtood oblig'd to them for old Courteſies and Friendſhips; and that theſe, upon the firſt Notice of their Arrival, would preſently flock in to them, as they had uſually done in times before. But, as for the *Scots*, they were a fierce Nation, and very hardy, as thoſe uſe to be who are bred in barren and hungry Soils; That they never attempted them, without ſome great and remarkable Loſs; and, in the preſent Caſe, if they overcame them, it would hardly be worth their Labour: But if they were overcome by them, they muſt endure the utmoſt Extremity and Rigour. Others were of a different Opinion, alledging, That if they made their Deſcent on the Coaſts of *England*, then they ſhould be oblig'd to fight both Nations at once; but if the *Scots* were firſt overcome, the War againſt the *Engliſh* would be eaſy, when they were bereft of foreign Aids, and alſo terrify'd with the Loſs of their Friends. They farther urg'd, That it was not the part of great and magnanimous Spirits, to be intent on Prey and Booty only, they ſhould rather call to mind the Blood of their Kindred and Anceſtors, who had been ſo often cruelly ſlain in *Scotland*; and that now eſpecially, having a great Army, and being furniſh'd alſo with things neceſſary for War, they ought to take that Revenge, which might puniſh the ſavage Cruelty of the *Scots*, according to their Deſerts, and might alſo carry the Terror of the *Daniſh* Name to all the neighbouring Nations.

THIS laſt Opinion prevail'd, and they ſailed with their Navy to the Mouth of the River of *Eske*, and there landed their Forces. They plunder'd the Towns next to them, deſtroying all with Fire and Sword; as for the Caſtle they levell'd it to the Ground. They ſlaughter'd all the Inhabitants of the Town, without diſtinction of Age or Sex. They made the like Deſolation too all over *Angus*, even to the *Firth* of the River *Tay*. The News of it was brought to the King, then reſiding at *Sterling*. Thoſe who had eſcap'd the Fury of the Enemy, made things worſe in their Relations, than they were in reality. He, by the Advice of thoſe Nobles that were preſent, propounded a ſhort Day to ſuch as dwelt near, to come in to him. Thoſe who dwelt farther

farther off, he charg'd, by Letters, to haſten up with their Forces; but, with ſuch Force as he had at preſent about him, he drew towards the Enemy, both to make what Diſcovery he could of their Poſture, and likewiſe to prevent their plundering of ſtraggling little Bodies, as much as he could. In a ſhort time, a great Multitude came in to his Camp, which was pitch'd at the Confluence of the Rivers *Tay* and *Earn*. As he was there ordering his Forces, News was brought him, That the Enemy had paſs'd over the *Tay*, and were beſieging *Perth*. The King, concern'd at the Danger of a Town ſo near him, marches directly to it. As ſoon as the *Danes* were in ſight, the *Scots*, eager of Revenge, made haſte to fight them, and pitching upon a very convenient Place for their Army, they approach'd the Enemy. But the *Danes* having ſeated themſelves on an oppoſite Hill, where they could not, without much Hazard, be attack'd; the Archers and Darts-men compell'd them to come down, inſomuch that a moſt cruel Fight began at the bottom of the Hill; much Blood was ſpilt, and the Victory uncertain, when the *Danes* gave forth a Word thro' their whole Army, *That no Man muſt ever hope to return again to their Camp, unleſs as a Conqueror.* Then after a great and univerſal Shout, they made ſuch a brisk Charge and Aſſault upon the *Scots*, that they routed both their Wings, and eagerly follow'd the Purſuit. That Day had been certainly moſt ruinous to the *Scots*, unleſs Aid had been afforded by one Man, ſent, as it were, from Heaven, in ſo deſperate a Poſture of Affairs! There was a certain Countryman whoſe Name was *Hay*, who was caſually plowing in the Field, over which the *Scots* Fugitives were making the beſt of their way off, and his two Sons with him; they were able bodied Men, ſtout and couragious, and alſo great Lovers of their Country. The Father took a Yoke, the Sons what Inſtruments they could catch, and ſtood in a narrow Paſs, where the *Scots* flew the thickeſt; there, firſt by Reproaches, then by Menaces, they endeavour'd to ſtop them, but not prevailing by either, they fell upon thoſe that preſs'd on them, ſaying, *That they would be as ſo many* Danes *to them who thus ran away.* Hereupon thoſe, who were of more daſtardly Spirits, made an halt, and the ſtouter, who fled rather for Company than for Fear, join'd with them, crying out, *Help was at Hand*; ſo that the whole Company turn'd back again on the Enemy, and forc'd the *Danes* to as dreadful and as precipitate a Flight as they themſelves had been lately guilty of. This Trepidation of the *Danes* occaſion'd a great Shout among the Baggage-men, and other Followers of the Army, as if

a new Army had been coming. This Paſſage gave ſo great Encouragement to the *Scots*, and ſtruck ſuch a Terror to the *Danes*, that it rais'd the Spirits of the former, who were almoſt upon the point of Deſperation; and occaſion'd to the other a certain Overthrow, inſtead of an hop'd-for Victory. This is the Victory, obtain'd at the Village of *Loncarty*, celebrated for that and ſome Days after, and tranſmitted down to Poſterity with great Rejoicings. When the Conquerors were dividing the Spoils, the Name of *Hay* was in all their Mouths; many creditable Perſons affirm'd, that they ſaw, where-ever he or his Sons made an Onſet, there our Ranks were reſtor'd, and the *Danes* broken: In fine, they all unanimouſly aſcrib'd the Prey, the Victory, the Honour of the Day, and their own Lives, to him. When *Hay* was brought to the King, he ſpoke very modeſtly of himſelf, and having rich and ſplendid Garments offer'd him and his Sons, that he and they might be the more taken Notice of, at their entrance into *Perth*; he refus'd them, only he wip'd away the Duſt off his Coat which he wore every Day, and carry'd the Yoke, which he us'd in the Fight, and ſo he entred the City; a great Train being commanded by the King to follow him at a diſtance, as well as ſome to go before him: ſuch a Confluence of People there was at this new Spectacle, that he alone took up almoſt the whole Solemnity of the Day. After the Departure of the *Danes*, and ſo ſudden and unexpected a Calm, in an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, ſhortly after held at *Scone*, the firſt Debate they went upon was, What Honours and Rewards ſhould be beſtow'd on *Hay* and his Sons. Lands were allotted him, almoſt the fruitfulleſt in all *Scotland*, which his Poſterity enjoy to this Day, and their Family is happily increas'd into many opulent Branches, and they were then promoted from the Rank of the *Plebeians* to the Order of the Nobility: And a Coat of Arms was aſſign'd them according to the Cuſtom of Noble Houſes, *viz.* *Ar.* 3 *Scutcheons Gules*; which Bearing ſhews (in my Opinion) that the publick Safety was procured by the eminent Fortitude of thoſe three Perſons in that Fight.

AFTER this Battel, Peace ſeem'd to have been ſettl'd for many Years, when, behold, ſome troubleſome Matters at Home diſturb'd this Calm; As for the Commotion of the *Iſlanders*, who, in a plundering way, ranged all over *Roſs*, that was quickly ſuppreſs'd; ſome of the Robbers being ſlain in Fight, ſome taken in Purſuit, and after executed. But *Crathilinthus*, the Son of *Fenella*, or (as ſome call her) *Finabella*, gave far greater Diſturbance: He was then the

Chief

Chief of all *Mern*, both in Deſcent and Wealth. *Crathilinthus*, his Grandfather by the Mother's ſide, was made Governor by the King, over that part of *Angus* which lies between the two Rivers, each of them having the Name of *Eske*; where he gather'd up the King's Taxes and Revenues; his Nephew coming with a great Train to viſit him, a ſudden Quarrel aroſe amongſt their Servants, ſo that two of *Crathilinthus*'s Friends were ſlain: He complain'd of it to his Grandfather, who laid the blame of the Tumult upon his Grandſon's rude Retinue and Company; and after a ſharp Reproof he was diſmiſs'd by him, but not without Contumelies from his Servants and Domeſticks: So that returning home, he in great Wrath complain'd of the Affront to his Mother; who was ſo far from endeavouring to allay his Rage, and quiet the Mind of the incens'd Youth, by grave and wholeſome Counſel, that ſhe importun'd him to revenge himſelf by Force of Arms, even upon his Grandfather himſelf who was her own Father. Not long after, *Crathilinthus*, having gather'd an arm'd Company together, fit for his Purpoſe, comes by Night into *Angus*, to his Grandfather's Caſtle: He, with ſome few Followers, were admitted in without Suſpicion; and being once enter'd, he gave the Word to the reſt, who lay in Ambuſh, and let them in alſo; ſo that he ſlew his Grandfather, with his whole Family, plunder'd the Caſtle, depopulated the Country adjacent; and, as if he had done a famous Exploit, he return'd pompouſly with a great Booty into *Mern*. But the *Anguſians* did not ſuffer this Injury to paſs long unreveng'd; for, ſoon after, gathering a great many of their Faction together, they made great Havock in the Diſtrict of *Mern*. From that time forward Slaughters and Rapines were occaſionally committed on both ſides. *Kennethus* hearing of it, publiſh'd a Proclamation, That the Chief of either Faction ſhould appear at *Scone*, within fifteen Days, to anſwer what ſhould be objected againſt them; for he fear'd, that if a greater Number ſhould reſort to the Factions, farther Tumults might ariſe: Some few being terrify'd by this threatning Edict, made their Appearance accordingly; but the greateſt part, of whom *Crathilinthus* was Chief, being conſcious of their own Demerits, made the moſt convenient Flight they could. The King made diligent Search after them, and the greateſt part of them were taken in *Loch-Abyr*, and ſome elſewhere. *Crathilinthus*, and the Chief of the Faction, were puniſh'd with Death; others, according to the Degree of their Crimes, had leſs Puniſhments; and thoſe who were but a little Guilty, had none at all inflicted on them.

THIS Moderation and Temperament procur'd to the King Fear from the Bad, but great Love from the Good; and ſettled Peace in all his Kingdom, 'till the twenty firſt Year of his Reign. Inſomuch, that if he had perſiſted in that courſe of Life which he had begun, he might well have been reckon'd amongſt the Beſt of Princes; for, he ſo perform'd all the Offices both of Peace and War, that he got great Renown upon the account of his Equity, Impartiality and Valour. But the Excellency of his former Life was blemiſh'd by one wicked Act that he committed, which ſeem'd, too, to be of a more aggravating Nature in him, in regard it was incredible, and unexpected to proceed from his Diſpoſition, who had before ſo ſeverely puniſh'd grand Offenders. The Occaſion of it was this; the King being now grown ſomewhat ancient, had a Son nam'd *Malcolm*, a Prince of great Ingenuity; but in point of Age, not yet mature to govern ſo fierce a People, if his Father ſhould die. Farther, the Cuſtom of our Anceſtors was then againſt it, that he ſhould reign next after his Father; for they were wont to chuſe, not the *next*, but the *fitteſt*, of the deceas'd King's Relations, provided he were deſcended from *Fergus* the firſt, King of the *Scots*. Beſides, the Favour of the Nobility was under another Obſtacle, which inclin'd to another *Malcolm*, the Son of King *Duffus*, the moſt Praiſe-worthy Prince of all the *Scotiſh* Royal Race: Moreover he was then Governor of *Cumberland*, which County the *Scots* held as Feudataries of the Kings of *England*, on ſuch Terms, That the Government of *Cumberland* was always look'd upon as previous to the Throne of *Scotland*; for it had been ſo obſerv'd, for ſome Ages paſt. The King, perceiving that this *Malcolm*, for the Reaſons aforemention'd, would be an hindrance to his Deſign, not daring to do it openly, caus'd him privately to be made away by Poiſon. Thus died that excellent young Man, much lamented, and near to his greateſt Hope; ſome Signs of Poiſon appear'd in his Body, but no Man ever dreamt of ſuſpecting the King. Nay, his Deportment was ſuch, as to avert all Suſpicion; for he mourn'd and wept for his Death, and made an honourable mention of his Name, whenever occaſion offer'd room to ſpeak of it: He caus'd him magnificently to be interr'd, no Ceremony being omitted, which could be invented for the Honour of the Deceas'd. But this ſuperlative Diligence of the King, to remove the Suſpicion from himſelf, gave a ſhrewd Jealouſy to the more Sagacious. Yet they forbore to ſpeak out, for the Reverence all bore to, and had conceiv'd of the King's Sanctity. But ſoon after, the King

himſelf

himſelf ſcatter'd ſome Words abroad, to try the Minds of Men, How they would bear the abrogating of an *old* Law, and the enacting a *new*, concerning the Succeſſion of their Kings, *viz. That according to the Cuſtom of many Nations, if a King died, his Son ſhould ſucceed him; and if he were under Age, then to have a Protector or Tutor aſſign'd to him, ſo the Kingly Name might reſt in the Child; but the Power of Government in the Tutors or Guardians, till he came to Age.* Though a great part of the Nobles prais'd his Speech, as being willing to gratify him; yet, the Suſpicion concerning the Death of *Malcolm* prevail'd upon the major part, and eſpecially upon the Nobility, and thoſe of the Blood-Royal, who were afraid of the King.

MENS Spirits being in this Poſture, Ambaſſadors came from *England*, to comfort the King upon the Loſs of his Kinſman; and withal deſiring, That, in ſubſtituting another Governor, he would remember, That *Cumberland* being the Bond of Concord betwixt the two Nations, he would ſet ſuch a Perſon over it, who might be an indifferent Arbiter of Peace, and that would maintain the ancient Alliance betwixt the two Nations, for the Good of them both; and, if any new Suſpicions or Jealouſies ſhould ariſe, that he would labour to extinguiſh them. The King judg'd this Embaſſy fit for his Purpoſe; ſo, that having conven'd the Nobility at *Scone*, he made a grave Harangue to them, againſt the ancient Cuſtom of the Aſſemblies of Eſtates, in this Point; wherein he recited all the Seditions which had happen'd for that Cauſe, and with how great Impiety, ſome of the ſurviving Kindred had treated the Children of former Kings; and what Wars, Rapines, Slaughters, and Baniſhments, had been the fatal Conſequences. On the other ſide, he put them in Mind, how much more peaceable, and leſs turbulent, the Parliamentary Aſſemblies of other Countries were; and what great Reverence was born to the Blood-Royal; when without canvaſſing for Succeſſion, Children ſucceeded their Parents in the Throne. Having thus ſpoken, he referr'd the Matter to that great Council, to determine ſomething in this Caſe: He acquainted them alſo with the Demands of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador; and, to give a greater and more manifeſt Proof of his Condeſcention and Civility, whereas it was in the King's Power alone to appoint a Governor of *Cumberland*, he left it to them to nominate one; ſuppoſing, that by this his Moderation, he might the more eaſily obtain his Deſire, concerning the Succeſſion to the Crown: For, if he himſelf had nominated his Son for a Governor, he thought he ſhould have preju-

dic'd his other Requeſt; becauſe, as I ſaid before, the Government or Prefecture over *Cumberland* was look'd upon as the Deſignation of the Perſon to be the next ſucceeding King of *Scotland*. *Conſtantine*, the Son of *Culenus*, and *Grimm*, the Son of *Mogal*, Brother to King *Duffus*, who were thought moſt likely to oppoſe both Requeſts, were firſt ask'd their Opinions in this Caſe; who, partly for fear of Danger, and partly, that they might not run counter to the major part of the Nobility, who had been prepoſſeſs'd and influenc'd by the King, gave their Vote, *That it was in the King's Power, to correct and amend Laws, which were inconvenient to the Publick; and alſo, to appoint what Governor he pleaſed over* Cumberland. The reſt, tho' they knew that they had ſpoken contrary to their own Senſe, yet conſented to what they ſaid. And by this means, *Malcolm*, the King's Son, tho' not of Age, but immature for Government, was declar'd Governor of *Cumberland*; and alſo Prince of *Scotland*; which Title ſignifies in *Scotland* as much as *Dauphin* doth in *France*; and *Cæſar* amongſt the old *Roman* Emperors; and the King of the *Romans* amongſt the modern *Germans*; whereby the Succeſſor to the preceding Magiſtrate is underſtood. Other Laws were alſo made, *viz. That as the King's eldeſt Son ſhould ſucceed his Father, ſo, if the Son died before the Father, the Grandſon ſhould ſucceed the Grandfather; That when the King was under Age, a Tutor or Protector ſhould be choſen; ſome eminent Man for Intereſt and Power, to govern in the King's Name and Stead, till he came to fourteen Years of Age, and then he had liberty to chooſe Guardians for himſelf.* And beſides, many other Things were enacted concerning the legitimate Succeſſion of Heirs, which ran in common to the whole Nobility, as well as to the King. The King having thus, by indirect and evil Practices, ſettled the Kingdom on his Poſterity, as he thought, yet his Mind was not at reſt; For, tho' he was very courteous to all, and highly beneficial and obliging to a great many, and manag'd the Kingdom, that no one Part of a good King was wanting in him; yet his Mind being diſquieted with the Guilt of his Offence, ſuffer'd him to enjoy no ſincere or ſolid Mirth; but in the Day he was vexed with the corroding Thoughts of that foul Wickedneſs, which would always force themſelves into his Mind, and in the Night terrible Apparitions diſturb'd his Reſt. At laſt, a Voice was heard from Heaven, either a true one, as ſome think; or elſe ſuch an one, as his diſquieted Mind ſuggeſted, (as it commonly happens to guilty Conſciences) ſpeaking to him, in his Sleep, to this Senſe. *Doſt thou think, that*

that the Murder of Malcolm, *an innocent Man, ſecretly and moſt impiouſly committed by thee, is either unknown to me, or, that thou ſhalt go unpuniſh'd for the ſame: Nay, there are already Plots laid againſt thy Life, which thou canſt not avoid; neither ſhalt thou leave a firm and ſtable Kingdom to thy Poſterity, as thou thinkeſt to do, but a tumultuous and ſtormy one.* The King terrify'd by this dreadful Apparition, haſten'd betimes in the Morning to the Biſhops and Monks, to whom he declar'd the Confuſion of his Mind, and his Repentance for his Impiety. They, inſtead of preſcribing him *a true* Remedy, according to the Doctrine of *Chriſt*, (being then degenerated themſelves, from the Piety and Simplicity of their Anceſtors) enjoin'd him thoſe abſurd and fallacious ones, which evil and ſelf-minded Men had deviſ'd for their own Gain, and unwary People had as greedily receiv'd; which were, To beſtow Gifts on Temples and Holy Places, to viſit the Sepulchres of holy Men, to kiſs their Reliques, and to expiate his Sin by Maſſes and Alms; and withal, they enjoin'd him to reſpect and reverence Monks and Prieſts, more than he had done before. Neither did the King omit to perform all that they enjoin'd him, thinking to be heal'd in his Conſcience by theſe Mock-plaiſters. At length, when he came to *Mern* to worſhip, and to do reverence to the Bones of *Palladius*, an holy Perſon, he turn'd a little out of his way to go and take a view of a neighbouring Caſtle, call'd *Fethercarn*; which was then, as 'tis reported, very pleaſant with ſhady Groves, and Piles of curious Buildings, of which there remain almoſt no Footſteps at this Day. The Lady of that Caſtle was call'd *Fenella*, of whom mention is made before; who bore the King a mortal Grudge, not only for the Puniſhment of her Son *Crathilinthus*, but alſo upon the account of her Kinſmen, *Conſtantinus*, and *Grimus*; who, by his new Law, were excluded from the Succeſſion to the Crown. But, diſſembling her Anger, ſhe entertain'd the King very ſplendidly, and with great Magnificence; and, after Dinner, ſhe carry'd him out to view the Pleaſantneſs of the Place, and the Structure of the Caſtle; and amongſt the reſt, ſhe led him into a privy Parlour, to ſee a Braſs Statue, moſt curiouſly and artificially caſt, which was made with ſo much Ingeniouſneſs, as they ſay, that when a String or Cord, which was ſecretly bent therein, was remitted and let go, it would ſhoot out Arrows of its own accord; and, whilſt the King was intent in viewing this Engine, an Arrow privately darted out from it, and ſlew him. *Johannes Major*, and *Hector Boetius*, do both ſay, that the King came thus to his End; tho', in my Judgment, it ſeems

to be not very probable. For, it is not likely, that after the decay of noble Arts amongſt other Nations, ſo curious a Statue ſhould be then made, and that in the remoteſt part of *Britain* too; tho' *John Major* writes, That *Edmond*, the Son of *Eldred*, was ſlain by the ſame Artifice; but I can't bring my ſelf to ſuppoſe any otherwiſe than that both Stories are fabulous: Neither can I eaſily perſuade my ſelf, that all *Scotland* together had ſo many Jewels in Poſſeſſion as *Boetius* affirms that one Lady was Owner of. And therefore, I rather incline to the Opinion of ſome others, (amongſt whom is *Winton*) who write, That the King was ſlain by ſome Horſemen, plac'd in Ambuſh, at the Command of *Fenella*. He died in the twenty fifth Year of his Reign; a Prince eminent for all other things, if the Murder of *Malcolm*, and his too great Affection to his Kindred, had not made ſuch a foul Blot in his Eſcutcheon. He reigned twenty five Years, and deceaſed in the Year of Chriſt 994.

CONSTANTINE IV. *The eighty firſt King.*

AFTER *Kenneth* his Death, *Conſtantine*, the Son of *Culenus*, ſirnam'd *The Bald*, us'd ſo much Art in canvaſſing to get the Kingdom, as never any Man did before him. For he inſinuated himſelf into all Sorts of People, complaining, That he and others of the Royal Blood, were circumvented by the Fraud of *Kennethus*, and ſo excluded from the Hopes of the Kingdom, upon the Pretence of a moſt unjuſt Law; to which he, with others of the Blood, were forc'd, by Fear, to conſent. He farther alledg'd, That the Inconvenience of the Law was very manifeſt and viſible in it ſelf. For, What, ſaid he, can be more imprudent and fooliſh, than to take away one of the greateſt Concerns in Government, from the Suffrage of the Wiſe, and to leave it to the Liberty of Fortune? And to bind themſelves to obey a Child, becauſe caſually born of a King; who, perhaps, might be ruled by ſome Woman; and, in the mean time, to exclude brave and virtuous Men, from ſitting at the Helm? He added farther, What if the Children of the King ſhould have ſome Defect, either of Mind or Body, which made them unfit for Government? If Children (proceeded he) had enjoy'd the Kingdom in thoſe Days, when we fought ſo many Battels with the *Romans*, *Britains*, *Picts*, *Engliſh*, and *Danes*; the Queſtion would not then have been, Who ſhould rule over us? But rather, Whether we ſhould have been any People at all, to be govern'd by any Body?

Body? Nay, what can border more upon Madneſs, than to bring that upon our ſelves by a Law, which God threatens as the ſevereſt Judgment to the Rebellious; and by this means, either to deſpiſe the Threatnings and Predictions of the Almighty, or to run into them of our own accord? Neither (ſaid he) is that true, which the Flatterers of *Kennethus* pleaſe themſelves with urging, *i. e.* That the Slaughters and Avarice of the King's Kindred may by this means be avoided; for the King's Children, whilſt under Age, have as much Reaſon to fear the Frauds of their Guardians, as before they did the Plots of their Kindred. And therefore, now the Tyrant is remov'd, (ſaid he) let us valiantly recover the Liberty he took away; and, abrogating that Law, which was enacted by Force, and ſubmitted to out of Fear, (if it may be call'd a Law, and not rather a publick enſlaving of us, and a Proſtitution of our Liberties:) Let us, I ſay, return to the ancient Inſtitutions and Cuſtoms, by which this Kingdom aroſe almoſt out of nothing; and which, from ſmall Beginnings, have advanc'd it to that Splendor, that it is inferior to none of its Neighbours: Nay, and which have erected it again to a freſh high Tide of Glory, when it was at a low Ebb. Therefore, let us not neglect, or ſlip over this preſent Opportunity, which offers itſelf, leſt, hereafter, we ſeek it in vain. By theſe, and the like Harangues, he cajoll'd ſome of the Nobles, and drew a multitude of the Commons to his Party; who aſſembled at *Scone*, twelve Days after the Funeral of *Kennethus*, and declar'd him King.

IN the mean time, *Malcolm*, who was buſy about the Concern of his Father's Funeral, hearing that *Conſtantine* was made King, call'd his Friends together, to deliberate what was proper to be done. Some were of Opinion, that before he proceeded any farther, he ſhould ſound how the Minds of the Nobles ſtood affected, that ſo he might know what Strength he was able to raiſe againſt a popular Man, ſupported by ſo many Factions and Alliances; and then, to form a Reſolution according to the Number of his Forces. But thoſe who were young and headſtrong deſpis'd this Courſe, as ſlow and dilatory; alledging, That it was beſt to obviate the Danger at its firſt Riſe, and to proceed againſt the Enemy before he was ſettled in his new Kingdom. The King being young, embrac'd the latter Opinion, as the more ſpecious of the two; and having gather'd an Army of about ten thouſand Men together, marches towards the Enemy. Neither was *Conſtantine* defective in his Preparations; for, in a ſhort time, he levy'd ſo great an Army, that *Malcolm*,

at the News of his Approach, disbanded his Soldiers, and retir'd himſelf into *Cumberland*. But *Kennethus*, his natural Brother, begot on a Concubine, judging that Course to be very diſhonourable, perſuaded ſome of the moſt valiant Troops to ſtay behind, and ſo to ſtop the Enemy at the River *Forth* near *Sterling*, which was the Boundary to both Armies. There both Camps lay idle on the high Banks of the River, which was fordable but in few Places; by which means, they were ſo afflicted with Peſtilence and Famine, (both which Calamities rag'd very much that Year) that each Army was forc'd to disband. Thus, the Kingdom being divided into two Factions, the Commonalty was miſerably afflicted with Hunger, Peſtilence, and frequent Robberies. In the mean time, during the Abſence of *Malcolm*, who, according to his League, was aſſiſting the *Engliſh* againſt the *Danes*, *Conſtantine*, thinking he had now got a convenient Opportunity to ſubdue the adverſe Faction, marches with great Forces into *Lothian*. *Kennethus*, who was left by his Brother to obſerve all *Conſtantine*'s Motions, gave him an halt at the Mouth of the River *Almon*. And, becauſe he was inferior in Number, he ſupply'd that Defect by Stratagem; for he ſo manag'd his Army, that he had got the Advantage both of the Sun and Wind; and beſides, his Army was flank'd, as much as it could, with the River, which was the chief Cauſe of his Victory. For thoſe on the ſide of *Conſtantine*, truſting to their Numbers, ruſh'd violently into the Battel, having the Sun-beams darting into their very Faces; and beſides, a Storm ſuddainly ariſing, drove ſo much Duſt into their Eyes, that they could ſcarce lift up their Heads againſt their Enemies. A great Slaughter was made in both Armies, and both the Generals themſelves, upon a Charge, wounded and ſlew one another; after *Conſtantine* had invaded the Kingdom an Year and ſix Months.

GRIMUS, *The eighty ſecond King.*

GRIMUS, the Son of King *Duffus*; or, as others ſay, of his Brother *Mogallus*, after *Conſtantine*'s Death, was brought to *Scone*; and there, by the Men of his own Faction, was made King. He, perceiving that ſome Nobles of his Party were already corrupted by Meſſengers ſent from *Malcolm*, and more of them were ſolicited by him, to a Defection; took ſome of thoſe Meſſengers and committed them to Priſon: *Malcolm*, being much incens'd at the Impriſonment of his Ambaſſadors, as being done againſt the Law of Nations, breaks forth into open War. As *Grimus* was

was making Head againſt him, a ſuddain Rumour was diſpers'd thro' all *Malcolm*'s Army, of the vaſt and prodigious ſtrength of the Army coming againſt them; ſo that all *Malcolm*'s Meaſures were broken, many of his Soldiers deſerted by Stealth, and many others making frivolous Pretences, publickly deſir'd to be diſmiſs'd. The Fear firſt aroſe from the Merchants, who, preferring their private Concerns before the publick Good, ſcatter'd the Report throughout the whole Army. And beſides, there were ſome among them, who privately favour'd *Grimus* his Party; for indeed, there were many things in him very attractive of the Vulgar, as the Tallneſs of his Stature, his great Beauty, accompany'd with a ſingular Courteſy, and a comely Mein in all his Actions: Beſides, as there was occaſion, he was ſevere in puniſhing Offenders, and he manag'd Matters with great Prudence and Diſpatch; ſo that many promis'd themſelves an happy and honourable Calm, under his Government. In this Diverſity and Combuſtion of Men's Spirits, *Malcolm*, not daring to truſt any thing to the Hazard of a Battel, by the Advice of his Friends, diſmiſs'd the greateſt part of his Army; and, with ſome ſelect Troops, reſolv'd to ſtop the Enemies Paſſage over the *Forth*.

IN the mean time, the Biſhop of that Dioceſs, *Forthadus* by Name, of whom all had an high Opinion for his Sanctity, endeavour'd to compoſe Matters by his Authority; and interpoſing betwixt both Parties, he at length brought Matters to this paſs, That a Truce was made for three Months; *Grimus* being to go into *Angus*, and *Malcolm* into *Cumberland*: And Arbitrators were likewiſe to be choſen by both Parties, by Conſent, who were to determine the main Controverſy in Diſpute. Neither did *Forthadus* give over his Endeavours, till they concluded a Peace on theſe Conditions: "That "*Grimus* ſhould retain the Name of King, as long as he "liv'd: And, that after his Deceaſe, the Kingdom ſhould "return to *Malcolm*: And, for the future, the Law of "*Kennethus*, for eſtabliſhing the Succeſſion in the King's "Children, ſhould be obſerv'd as ſacred and inviolable. In "the mean time, the Wall of *Severus* was to be the Bound-"dary to them both. That which was within the Wall was "to belong to *Malcolm*, and that without to *Grimus*. Both "of them were to be contented with thoſe Limits, neither "being to invade each other, or to aſſiſt the Enemies of one "another." Thus Peace was made, to the great Joy of all Men, which was religiouſly obſerv'd for almoſt eight Years. *Grimus* was the firſt Occaſion of the Breach; for whereas, ſince the beginning of his Reign, in turbulent Times, he had

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carry'd himſelf as a good Prince, his Induſtry being ſlacken'd by the Quiet he enjoy'd, he wholly plung'd himſelf in voluptuous Courſes; and that kind of Life being, as uſually it is, a Life of Expence, he was reduc'd to ſome Neceſſity, and ſo was forc'd to pretend Crimes againſt the richer Sort, that he might ſatisfy his own Avarice, and enjoy their Eſtates. Being told of the Danger of this Courſe, he was ſo far from reforming it, or from abating any thing of his former Injuſtices, that he reſolv'd to put his Monitors in Priſon, and terrify'd others by their Puniſhment, from uſing the like Freedom, in reproving Kings. In order to this he invited them kindly to his Court, but they, having Notice of his Deſign by their Friends, thought fit to retire; at which, *Grimus* was ſo enrag'd, that he gather'd a Band of Men together, and purſu'd them, waſting their Lands more than any foreign Enemy could have done; he ſpar'd neither Men, Houſes, Cattel, nor Corn; and that which he could not carry away, he ſpoil'd, that ſo it might be render'd uſeleſs to the Owners. Thus he made a promiſcuous Havock of all things (whether ſacred or prophane) by Fire and Sword. Complaint of this being made to *Malcolm*, who was then buſy in helping the *Engliſh* againſt the *Danes*, he preſently return'd home; for he was incens'd, not only at the undeſerv'd Sufferings of ſo many brave and innocent Perſons, but much more, at the Indignity offer'd him by *Grimus*; who, knowing that the Lands were ſhortly to paſs over to another, without any Reſpect to future Times, had ravag'd and ſwept away the Fruits of it, as if it had been an Enemy's Country. There was a great Reſort to *Malcolm*, at his Return, inſomuch, that tho' *Grimus* had for a time been dear to, and belov'd by the People; yet now the greateſt part of the Nobles forſook and abandon'd him. However, he got what Forces he could, and with thoſe he made Head againſt his Enemy. When their Camps were near one another, *Grimus*, knowing that *Malcolm* would religiouſly obſerve *Aſcenſion-day*, reſolv'd then to attack him, hoping to find him unprepar'd. *Malcolm*, having Notice of his Deſign, kept his Men in Arms; and tho' he did hope well, as to the Victory, in ſo good a Cauſe; yet he ſent to *Grimus*, to adviſe him to defer fighting for that Day, that ſo they, being *Chriſtians*, might not pollute ſo holy a Day, with ſhedding the Blood of their Countrymen: Yet he was, nevertheleſs, reſolv'd to fight, alledging to his Soldiers, That the Fear the Enemy was in, tho' pretended to be out of Reverence to ſo holy a Feaſt, was a good *Omen* of their Victory. Then a fierce and eager Fight began; and *Grimus*, deſerted by his Men,

Men, was wounded in the Head, taken Priſoner, and ſoon after had his Eyes put out; and in a ſhort time, partly out of Grief, and the Anguiſh of his Wounds, he died in the tenth Year of his Reign. *Malcolm* carry'd it nobly towards the conquer'd, and caus'd *Grimus* to be interr'd in the Sepulchres of his Anceſtors: He receiv'd the Faction that follow'd him into his Grace and Favour, and blotted out the Memory of all paſt Offences; then going to the Aſſembly of Eſtates at *Scone*, before he would take the Government upon him he caus'd the Law, made by his Father, concerning the Succeſſion to the Crown, to be publickly ratify'd by the Votes of the whole Parliament.

MALCOLM II. *The eighty third King.*

AT the entrance into his Government, he labour'd to reſtore the State of the Kingdom, which was ſorely ſhaken by Factions. And as he forgave all former Offences to himſelf, ſo he took care that the Seeds of Faction and Diſcord amongſt all different Parties might be rooted out. After this, he ſent Governors, choſen out of the Nobility, into all Provinces (juſt and pious Men) to reſtrain the Licentiouſneſs of Robbers; who, in former Times, had taken great Liberty to themſelves to ſteal and plunder. By them alſo the common People were encourag'd to Tillage and Husbandry; ſo that Proviſions grew cheaper, Commerce between Man and Man ſafer, and the publick Peace better ſecur'd. Amidſt theſe Tranſactions, *Sueno*, the Son of *Harald*, King of the *Danes*, being baniſh'd from home, came into *Scotland*. He was oftentimes overcome, made Priſoner by, and ranſom'd from, the *Vandals*; and having ſought for Aid in vain from *Olavus*, King of the *Scandians*, and *Edward* King of *England*, at laſt he came into *Scotland*, and being converted to Chriſtianity, of which before he was a moſt bitter Enemy, he receiv'd ſome ſmall Aſſiſtance there, and ſo return'd into his own Country; from whence ſoon after he paſs'd over with a great Army into *England*. Firſt, he overthrew the *Engliſh* alone, and afterwards he had the ſame Succeſs againſt them, when the *Scots* aſſiſted them, whom he grievouſly threaten'd, becauſe they would not forſake the *Engliſh*, and return into their own Country. Neither were his Menaces in vain, for *Olavus* of *Scandia*, and *Enecus*, General of the *Danes*, were ſent by him with a great Army into *Scotland*; they rang'd over all *Murray*, kill'd whomſoever they met, took away all they could catch, whether ſacred or prophane; at laſt, gather-

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ing into a Body, they aſſaulted Caſtles, and other ſtrong Places. While they were beſieging theſe Fortreſſes, *Malcolm* had rais'd an Army out of the neighbouring Countries, and pitch'd his Camp not far from them. The Day after the *Scots*, perceiving the Multitude of the *Danes*, and their warlike Preparations, were ſtruck with great Terror: The King endeavour'd to encourage them, but to little Purpoſe; at laſt, a Clamour was rais'd in the Camp, by thoſe who were willing to ſeem more valiant than the reſt; and when it was rais'd, others receiv'd, and ſeconded it; ſo that preſently, as if they had been wild, they ran in upon the *Danes*, without the Command of their Leaders, and ruſh'd upon the points of their Swords, who were ready to receive them. After the forwardeſt were ſlain, the reſt fled back, faſter than ever they came on. The King was wounded in the Head, and had much ado to be carry'd off the Field into an adjacent Wood, where he was put on Horſeback, and ſo eſcap'd with his Life. After this Victory the Caſtle of *Nairn* was ſurrender'd to the *Danes*, the Garriſon being diſmay'd at the Event of the unhappy Fight; yet they put them to Death after the Surrender. They ſtrongly fortify'd the Caſtle, becauſe it was ſeated in a convenient Paſs; and, of a *Peninſula*, made it a convenient Iſle, by cutting thro' a narrow Channel, for the Sea to ſurround it; and then they call'd it by a *Daniſh* Name, *Burgus*. The other Caſtles, which were *Elgin* and *Foreſs*, were deſerted, for fear of the Cruelty of the *Danes*. The *Danes*, upon this good Succeſs, reſolv'd to fix their Habitations in *Murray*, and ſent home their Ships to bring over their Wives and Children, in the mean time exerciſing all manner of cruel Hardſhips over the captive *Scots*. *Malcolm*, in order to prevent their farther Progreſs, got a ſtronger and more compact Army together; and when they were gone into *Marr*, he met them at a Place call'd *Mortlich*, both Armies being in great Fear; the *Scots* being afraid of the Cruelty of the *Danes*, and the *Danes* fearing the Places, which they did not know, (as being far from the Sea, and fit for Ambuſhes) more than their Enemies. In the beginning of the Fight, the *Scots* were much diſcourag'd at the Slaughter of three of their valiant Worthies, *viz.* of *Kennethus*, *Thane* of the Iſlands; of *Grimus*, *Thane* of *Strathearn*; and of *Dumbar*, *Thane* of *Lothian*, who all fell preſently one after another; ſo that they were forc'd to retreat, and to retire into their old Faſtneſs, which was behind their Backs: There, fencing their Camp with a Trench, Ditch, and large Trees, which they cut down in a narrow Place, they fronted and ſtopped the Enemy;

Enemy; nay, they ſlew ſome, who, as if they had fully carry'd the Victory, did careleſly aſſault them, amongſt whom *Enecus*, one of their Generals, fell. His Loſs, as it made the *Danes* leſs forward to fight, ſo it gave new Courage to the *Scots*, who were intimidated before. So that, almoſt in a Moment of time, the Scene was quite alter'd; the *Danes* were put to Flight, and the *Scots* purſu'd them. *Olavus*, the other of their Generals, got ſome to guide him, and bent his Courſe, that Night, towards *Murray*. Though *Malcolm* knew it, yet, having ſlain the forwardeſt of his Enemies, and wounded many more, he deſiſted from following the Chaſe. When News of this Overthrow was brought to *Swain*, in *England*, he bore it with undaunted Bravery, and ſent ſome of his old Soldiers, and ſome that were newly come to him from his own Country, under *Camus*, their General, to recruit his old and ſhatter'd Army in *Scotland*. He firſt came into the *Firth* of *Forth*, but being hinder'd by the Country People (who obſerv'd all his Motions) from landing, he ſet ſail, and made for the *Red-Promontory* of *Angus*. There he landed his Men, and attempted to take ſome Places, but, being diſappointed, he fell a plundering. Having pitch'd his Tents at *Balbridum*, *i. e.* the Village of St. *Bride*, word was brought him by his Spies, that the *Scots* Forces were ſcarce two Miles diſtant from him; upon that both Generals, according to the Exigence of the Time, exhorted their Men to fight; and the next Day they were all ready at their Arms, almoſt at one time. The third Day they fought with ſo great Eagerneſs and Fury, as either new Hopes, or old Animoſities, could occaſion and ſuggeſt; at laſt the *Scots* prevail'd, and *Camus*, endeavouring to ſecure the Remainder of his Army, by flying to the Mountains towards *Murray*, before he had gone two Miles, was overtaken by the Purſuers, and he and all his Men were cut off. There are ſtill extant ſome Monuments of this Victory, in an Obelisk, and a neighbouring Village, which as yet retains the memorable Name of *Camus*. Another Band of them were cut off not far from the Town of *Breichin*, where alſo another Obelisk was erected; the Remainder, being few in Number, under the Covert of the Night, made to their Ships; theſe laſt were toſſed up and down ſeveral Days in the raging Sea by croſs Winds; at length coming to the inhoſpitable Shore of *Buchan*, they rode there ſo long at Anchor, till they were neceſſitated, for Want, to ſend about 500 of their Men aſhore, to get ſome Relief out of the neighbouring Country; *Mernanus*, the *Thane* of the Place, ſtopp'd them from returning to their Ships, and compell'd

them to retire to a ſteep Hill, where, being aſſiſted by the Conveniency of the Place, they defended themſelves with Stones, and ſlew many of the *Scots*, who raſhly attempted them. At laſt the *Scots* encourag'd one another, and in ſeveral Parties, in great Numbers, got up the Hill, and put every Man of the *Danes* to the Sword. There alſo, as well as at *Brambreid*, when the Wind blows up the Sand, there are Bones diſcover'd of a greater Magnitude than can well ſuit with the Stature of the Men of our Times.

YET *Sueno* was not diſcourag'd, no not even with this new Overthrow, but ſent his Son *Canutus*, with new Levies into *Scotland*. He landed his Soldiers in *Buchan*, and ſo plunder'd the Country round. *Malcolm*, tho' he had yet hardly recover'd his Loſs, ſuſtain'd in former Battels, yet made Head againſt him; and being not willing to hazard all by fighting a pitch'd Battel, he thought it beſt to weary the Enemy with light Skirmiſhes, and to keep him from plundering; for, by this means, he hop'd, in a ſhort time, to reduce him to a great want of Proviſions, as being in an Enemy's Country, almoſt quite waſted and deſolated by the Miſeries of War before. He follow'd this Deſign for ſome Days, but, at laſt, when the *Scots* had got a full underſtanding of their Enemy's Strength, they leſs diffided in their own; and both Armies, being equally preſs'd with Want, unanimouſly deſir'd a Signal to the Battel; pretending, unleſs it was given, they would fall to it, even without the Conſent of their Generals. Upon that *Malcolm* drew up his Army in Battel array, and the Fight was carry'd on with ſuch deſperate Rage and Fury, that neither Party came off in Triumph. And tho' the mere Name of the Victory fell to the *Scots* ſide, yet a great part of the Nobility being ſlain, the reſt, weary'd and depreſs'd in their Spirits, return'd to their Camp, giving the *Danes* liberty to retreat, without any Purſuit: The next Day, when both Parties muſter'd their Men, they found ſo great a Slaughter to have been made, that they willingly admitted ſome Prieſts to be Interceſſors of Peace between them. Accordingly Peace was made on theſe Conditions, *That the* Danes *ſhould leave* Murray, *and* Buchan, *and depart*; *and that as long as* Malcolm *and* Sueno *liv'd*, *neither of them ſhould wage War with one another any more*, *nor help one another's Enemies*; *That the Field in which the Battel was fought*, *ſhould be ſet apart*, *and conſecrated for the Burial of the Dead.* Upon this, the *Danes* withdrew, and *Malcolm* gave Orders for the Interment of the ſlain.

A while after he call'd an Aſſembly of the Eſtates at *Scone*; and, that he might reward thoſe who had deſerv'd well of their Country, he divided all the King's Lands between them: On the other ſide, the Nobility granted to the King, "That when any of them died, their Children ſhould be under the Wardſhip of the King, till they arriv'd at the Age "of 21 Years; and, that the King ſhould receive all their "Revenue, except what was expended for the Education of "the Ward; and beſides, that he ſhould have the Power to "give them in Marriage; or, otherwiſe to diſpoſe of them, "when they were grown up, and ſhould alſo receive their "Dowry." I judge, this Cuſtom came rather from the *Engliſh* and *Danes*; becauſe it yet continues throughout all *England*, and in part of *Normandy* too. Afterwards, the King turn'd his Thoughts to repair the Damages ſuſtain'd by the War; he rebuilt many Churches and Places apply'd to ſacred Uſes, that had been demoliſh'd by the Enemy; he built new Caſtles, or elſe repair'd the old, in every Town. Having thus reſtor'd Peace to the Kingdom by his great Valour, he endeavour'd farther to adorn it with good Inſtitutions and wholſom Laws; and, in order to it he annex'd new Titles to ſuch and ſuch Magiſtracies (I believe, ſuch as he borrow'd from his Neighbours) which ſerv'd rather for vain Ambition, than for any real Uſe. For, in former Times, there was no Name ſuperior in Honour to that of a *Knight*, except that of *Thane*, *i. e.* Governor, or Sheriff, of a Province or Country; which Cuſtom, as I hear, is yet obſerv'd amongſt the *Danes*. But, now a days, Princes obſerve no *Medium* in Inſtituting new Names, or Titles of Honour; tho' there be no uſe at all of thoſe Names, but the bare Sound. Thus *Malcolm*, having finiſh'd his toilſom Wars, reign'd ſome Years in great Splendor and Glory. But, in the Progreſs of his Age, he ſully'd the Beauty of his former Life with the Deformity of Avarice. That Vice, being incident to old Men, partly grew up in him with his Age, and partly aroſe from that Want, which his exorbitant Grants had driven him to. So that thoſe Lands, which he had unadviſedly diſtributed amongſt the Nobility, he did as unjuſtly and wickedly labour to reſume; by which means he put ſome of them to Death, and reduc'd others to great Penury. The preſent Senſe of Suffering, tho' ſometimes juſt, blotted out the Memory of all former Favours; ſo that the Injury reaching to a few, but the Fear to many, the Friends and Kindred of thoſe, who were ſlain and impoveriſh'd, bent all their Thoughts to revenge them, and to ſecure themſelves. And at laſt, bribing the King's Domeſticks at *Glammes*, in *Angus*,

Angus, they were admitted at Night into the King's Bed-Chamber and murder'd him. When they had committed the bloody Deed, thoſe mercenary Hirelings, thoſe brib'd Domeſticks, together with the Parricides, took Horſe, which they had ready bridled and ſaddled for all Events; and, being not able to find the Way, for that a deep Snow had cover'd all the Tracks, they were confounded, and arriv'd at a Lake by the Town of *Forfar*; where, endeavouring to paſs over, the Ice being not very firm, their own Weight ſunk them, and they were every Soul of them drown'd. Their Bodies lay undiſcover'd for a time, by reaſon the Ice clos'd again; but when a Thaw came, they were found, and hung upon Gibbets in the High-ways, there to rot for a Terror to the Living; and in Reproach to them, after they were Dead. This is the common Report about *Malcolm*'s End; tho' ſome write, that he was ſlain by an Ambuſh, which was laid by the Relations of *Grimus* and *Conſtantinus*, the former Kings, after a bloody Battel joyn'd and fought betwixt them. Others ſay, that he was kill'd by the Friends of a Noble Virgin, whom he had raviſh'd; but all agree, that he came to a violent Death. *Malcolm* reign'd ſo juſtly above thirty Years, that, if Avarice had not corrupted his Mind in his old Age, he might well have been number'd amongſt the Beſt of Princes. The Year in which he died was a Year of Prodigies; for, in the Winter, the Rivers did mightily overflow; and in Spring, there were great Inundations of the Sea. And moreover, a few Days after the Summer Solſtice, there were very ſevere and pinching Froſts, and deep Snows, which quite ſpoil'd the Fruits of the Earth, and brought along a dreadful Famine for the Conſequence.

THE

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Book VII.

I HAVE declar'd in the former Book, how eagerly *Kennethus*, and his Son *Malcolm*, ſtrove to ſettle the Succeſſion to the Crown in their Families, *That the eldeſt Son might ſucceed the Father*: But what the Succeſs of it was, will appear in the ſequel. This is certain, That neither the publick Benefit which was promis'd to the whole Kingdom, nor yet the private Advantage, alledg'd to ariſe to our Kings from it, were at all obtain'd, by this new Law. An univerſal Good to all was pretended, in thus ſettling the Succeſſion, that Seditions, Murders, and Treacheries, might be prevented amongſt thoſe of the Blood-Royal; and alſo, that Ambition, with the other Miſchiefs accompanying it,

might be rooted out from amongſt the Nobles. But, on the contrary, when I enquire into the Cauſes of publick Grievances, and compare the *Old* with the *Modern*, it ſeems to me, That all thoſe Miſchiefs, which we would have avoided by this new Law, are ſo far from being extinguiſh'd by the aboliſhing of the old, that they rather receive a great increaſe from it. For, not to ſpeak of the Plots of *their* Kindred againſt thoſe who are actually in the Throne; nor of a preſent King's evil Suſpicions of thoſe, whom Nature and the Law would have accounted as moſt dear to him; I ſay, omitting theſe things, which in the Series of our Hiſtory will be farther explain'd, all the Miſeries of former Ages may ſeem light and tolerable, if compar'd with thoſe Calamities, which follow'd upon the Death of *Alexander* the Third. Neither will I inſiſt upon the Particulars following, *viz.* that That Law doth enervate the Force of all publick Councils, without which no lawful Government can ſubſiſt: That it doth willingly, and by conſent, create thoſe Evils to our ſelves which others, who have Intereſt in publick Governments, do chiefly, if not openly, deprecate, *viz.* To have Kings, over whom other Governors muſt be appointed; and ſo the People are to be univerſally committed into their Power who have no Power over themſelves; inſomuch, That thoſe Perſons who are hardly brought to obey wiſe, prudent, and experienc'd Kings, are now requir'd to yield Obedience, as it were, to the very Shadow of a Prince, by which means we willingly precipitate our ſelves into thoſe Puniſhments, which God threatens to thoſe who deſpiſe and contemn his holy Majeſty; namely, That Children, Male or Female, may reign over us, whom the Law of Nations, and even Nature it ſelf, (the Mother of all Laws) hath ſubjected to the Rule of others. As for the private Benefit that Kings aim at by this Law, *i.e.* That they may perpetuate their Name and Stock, how vain and fallacious that Pretence is, the Examples of the Ancients, nay, even Nature it ſelf, might inform them, if they had but conſider'd by how many Laws and Rewards the *Romans* endeavour'd to perpetuate the mighty Names of their Families; of which yet no one Footſtep remains at this Day, no not in any part of the World, which they had conquer'd. This Diſappointment moſt deſervedly attends thoſe who fight againſt even Nature it ſelf, by endeavouring to cloath a fading, frail thing, ſubject to momentary Alterations, and blaſts of Fortune, with a ſort of Perpetuity; and to endow it with a kind of Eternity which they themſelves neither are Partakers of, nor can be; nay, they ſtrive to effect it by thoſe *Mediums* which

are

are moſt croſs to their Purpoſe: For what is leſs conducive to Perpetuity than Tyranny? Yet this new Law makes a great ſtep towards it; for a Tyrant is, as it were, the *White*, or *Mark*, expos'd to the Hate of all Men, inſomuch, that *he* cannot long ſubſiſt; and when *he* falls, all *his* fall with him. It ſeems to me that God doth ſometimes gently chaſtize and diſappoint this Endeavour of fooliſh Men; and ſometimes he doth expoſe it even to publick Scorn, as if it was done in Emulation of his own Power. There can be no clearer or fitter Example of God's Will and Pleaſure, than that which we have now under our Hands. For *Malcolm*, who ſo much labour'd to confirm the Law, (which was almoſt forcibly enacted by his Father) by common Suffrage and Conſent, *For the King's Children to be ſubſtituted in the room of their deceaſed Parents*, even he left no Male-child behind him; but he had two Daughters, one call'd *Beatrix*, whom he marry'd to a Nobleman nam'd *Grimus*, the *Thane* of the *Weſtern* Iſlands, and the Chief of all other *Thanes*, and therefore ſtyl'd in that Age *Abthane*; the other nam'd *Doaca*, he marry'd to the *Thane* of *Angus*, by whom he begot *Mackbeth*, or *Macheda*, of whom in his Place.

DONALDUS VII. *The eighty fourth King.*

MALCOLM being ſlain, as hath been related, *Donaldus*, his Grandſon by his Daughter *Beatrix*, ſucceeded him. A Prince of great Courteſy, and of more Indulgence to his own Kindred than became a King; for he was of a mild and inclinable Diſpoſition, and from his Youth gave early *Omens* of his Popularity: For in the moſt difficult Times, when he was made Governor of *Cumberland* by his Grandfather, and could not come to the King (by reaſon of the *Daniſh* Troops, which ſwarm'd over the Country, and ſtopp'd all Paſſages) to ſwear to the Laws, yet he faithfully took part with the *Engliſh*, till *Canutus*, having had the reſt of *England* ſurrender'd to him, made an Expedition againſt him; and then he ſubmitted himſelf to the *Danes*, on the ſame Conditions under which he obey'd the *Engliſh* before. This alſo was popular in him, that he adminiſtred Juſtice with great Equity, and every Year he viſited the Provinces, to hear the Complaints of the Poor, and as much as lay in his Power he exerted, in hindering the great Men from oppreſſing the little ones. But as theſe Virtues endear'd him to the Good, ſo they leſſen'd his Authority amongſt the Lovers of Sedition; and his Clemency to the former occaſion'd the Rage of the latter againſt him. The

beginning of leſſening and deſpiſing his Government, happen'd in *Loch-Abyr*, upon the account of one *Baucho*, *Thane* of that Country, a ſtrict Lover of impartial Juſtice; ſome ill Men not enduring his Severity in Puniſhments, made a Conſpiracy againſt him, plunder'd him of his Goods, and drove him away, wounded and almoſt dead. As ſoon as ever his Wounds permitted him to endure the jogging of his Body, he took a Journey and complain'd to the King; the King ſent a publick Officer to do Juſtice upon the Offenders; but he was grievouſly affronted, and afterwards murder'd by them; ſo great Security did they fancy to themſelves, by reaſon of the Lenity (but as they interpreted it Sloth) of a good King. The chief of the Faction, which rais'd the Rebellion, was nam'd *Macduald*; who, deſpairing of Pardon, prepares himſelf for an open War. He called in the *Iſlanders* to his Aſſiſtance, (who were always prone to Sedition) and alſo the forwardeſt of the *Iriſh*, in hopes of Booty. He told them that under an effeminate and ſlothful King, who was fitter to rule Monks than Warriors, there was no fear of Puniſhment, but there might be great hopes of Advantage; and that he did not doubt but the *Scots*, who were in a manner fetter'd with the Chains of a long Peace under the former King, when an Alarm was ſounded to the War, would come in to recover their ancient Liberty. Theſe Exhortations were ſeconded with a ſucceſsful beginning, which much heartned the Party. There was one *Malcolm*, of the prime Nobility, ſent by the King againſt them with ſome Forces; but his Army was preſently overthrown by them, and he himſelf, being taken Priſoner, had his Head cut off by them. The King, troubl'd at this Overthrow, call'd a Council together to conſult of what was fit to be done. Some were very ſlow in delivering their Opinions, but *Mackbeth*, Kinſman to the King, laid the blame of the Misfortune on the Sluggiſhneſs of former Times, promiſing withal, that if the Command or Generalſhip were beſtow'd on him and *Baucho*, who was well acquainted with that Country, he would quickly ſubdue all of them, and bring things into a State of Tranquillity. This *Mackbeth* was of a ſharp Wit, and of a very lofty Spirit; and if Moderation had accompany'd it, he had been worthy of a Command, tho' never ſo eminent. But in puniſhing Offenders he was ſo ſevere, that having no reſpect to the Laws, he ſeem'd likely to degenerate very ſoon into Cruelty. When the chief Command of the Army was conferr'd upon him, many were ſo terrify'd, that laying aſide their Hopes, which they had conceiv'd by reaſon of the King's ſlothful Temper,

per, they hid themſelves in Holes and Corners. The *Iſlanders* and the *Iriſh*, their Flight being ſtopp'd, were driven to the laſt Deſpair, and in a fierce Fight were every one of them ſlain; *Macduald* himſelf, with a few others, flying into a neighbouring Caſtle, being paſt all hopes of Pardon, redeem'd himſelf and his from the Opprobriouſneſs of his Enemies by a voluntary Death. *Mackbeth*, not content with that Puniſhment, cut off his Head, and ſent it to the King at *Perth*, and hung up the reſt of his Body in a conſpicuous Place, for a Proſpect to all Spectators. Thoſe of the *Red-ſhanks* whick he took he caus'd to be hang'd.

THIS domeſtick Sedition being appeas'd, a far greater Terror ſucceeded, and ſeiz'd on him, occaſion'd by the *Danes:* For *Sueno*, the powerful King of the *Danes*, dying, left three Kingdoms to his three Sons; *England* to *Harold*; *Norway* to *Sueno*; and *Denmark* to *Canutus*. *Harold* dying ſoon after, *Canutus* ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of *Scotland*. *Sueno* (or *Swain*) King of *Norway*, emulous of his Brother's Glory, croſs'd the Seas with a great Navy, and landed in *Fife*; upon the Bruit of his coming, *Mackbeth* was ſent to levy an Army; *Bancho*, the other General, ſtaying in the interim with the King. *Duncanus*, or *Donald*, as if he had been rous'd from a fit of Sluggiſhneſs, was forc'd to go meet the Enemy. They fought near *Culroſs* with ſuch obſtinate Courage, that as one Party was ſcarce able to fly, ſo the other had no Heart to purſue. The *Scots*, who look'd upon themſelves as overcome, rather by the Incommodiouſneſs of the Place, than by the Valour of their Enemies, retreated to *Perth*, and there ſtaid with the Relicts of their conquer'd Forces, waiting for the Motions of the Enemy. *Swain* thinking that if he preſs'd eagerly on them, all *Scotland* would ſpeedily be his own, made towards *Perth* with all his Forces to beſiege *Duncan*; his Ships he ſent about by the *Tay*, to meet him there: *Duncan*, tho' he much confided in the preſent poſture of Affairs, becauſe *Mackbeth* was very near him with a new ſupply of Force; yet being counſell'd by *Bancho* to piece out his Force by Stratagem, he ſent Meſſengers, one to *Mackbeth*, to deſire him to ſtop where he was, and another to *Swain*, to treat about the Surrender of the Town. The *Scots* deſir'd, That upon the Surrender they and theirs might have liberty to depart in ſafety; *Swain* ſuppoſing their Requeſt proceeded from the very bottom of Deſpair, would hear of nothing but ſurrendring at Mercy; upon this he ſent other Meſſengers with unlimited Inſtructions, and a Command to delay time in making Conditions; who, to ingratiate themſelves the more, told the

Norvegians, That whilſt the Conditions of Peace were propounding and ſetling, their King would ſend abundance of Proviſions into their Camp, as knowing that they were not over-ſtock'd with Victualling for the Army. That Gift was acceptable to the *Norvegians*, not ſo much on the account of the *Scots* Bounty, or their own Penury, as that they thought it was a Sign their Spirits were cow'd, quite ſpent and broken. Whereupon a great deal of Bread and Wine was ſent, both Wine preſs'd out of the Grape, and alſo ſtrong Drink made of Barley-Malt, mix'd with the Juice of a poyſonous Herb, abundance of which grows in *Scotland*, call'd *Somniferous Night-ſhade*. The Stalk of it is about two Foot long, and in its upper part ſpreads into Branches; the Leaves are broadiſh, acuminated on the outſide, and faintly green. The Berries are great, and of a black Colour when they are ripe, which proceed out of the Stalk under the bottom of the Leaves; their Taſte is ſweetiſh, and almoſt inſipid; it hath a very ſmall Seed, as little as the Grains of a Fig. The Virtue of the Fruit, Root, and eſpecially of the Seed, is *Soporiferous*, and will make Men mad if they be taken in too great Quantities. With this Herb all the Proviſion was infected, and they that carry'd it, to prevent all Suſpicion of Fraud, taſted of it before, and invited the *Danes* to drink huge Draughts of it. *Swain* himſelf, in token of good Will, did the ſame, according to the Cuſtom of his Nation. But *Duncan* knowing that the Force of the Potion would reach to their very Vitals, whilſt they were aſleep, had in great Silence admitted *Mackbeth*, with his Forces into the City, by a Gate which was fartheſt off from the Enemy's Camp; and underſtanding by his Spies that the Enemy was faſt aſleep and full of Wine, he ſent *Bancho* before, who well knew all the Avenues both of that Place and of the Enemy's Camp too, with the greateſt part of the Army, placing the reſt in Ambuſh. He entring their Camp, and making a great Shout, found all things in a greater poſture of Negligence than he imagin'd before. There were a few raiſed up at the Noiſe, who running up and down like Madmen, were ſlain as they were met, the others were kill'd ſleeping. Their King, who was almoſt dead drunk, wanting not only Strength, but Senſe alſo, was ſnatch'd up by ſome few, who were not ſo much overcome with Wine as the reſt, and laid like a Log or Beaſt upon an Horſe which they caſually lighted on, and ſo carry'd to the Ships. There the Caſe was almoſt as bad as in the Camp, for almoſt all the Seamen were ſlain aſhore; ſo that there could ſcarce be got together ſo many of them as were ſufficient to guide one

one Ship; yet by this means the King eſcap'd to his Country. The reſt of the Ships, by ſtreſs of Weather, fell foul upon one another, and were ſunk; and by the Hills and Mountains of Sand and other Slime and Weeds which the Water carries, meeting together in one great Heap, it grew a Place of great Danger to Sailors, and is commonly call'd *Drumilaw Sands.*

While the *Scots* were rejoicing for this Victory obtain'd without Blood, News was brought that a Fleet of *Danes* rod at *Kinghorn*, which was ſent by *Canutus* to help *Swain.* The Soldiers and Paſſengers landing, ſeiz'd upon and carry'd away the Goods of the People of *Fife* without any Reſiſtance. *Bancho* was ſent with Forces againſt them, who aſſaulting the foremoſt, made a great Slaughter amongſt them. Theſe were the principal Men of the Nation, the reſt were eaſily driven back to their Ships. *Bancho* is reported to have ſold the burying Places for the ſlain for a great deal of Money. Their Sepulchres, they ſay, are yet to be ſeen in the Iſle *Æmona.*

'Tis reported that the *Danes* having made ſo many unlucky Expeditions into *Scotland*, bound themſelves by a ſolemn Oath never to return, as Enemies, thither any more. When Matters thus proſperouſly ſucceeded with the *Scots* both at home and abroad, and all things flouriſh'd in Peace, *Mackbeth*, who had always a Diſguſt at the unactive Slothfulneſs of his Couſin, and had from thence conceiv'd a ſecret Hope of the Kingdom in his Mind, was farther encourag'd in his ambitious Thoughts by a Dream which he had: For one Night, when he was far diſtant from the King, he ſeem'd to ſee three Women, whoſe Beauty was more auguſt and ſurprizing than bare Womens uſeth to be, of which one ſaluted him, *Thane* of *Angus*; another, *Thane* of *Murray*; and a third, King of *Scotland.* His Mind, which was before Sick, betwixt Hope and Deſire, was mightily encourag'd by this Dream; ſo that he contriv'd all poſſible ways by which he might obtain the Kingdom; in order to which a juſt occaſion was offer'd him, as he thought. *Duncan* had two Sons by the Daughter of *Sibert*, a petty King of *Northumberland*; *Malcolm*, ſirnam'd *Cammorus*, (which is as much as *Jolt-head)* and *Donaldus*, ſirnam'd *Banus*, *i. e. White:* Of theſe he made *Malcolm*, ſcarce yet out of his Childhood, Governor of *Cumberland.* *Mackbeth* took this matter mighty heinouſly, in regard he look'd upon it as an Obſtacle of Delay to him, in his obtaining the Kingdom; for having arriv'd at the Enjoyment of his other Honours promis'd him by his Dream, he thought this would prove the

means that either he ſhould be ſecluded altogether from the Kingdom, or elſe ſhould be much retarded in the Enjoyment of it; for that the Government of *Cumberland* was always look'd upon as the firſt Step to the Kingdom of *Scotland*. Beſides, his Mind, which was fierce enough of it ſelf, was ſpurred on by the daily Importunities of his Wife (who was privy to all his Counſels.) At length communicating the Matter to his moſt intimate Friends, amongſt whom *Bancho* was one, he got a fit Opportunity at *Innerneſs* to way-lay the King, and ſo ſlew him, in the ſeventh Year of his Reign; and gathering a Company together went to *Scone*, and under the ſhelter of popular Favour made himſelf King. *Duncan*'s Children were aſtoniſh'd at this ſudden Diſaſter; they ſaw their Father was ſlain, the Author of the Murder in the Throne, and Snares laid for them to take away their Lives, that ſo by their Deaths the Kingdom might be confirm'd to *Mackbeth*. They therefore ſhifted up and down, and hid themſelves, and ſo for a time eſcap'd his Fury; but perceiving that no Place could long ſecure them from his Rage, and that being of a fierce and unforgiving Nature, there was no hope of Clemency to be expected from him, they fled ſeveral ways; *Malcolm* into *Cumberland*, and *Donald* to his Father's Relations in the *Æbudæ* Iſlands.

MACKBETH, *The eighty fifth King.*

MACKBETH, to confirm the Throne, as ill gotten as it was, to himſelf, won the Favour of the Nobles by great Gifts, being ſecure of the King's Children becauſe of their Age; and of his neighbouring Princes, in regard of their mutual Animoſities and Diſcords. Thus having engag'd the great Men, he determin'd to procure the Favour of the Vulgar by Juſtice and Equity, and to retain it by Severity, if nothing elſe would do. Accordingly he determin'd with himſelf to puniſh the Free-booters or Thieves, who had taken Courage from the Lenity of *Duncan*; but foreſeeing that this could not be done without great Tumults and much ado, he devis'd this Project, which was to ſow the Seeds of Diſcord amongſt them by ſome fit Men for that Purpoſe, that they might be put upon challenging one another; and ſo ſome of them might fight in equal and divided Numbers one with another. All this was to be done on one and the ſame Day, and that in the moſt remote Parts of *Scotland* too; when they all met at the time appointed, they were taken by an Ambuſh which he had laid for that Purpoſe. Their Puniſhment ſtruck a Terror into the reſt; beſides, he put

put to Death the *Thanes* of *Caithnes*, *Roſs*, *Sutherland* and *Nairn*, and ſome others of the Clans, by whoſe Feuds the Commonalty were miſerably harraſs'd before. Afterwards he went into the *Æbudæ* Iſlands, and exercis'd ſevere Juſtice there. After his Return from thence, he once or twice ſummon'd *Macgil* or *Macgild*, the moſt powerful Man in all *Galway*, to appear, but he refus'd ſo to do, rather out of fear for being of *Malcolm*'s Faction, than for the Guilt of the Crimes objected to him; upon his refuſal he ſent Forces againſt him, who overthrew him in Battel, and cut off his Head.

THE publick Peace being thus reſtor'd, he apply'd his Mind to make Laws, (a thing almoſt wholly neglected by former Kings) and indeed he enacted many good and uſeful ones, which now are either wholly unknown, or elſe lie unobſerv'd, to the great Damage of the Publick. In a word, he ſo manag'd the Government for ten Years, that if he had not obtain'd it by Violence, he might have been accounted inferior to none of the former Kings. But when he had thus ſtrengthen'd himſelf with the Aid and Favour of the Multitude, that he fear'd no Force to diſturb him; the Murder of the King (as 'tis very probable) hurry'd his Mind into dangerous Precipices, ſo that he converted his Government, got by Treachery, into a cruel Tyranny. He vented the firſt Shock of his Inhumanity upon *Bancho*, who was his Companion in the King's Parricide. Some ill Men had ſpread a kind of Prophecy abroad among the Vulgar, *That hereafter his Poſterity ſhould enjoy the Kingdom*; whereupon fearing leſt he being a powerful and active Man, and alſo of the Blood Royal, ſhould imitate the Example that had been firſt ſet by his own ſelf, he play'd the ſmiling Aſſaſſin, and very courteouſly and humanly invited him and his Son to Supper; but in his return he caus'd him to be ſlain, as if a ſudden Fray and Tumult had ariſen. His Son *Fleanchus* happening not to be known in the dark eſcap'd the Ambuſh, and being inform'd by his Friends how his Father was treacherouſly ſlain by the King, and that his Life was alſo ſought after, he fled ſecretly into *Wales*. Upon that Murder, ſo cruelly and perfidiouſly committed, the Nobles were afraid of themſelves, inſomuch that they all departed to their own Homes, and came but few of them, and thoſe very ſeldom, to Court; ſo that the King's Cruelty on the one Hand plainly diſcover'd by ſome, and on the other vehemently ſuſpected by all Sorts of Perſons, mutual Fear and Hatred ſprung up betwixt him and the Nobility; and now finding the Matter could no longer lie conceal'd, he grew an open, a profeſt

feſt and compleat Tyrant, and the rich and powerful were for light, frivolous, nay many times but mere pretended Cauſes, put to Death. Their confiſcated Goods help'd to maintain a Band of *Debauchees*, which he had about him under the Name of a Guard. And yet he thought that his Life was not ſufficiently ſecur'd by them neither, ſo that he reſolv'd to build a Caſtle on the top of the Hill *Dunſinnan*, where there was a large Proſpect all over the Country; which Work proceeding but ſlowly on, by reaſon of the difficulty of the Carriage of Materials thither, he commanded in all the *Thanes* of the whole Kingdom, and ſo dividing the Task amongſt them, they themſelves were to overſee that the Labourers did their Duty. At that time *Mackduff* was the *Thane* of *Fife*, a very powerful Man in his Country; He, loth to venture his Life into the King's Hands, went not in Perſon, but ſent thither many Workmen, and ſome of them his intimate Friends, to preſs on the Work. The King, either out of a Deſire (as was pretended) to ſee how the Building proceeded, or elſe to apprehend *Mackduff*, (as he himſelf fear'd) came to view the Structure, and by chance ſpying a Teem of *Mackduff*'s Oxen not able to draw up their Load againſt a ſteep Hill, he very gladly laid hold of that occaſion to vent his Paſſion againſt the *Thane*, ſaying, *That he knew well enough before his diſobedient Temper, and therefore was reſolv'd to puniſh it; and to make him an Example, he threatned to lay the Yoke upon his own Neck inſtead of his Oxen.* *Mackduff* hearing of it, commended the Care of his Family to his Wife, and without any Delay fitted up a ſmall Veſſel, as well as the Time which ſtreighten'd him permitted, and ſo paſs'd over into *Lothian*, and from thence into *England*. The King hearing that he intended to fly, made haſte into *Fife* with a ſtrong Band of Men to prevent him; but he being departed before, the King was preſently admitted into his Caſtle, where he pour'd out all his Fury upon the *Thane*'s Wife and Children, who were there preſent. His Goods were confiſcated, he himſelf was proclaim'd a Traytor; and a grievous Puniſhment was threaten'd to any who dar'd to converſe with, or entertain him. He exercis'd alſo great Cruelty againſt others, if they were either Noble or Rich, without Diſtinction. For now he deſpis'd the Nobility, and he manag'd the Government by domeſtick Counſels. In the mean time *Mackduff* arriving in *England* found *Malcolm* there, royally treated by King *Edward*: For *Edward*, when the *Danes* Power was broken in *England*, being recall'd from Baniſhment, favour'd *Malcolm*, who was brought to him by *Sibert*, (his Grandfather by the Mother ſide) for many Reaſons;

ſons; as either becauſe his Father and Grandfather, when Governors of *Cumberland*, had always favour'd the Concerns of his Anceſtors as much as the Times would permit them to do; or elſe becauſe the *Similitude of Events, and the Remembrance of Dangers gave them a Likeneſs of Diſpoſition in their Minds*, for each King had been unjuſtly baniſh'd by Tyrants; or, laſtly, becauſe *the Affliction of Kings doth conciliate and move the Minds, even of the greateſt Strangers, to pity and favour them.* Whereupon the *Thane*, as ſoon as he had Opportunity to ſpeak with *Malcolm*, in a long Diſcourſe declared to him the Neceſſity of his unhappy Flight, the Cruelty of *Mackbeth* againſt all Ranks of Men, with the univerſal Hatred of the People, conceiv'd againſt him; ſo that he adviſ'd him, in an accurate Harangue, as he was a Son, ſo to endeavour the Recovery of his Father's Kingdom; eſpecially ſeeing he could not, without incurring a great deal of Guilt, let the Murder of his Father paſs by unreveng'd; nor neglect the Miſeries of the People which God had committed to his Charge; nor finally, ought he to ſhut his Ears againſt the juſt Petitions of his Friends. Beſides, he told him that King *Edward* was ſo gracious a Prince, that he would not be wanting to him, his Friend and Suppliant; That the People did alſo favour him, and hated the Tyrant: In fine, *That God's Favour would attend the good againſt the impious, if he would not be wanting to himſelf.* But *Malcolm*, who had often before been perſuaded and ſolicited to return, by Meſſengers ſecretly ſent to him from *Mackbeth*; that he might not be enſnar'd, before he committed ſo great a Concern to Fortune, reſolv'd to try the Faithfulneſs of *Mackduff*, and therefore he fram'd his Anſwer thus: "I know (ſays he) that all what thou haſt ſaid is "true; but I am afraid that you, who invite me to under-"take the Regal Government, do not thoroughly know my "Diſpoſition; for thoſe Vices which have already deſtroy'd "many Kings, *viz.* Luſt and Avarice, do almoſt reign even "in me too; and tho' now my private Fortune may hide "and diſguiſe them, yet the Liberty of a Kingdom will let "looſe the Reins of them both: And therefore, ſaid he, "pray have a care that you invite me not rather to my Ruin "than a Throne." When *Mackduff* had reply'd to this, "That the Luſt and Deſire of many Concubines might "be prevented by a lawful Marriage, and that Avarice "might be alſo bounded and forborn when the fear of Pe-"nury (as it muſt be upon a Throne) is remov'd." *Malcolm* ſubjoin'd, "That he had rather now make an ingenu-"ous Confeſſion to him, as his Friend, than to be found

" guilty hereafter, to the great Damage of them both: For " my ſelf, to deal plainly with you, ſaid he, there is no Truth " nor Sincerity in me, I confide in no Body living, but I " change my Deſigns and Counſels upon every blaſt of Suſ- " picion; and thus, from the Inconſtancy of my own Diſ- " poſition, I uſe to make a Judgment of other Mens." Then *Mackduff* reply'd, " Avaunt, ſays he, thou Diſgrace " and Prodigy of thy Royal Name and Stock, worthier to " be ſent into the remoteſt Deſert than to be call'd to a " Throne;" and in a great Anger he was about to fling away. Then *Malcolm* took him by the Hand, and declar'd the Cauſe of this his Diſſimulation to him, telling him, That he had been ſo often aſſaulted by the Wiles of *Mackbeth*, that he did not dare lightly to truſt every Body; but now he ſaw no Cauſe to ſuſpect any Fraud in *Mackduff*, in reſpect either of his Lineage, his Manners, Fame, or Fortune.

THUS they plighting their Faith to one another, conſulted concerning the Deſtruction of the Tyrant, and adviſ'd their Friends of it by ſecret Meſſages. King *Edward* aſſiſted him with ten thouſand Men, over whom *Malcolm*'s Grandfather, by the Mother's ſide, was made General. At the Report of this Army's march, there was a great Combuſtion in *Scotland*, and many flock'd in daily to the new King; *Mackbeth* being deſerted by almoſt all his Men in ſo ſudden a Revolt, and not knowing what better Courſe to take, ſhut himſelf up in the Caſtle of *Dunſinnan*, and ſent his Friends into the *Æbudæ*, and into *Ireland*, with Money to hire Soldiers. *Malcolm* underſtanding his Deſign, makes up directly towards him, the People praying for him all along as he went, and with joyful Acclamations wiſhing him good Succeſs. His Soldiers took this as an *Omen* of Victory, and preſently ſtuck up green Boughs in their Helmets, repreſenting an Army juſt coming back in Triumph rather than going to the Battel. *Mackbeth* terrify'd at the Confidence of his Enemy, immediately fled, and his Soldiers forſaken by their Leader ſurrender'd themſelves up to *Malcolm*. Some of our Writers do here record many Fables which are like *Mileſian* Tales, and fitter for the Stage than an Hiſtory, and therefore I omit them. *Mackbeth* reigned ſeventeen Years. In the firſt ten he perform'd the Duty of a very good King, in the laſt ſeven he equall'd the Cruelty of the worſt of Tyrants.

MALCOLM

MALCOLM III. *The eighty ſixth King.*

MALCOLM having thus recover'd his Father's Kingdom, was declar'd King at *Scone* the 25th Day of *April*, in the Year of our Redemption 1057. At the very beginning of his Reign he conven'd an Aſſembly of the Eſtates at *Forfar*; where the firſt thing he did was to reſtore to the Children their Father's Eſtates, who had been put to Death by *Mackbeth*; he is thought by ſome to have been the *firſt* that introduc'd new and foreign Names, as Diſtinctions of Degrees in Honour, which he borrow'd from his neighbouring Nations, and no leſs barbarous than the former were; ſuch as are *Dukes*, *Marqueſſes*, *Earls*, *Barons*, *Riders* or *Knights*. *Mackduff*, the *Thane* of *Fife*, was the firſt who had the Title of *Earl* confer'd upon him, and many others afterwards, according to their reſpective Merits, were honour'd with new Titles. Some write, That at that time Noblemen began to be ſirnam'd by their Lands, which I think is falſe, for that Cuſtom is not yet receiv'd amongſt the *ancient Scots*; and beſides, then all *Scotland* uſed their ancient Rights and Cuſtoms, but inſtead of a Sirname, after the manner of the *Greeks*, they added their Father's Name to their own; or elſe adjoin'd a Word taken from ſome Event, or from ſome Mark of Body or Mind; and that this Cuſtom did then obtain amongſt the *Gauls* is plain, by thoſe Royal ſirnames of *Craſſus*, *Calvus*, *Balbus*; and alſo by the Sirnames of many noble Families in *England*, eſpecially ſuch as follow'd *William* the Conqueror, and fix'd their Habitations there: For the Cuſtom of taking Sirnames from Lands was receiv'd but lately amongſt the other *Gauls*, as appears by the Hiſtory of *Froſſard*, who was no mean Author. *Mackduff* "had three Requeſts granted to him as a Reward for his "Services; one, That his Poſterity ſhould place the King, "who was to be crown'd, in the Chair of State. Another, "that they ſhould lead the Van of the King's Armies: And "a third, That if any of his Family were guilty of the un-"premeditated Slaughter of a Nobleman, he ſhould pay "four and twenty Marks of Silver as a Fine; if of a *Ple-*"*beian* twelve Marks:" Which laſt Law was obſerv'd till the Days of our Fathers, as long as any of that Family were in being.

WHILST theſe things were acted at *Forfar*, they who remain'd of the Faction of *Mackbeth* carry'd his Son *Luthlac* to *Scone* (who was ſirnam'd *Fatuus* from his Diſpoſition) and there he was ſaluted King. *Malcolm* aſſaulted him in the

the Valley *Bogian*, where he was ſlain, three Months after he had uſurp'd the Name of King; yet out of Reſpect to his kingly Race, his and his Father's Bodies were bury'd in the Royal Sepulchres in *Jonia*. Afterwards he reign'd four Years in Peace; then Word was brought him that a great Troop of Robbers were neſted in *Cockburn*-Foreſt, and that they infeſted *Lothian* and *Merch*, to the great Damage of the Husbandman. *Patric Dunbar*, with ſome Trouble, overcame them, loſing forty of his own Men in the Onſet, and killing ſix hundred of them; forty more of them were taken Priſoners and hang'd. *Patric* for this Exploit was made Earl of *Merch*.

THE Kingdom was now ſo ſettled that no open Force could hurt the King, yet he was aſſaulted by private Conſpiracies. The whole Plot was diſcover'd to him, whereupon he ſent for the Head of the Faction, and after much familiar Diſcourſe he led him aſide into a ſecret Valley, commanding his Followers to ſtay behind. There he upbraided him with the former Benefits beſtow'd on him, and declar'd to him the Plot he had contriv'd againſt his Life; adding further, "If thou haſt Courage enough why doſt thou not *now* "ſet upon me, ſeeing that we are both arm'd, that ſo thou "may'ſt obtain thy Deſire by Valour, not by Treachery?" He being amaz'd at this ſudden Diſcovery, fell down on his Knees, and ask'd Pardon of the King, who being a merciful as well as valiant Prince, eaſily forgave him. *Matthew Paris* makes mention of this Paſſage.

IN the mean time *Edgar*, to whom, next to *Edward*, the Crown of *England* belong'd, being driven by contrary Winds, came into *Scotland* with his whole Family. That what I am to ſpeak concerning this Perſon may be the better underſtood, I ſhall fetch things a little higher.

Edmond, King of *England*, being ſlain by the Treachery of his Subjects, *Canutus* the *Dane*, who reigned over Part of the Iſland, preſently ſeiz'd upon the *whole*. At firſt he nobly treated *Edward* and *Edmond*, the Sons of the Deceaſed *Edmond*, when they were brought to him. Afterwards egg'd on by wicked Ambition, he, deſirous to confirm the Kingdom to his own Poſterity, by their Deſtruction, ſent them away privately to *Valgar*, Governor of *Swedeland*, to be murder'd there. *Valgar* underſtanding their noble Stock, and conſidering alſo their Age and Innocence, and taking withal Compaſſion of their Condition and Fortune, ſent them to *Hungary* to King *Salomon*, pretending to *Canutus* that he had put them to Death. There they were royally educated, and ſo much grateful Towardlineſs appear'd

pear'd in *Edward*, that *Salomon* cull'd him out from among all the young Nobles, to give him his Daughter *Agatha* to Wife. By her he had *Edgar*, *Margaret*, and *Chriſtian*. In the mean time *Canutus* dying, *Hardicanute* ſucceeded him. When he was ſlain *Edward* was recalled from *Normandy*, whither he was before baniſh'd, together with his Brother *Alured*; Earl *Godwyn*, a powerful Man of *Engliſh* Blood, but who had marry'd the Daughter of *Canutus*, was ſent to fetch them home. He, deſirous to tranſfer the Kingdom into his own Family, caus'd *Alured* to be poyſon'd; as for *Edward* he was preſerv'd rather by God's Providence than by any human Counſel, and reign'd moſt devoutly in *England*: But wanting Children his chief Care was to recal his Kinſman out of *Hungary* to undertake the Government, alledging, That when *Edgar* return'd he would willingly ſurrender up all to him; but his Modeſty out-did the King's Piety, for he refus'd to accept of the Kingdom as long as he was alive.

AT length, upon *Edward*'s Death, *Harald*, *Godwyn*'s Son, invaded the Throne, yet he dealt kindly with *Agatha* the *Hungarian* and her Children: But he being alſo overthrown by *William* the *Norman*, *Edgar*, to avoid *William*'s Cruelty, reſolv'd with his Mother and Siſters to return into *Hungary*, but by a Tempeſt he was driven into *Scotland*; there he was courteouſly entertain'd by *Malcolm*, who made him his Kinſman alſo by the Marriage of his Siſter *Margaret*. *William* then reigning in *England*, upon every light Occaſion was very cruel againſt the Nobles either of *Engliſh* or *Daniſh* Extraction; but underſtanding what was a doing in *Scotland*, and fearing that a Tempeſt might ariſe from thence, he ſent an Herald to demand *Edgar*, denouncing War againſt *Scotland* unleſs he were ſurrender'd up. *Malcolm* look'd upon it as a cruel and faithleſs thing to deliver up his Suppliant, Gueſt and Kinſman (and one againſt whom his very Enemies could object no Crime) to his capital Foe to be put to Death, and therefore reſolv'd to ſuffer any thing rather than do it; and accordingly he not only detain'd and harbour'd *Edgar*, but alſo gave admiſſion to his Friends, who in great Numbers were baniſh'd from their own homes, and gave them Lands to live upon; whoſe Poſterities were there propagated into many rich and opulent Families. Upon this Occaſion a War enſu'd betwixt the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, where *Sibert* King of *Northumberland* favouring *Edgar*, join'd his Forces with the *Scots*. The *Norman*, puffſt up with the good Succeſs of his Affairs, made light of the *Scotiſh* War, and thinking to end it in a ſhort time, he ſent

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one *Roger*, a Nobleman of his own Country, with Forces into *Northumberland*; but he being overcome and put to Flight, was at laſt ſlain by his own Men.

THEN *Richard*, Earl of *Glouceſter*, was ſent with a greater Army, but he could do but little good neither; for *Patrick Dunbar* weary'd him out with light Skirmiſhes, ſo that his Men could not ſo much as ſtraggle abroad for Booty; at laſt *Odo*, *William*'s Brother, and Biſhop of *Bayon*, being made Earl of *Kent*, came down with a much greater Strength; he made great Spoil in *Northumberland*, and ſlew ſome who thought to ſtop him from plundering; but as he was returning with a great Booty, *Malcolm* and *Sibert* ſet upon him, ſlew and took many of his Army, and recover'd the Prey. When his Army was recruited, *Robert*, *William*'s Son, was ſent down thither, but he made no great Earnings of it neither, only he pitch'd his Camp at the River *Tine*, and he rather kept off than made or inferr'd the War. In the mean time he repair'd *Newcaſtle*, which was almoſt decay'd by reaſon of its Antiquity. *William* being thus weary'd with a War more tedious than profitable, his Courage being ſomewhat cool'd, apply'd himſelf to thoughts of Peace; which was made on theſe Conditions, That in *Stanmore*, *i. e.* a *Stony Heath*, (a Name aſſign'd it for that very Cauſe) lying between *Richmondſhire* and *Cumberland*, the Bounds of both Kingdoms ſhould be fix'd; and in the Boundary a Croſs of Stone ſhould be erected, which ſhould contain the Statues and Arms of the Kings of both ſides: That Croſs, as long as it ſtood, was call'd *King's Croſs*; That *Malcolm* ſhould enjoy *Cumberland* upon the ſame Terms as his Anceſtors had held it. *Edgar* was alſo receiv'd into *William*'s Favour, and endow'd with large Revenues; and that he might prevent all occaſion of Suſpicion of his innovating things, he never departed from the Court. *Voldioſus* alſo, the Son of *Sibert*, was to have his Father's Eſtate reſtor'd to him; and beſides, he was admitted into Affinity with the King by marrying a Niece of his, born of his Daughter.

TUMULTS at home ſucceeded Peace abroad; for the Men of *Galway*, and of the *Æbudæ*, did ravage and commit Murders over all their neighbouring Parts; and the *Murray*-Men, with thoſe of *Roſs*, *Caithneſs*, and their Allies, made a Conſpiracy, and aſſuming their neighbouring Iſlanders to their Aid, gave an *Omen* of a greater War. *Walter* the Nephew of *Buncho*, by his Son *Fleanchus*, who was before receiv'd into Favour with the King, was ſent againſt the *Galway*-Men, and *Mackduff* againſt the other Rebels, whilſt the King

King himſelf was gathering greater Forces. *Walter* ſlew the Head of that Faction, and ſo quell'd the common Soldiers, that the King at his Return made him Lord Steward of all *Scotland* for his good Service.

THIS Magiſtrate was to gather in all the King's Revenues; alſo he had a Juriſdiction, ſuch as the Sheriffs of Counties have, and he is the ſame with that which our Anceſtors call'd a *Thane*. But now adays the *Engliſh* Speech getting the better of our Country Language, the *Thanes* of Counties are in many Places call'd *Stewards*; and he which was anciently call'd *Abthane*, is now the *Lord High Steward of* Scotland; tho' in ſome few Places the Name of *Thane* doth yet remain. From this *Walter* the Family of the *Stewarts*, who have ſo long reign'd over *Scotland*, took its beginning.

BUT *Mackduff* warring in another Province, when he came to the Borders of *Marr* the *Marrians* promis'd him a Sum of Money if he would not enter into their Province; and he fearing the Multitude of the Enemy, protracted the time in Propoſals and Terms of a pretended Peace till the King arriv'd with greater Forces. When they came to the Village *Monimuſs* they join'd Camps, and the King being troubl'd at the bruit of the Enemy's Numbers, promis'd to devote the Village, whither he was going, to St. *Andrew* the Apoſtle, the tutelary Saint of *Scotland*, if he return'd Victor from that Expedition. After a few Removes he came to the River *Spey*, the moſt violent Current in all *Scotland*; where he beheld a greater Number of Soldiers than he thought could have been levy'd out of thoſe Countries ſtanding on the other ſide of the River, to hinder his Paſſage. Upon that the Standard-Bearer making an Halt, and delaying to enter the River, he ſnatch'd the Standard out of his Hand, and gave it to one *Alexander Carron*, a Knight of known Valour, whoſe Poſterity had ever afterwards the Honour of carrying the King's Standard in the Wars; and inſtead of *Carron* the Name of *Scrimger* was given him, becauſe he, full of true Valour, tho' ignorant of the Modes and Niceties of War, had out-done one who was a Maſter in handling of Arms, and who valu'd himſelf highly upon that Account. As the King was entring the River the Mitred Prieſts, with their Mitres on their Heads, prevented him; who, by his Permiſſion, having paſſed over to the Enemy before, had ended the War without Blood. The Nobles ſurrender'd themſelves upon Quarter for Life; thoſe who were the moſt ſeditious, and the Authors of the Riſing,

were try'd, had their Goods confiſcated, and themſelves condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment.

PEACE being thus by his great Induſtry obtain'd both at home and abroad, he turn'd his Pains and Induſtry towards the Reformation of the publick Manners; for he lived devoutly and piouſly himſelf, and invited others, by his Example, to a modeſt, juſt, and ſober Life. It is thought that he was aſſiſted in this by the Counſel and Monitions of his Wife, a ſingular good Woman, and eminent for Piety. She omitted no Office of Humanity towards the Poor, or the Prieſts; neither did *Agatha* the Mother, or *Chriſtiana* the Siſter, come behind the Queen in any religious Duty: For becauſe a Nun's Life was then accounted the great Nouriſher and Maintainer of Piety, both of them leaving the toilſome Cares of the World, ſhut themſelves up in a Monaſtery appointed for Virgins. Then the King to the four former Biſhopricks of St. *Andrew*, *Glaſgow*, *Whithorn* and *Murthlack*, (where the old Diſcipline, by the Biſhops Sloth and Default, was either remitted or laid quite aſide) added that of *Murray* and *Caithneſs*, procuring Men pious and learned, as times went there, to fill the *Sees*. And whereas Luxury began likewiſe to abound in thoſe Days, in regard many *Engliſh* came in, and great Commerce was carry'd on with foreign Nations; and alſo many *Engliſh* Exiles were entertain'd and ſcatter'd almoſt all over the Kingdom, he labour'd, tho' to little purpoſe, to reſtrain it. But he had the hardeſt Task of all with the Nobles, whom he endeavour'd to reclaim to the Practice of their ancient Parſimony; for they having once ſwallow'd the Bait of Pleaſure, did not only grow worſe and worſe, but even ran headlong into Debauchery; nay they labour'd to cover that foul Vice under the falſe Name of Neatneſs, Bravery and Gallantry. *Malcolm* foreſeeing that ſuch Courſes would be the Ruin not only of Religion, but alſo of military Diſcipline, did firſt of all reform his own Family very exactly; afterwards he made moſt ſevere ſumptuary Laws, denouncing great Puniſhment againſt the Violators of them: Yet by thoſe Remedies he rather ſtopp'd than cur'd the Diſeaſe, nevertheleſs as long as he liv'd he employ'd all his Endeavours to work a thorough Reformation. It is alſo reported that his Wife obtain'd of him, that whereas the Nobles had gradually obtain'd a Privilege to lie the firſt Night with any marry'd Bride, by the Law of *Eugenius*; that Cuſtom ſhould be alter'd, and the Husband have liberty to redeem it by paying half a Mark of Silver, which Payment is yet call'd *Marcheta Mulierum*.

WHILST

WHILST *Malcolm* was thus buſy'd in reforming the publick Manners, *William*, King of *England*, dies: His Son, *William Rufus*, ſucceeded him. Peace could not long be continu'd between two Kings of ſuch different Diſpoſitions; for the King of *Scots* choſe that time to build two Temples or Cathedrals in, one at *Durham* in *England*, the other at *Dumfermling* in *Scotland*; upon both which Piles he beſtow'd great Coſt, ſo that he endeavour'd to retrieve Church-Affairs, which then began to flag and decay: And withal he tranſlated *Turgot*, Abbot of the Monks at *Durham*, to the Biſhoprick of St. *Andrews*. This he did whilſt *Rufus* was plucking down Towns and Monaſteries, and planting and making Foreſts, that he might have the more room to hunt in. And when *Anſelme* the *Norman*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, did with Freedom rebuke him for the ſame, he baniſht him the Land: He alſo ſought for an Occaſion of War againſt the *Scots*, and ſo ſurpriz'd the Caſtle of *Alnwick* in *Northumberland*, and ſlew the Garriſon there: *Malcolm* having demanded Reſtitution, but in vain, beſieg'd the Caſtle with a great Army: They within being reduc'd to great Extremity and Want, talk'd of ſurrendring it, and deſir'd the King to come, and receive the Keys with his own Hand; which as he was a doing, being tender'd to him on the point of a Spear, the Soldier run him into the Eye and kill'd him. And his Son *Edward* alſo being very forward to revenge his Father's Death, and accordingly the more negligent of his own Safety, made an unwary Aſſault upon the Enemy, wherein he receiv'd a Wound, of which he dy'd ſoon after: The *Scots* being afflicted and troubl'd at this double Slaughter of *Two* of their Kings, broke up the Siege, and return'd home. *Margaret* did not long ſurvive her Husband and Son, but died of Grief. The Bodies of the Kings which at firſt were bury'd at *Tinmouth*, (a Monaſtery at the Mouth of *Tine*) were afterwards brought back to *Dumfermling*: *Malcolm* held the Kingdom thirty and three Years, being noted for no Vice, but famous to Poſterity for his great and many Virtues; he had ſix Sons by his Wife *Margaret*, of whom *Edward* was ſlain by the *Engliſh* in the Siege of *Alnwick* Caſtle: *Edmond* and *Etheldred* were baniſht into *England* by their Uncle *Donald*, where they died; the other three, *Edgar*, *Atheldred* and *David* ſucceeded in the Kingdom one after another: He alſo had two Daughters, the elder *Maud*, ſirnam'd the *Good*, marry'd *Henry*, King of *England*; the younger nam'd *Mary*, had *Euſtace*, Earl of *Bologn* for her Husband. Several Prodigies happen'd in thoſe Days, and in particular there was ſuch a mighty, and ſuch

an unuſual Inundation of the *German* Ocean, that it did not only drown the Fields and Country, and choak'd them up with Sand, but alſo overthrew Villages, Towns and Caſtles: And beſides, there were great and terrible Thunders, and more were kill'd with Thunderbolts than were ever recorded to have periſh'd by that Death in *Britain* before.

DONALDUS VII. *ſirnamed* BANUS, *The eighty ſeventh King.*

UPON the Death of *Malcolm*, *Donaldus (Banus) i. e.* the White, his Brother, who for fear of *Mackbeth* had fled into the *Æbudæ*, was without meeting with the leaſt Difficulty or Oppoſition, at firſt declar'd King; for he had promis'd all the Iſlands to *Magnus* King of *Norway*, if by his Aſſiſtance he might enjoy the Kingdom of *Scotland*. And in this his obtaining of the Kingdom thoſe were moſt aſſiſtant to him, who did falſely accuſe the former King for corrupting the Diſcipline of his Anceſtors; and withal, who ſtomach'd that the baniſh'd *Engliſh* ſhould enjoy the Eſtates of *Scots* in *Scotland*. *Edgar*, in ſuch a ſudden Change of Affairs, being afraid and ſolicitous for his Siſter's Children, which were yet but young, caus'd them to be tranſported to him into *England*. But this Piety of the good Man was calumniated by ſome; for *Orgarus*, an *Engliſhman*, ſeeking to curry Favour with King *Rufus*, accus'd him that he had ſecretly boaſted, *That he and his Kindred were Lawful Heirs of the Crown*. The Accuſer was not able to make good his Allegation by any Witneſſes, and therefore the Matter was adjudg'd to be decided by a Duel; wherein the Accuſer was overcome by another *Engliſhman*, who offer'd him the Combate inſtead of *Edgar*, who was now grown old and alſo ſickly. All good Men who had a Veneration for the Memory of *Malcolm* and *Margaret*, hated *Donald*; who by foreign Aid, in conjunction with thoſe of his own Faction, had ſeiz'd on the Kingdom: And he, by his Raſhneſs, did much increaſe the Hatred conceiv'd againſt him, and by ſevere Threats which he utter'd amongſt his Familiars againſt the Nobles who would not ſwear Allegiance to him. And therefore they ſent for *Duncan*, a baſe-born Son of *Malcolm's*, who had ſerv'd long with Credit in the Wars under *William Rufus*, to oppoſe *Donald*. At his coming many revolted from *Donald*, ſo that he was diffident of his own State, and therefore fled into the *Æbudæ* about ſix Months after he had uſurp'd the Throne.

DUNCAN,

Duncan, *The eighty eighth King.*

Neither did *Duncan* reign long, for he being a military Man, and not ſo skilful in the Arts of Peace, carry'd it more imperiouſly than a peaceable and civil Government requir'd; ſo that he quickly got the Hatred of the majority of his Subjects. When *Donaldus*, who obſerv'd all his Motions, heard of it in his Baniſhment, he corrupted *Macpendir*, Earl of *Mern*, and by him caus'd *Duncan* to be ſlain in the Night in *Monteath*, a Year and ſix Months after he began to reign. As for *Donald*, he govern'd a troubleſome Kingdom for about three Years; good Men rather tolerating him, (for want of a better) than approving him. The *Engliſh* on the one ſide, and the Iſlanders on the other, in his time much moleſted *Scotland*. The Envy alſo againſt him was heighten'd, in that *Magnus*, King of *Norway*, had ſeiz'd on the *Weſtern* Iſlands; which though he ſeem'd to have done by Force, yet all Men ſmelt out the Cheat, in regard *Donald* did not ſo much as ſtir at ſo great an Affront And at laſt the publick Indignation grew warmer and warmer againſt him, when the Vulgar underſtood that it was done by a ſecret Paction and Agreement betwixt him and *Magnus*.

Edgar, *The eighty ninth King.*

Upon thoſe Diſguſts ſecret Meſſengers were diſpatch'd to *Edgar*, *Malcolm*'s Son, That he would come over and be General, in order to obtain the Kingdom; and as ſoon as he appear'd upon the Borders they promis'd to flock in to him. And they were as good as their Words; for *Edgar* being aſſiſted with a ſmall Force by *Rufus*, at the inſtance of *Edgar* his Uncle, had ſcarce enter'd *Scotland* before *Donald*, being abandon'd by his Men, fled away; but he was purſu'd, taken, and brought back to *Edgar*, who committed him to Priſon, where he dy'd ſoon after. *Edgar* having recover'd the Kingdom by the general Suffrage of all the Eſtates, he in the firſt place made Peace with *William*, King of *England*, and when he dy'd without Children he renew'd it with *Henry* his Brother. He gave him *Maud*, his Siſter, to Wife, ſirnam'd the *Good*, from her virtuous Manners (as I ſaid before.) By whom he had *William*, *Richard*, *Euſemia* and *Maud*. *Edgar* reign'd nine Years and ſix Months in great Peace, reverenc'd and belov'd by *good* Men; and ſo formidable to the *bad*, that in all his Reign

there were no civil Tumults or Seditions, nor any fear o a foreign Enemy. One Monument of his Praiſe was the Monaſtery of *Coldingham*, dedicated to St. *Ebb* the Virgin, which he built in the ſeventh Year of his Reign; though afterwards it was transferr'd into the Name of *Cutbert*.

ALEXANDER I. *The ninetieth King.*

EDGAR dying without Iſſue, his Brother *Alexander*, Sirnam'd *Acer*, or the *Fierce*, ſucceeded him. In the very beginning of his Reign, ſome young Men that lov'd to be fiſhing in troubled Waters, imagining that he would be a peaceable (or as they interpreted it a *ſluggiſh*) King, as his Brother was, conſpir'd to take away his Life, that they might rob and plunder with the greater Freedom: But the Matter was diſcover'd to him, and he purſu'd the Conſpirators to the fartheſt part of *Roſs*; when they came to the River *Spey* they thought to ſtop the King's Purſuit, by reaſon of the Rapidity of the River; and beſides, the King's Friends would not ſuffer him to attempt the River, becauſe the Tide coming in they judg'd it unpaſſable, yet he ſet ſpurs to his Horſe and was about to paſs over. The reſt, leſt they might ſeem to forſake their King in a Danger ſo great, were his Followers; but his own Men (as I ſaid) drew him back, ſo that he ſent over part of his Army, under the Command of *Alexander Carron*, the Son of that *Alexander* I mention'd before, whoſe miraculous Boldneſs in paſſing the River with his Forces, ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Enemy, that they preſently betook themſelves to Flight. Many were ſlain in the Purſuit, their Leaders were then taken, or elſe afterwards brought to the King, and were all executed at a Gallows.

THIS Expedition procur'd him Peace, even to the end of his Life. As he was returning through *Mern* a poor Woman met him, grievouſly complaining that her Husband had been ſcourged with a Whip of Thongs, by the Earl of *Mern*'s Son, becauſe he had ſued him for a Debt. The King hearing it, preſently in great Diſdain leapt from his Horſe, and would not ſtir from the Place till the Offender had receiv'd condign Puniſhment. Then he went to *Envergoury*, or as ſome write, to *Balleggary*, *Edgar*'s Town; ſome write, that the Sirname of *Acer* was given him for thoſe Exploits; but others ſay it had a more tragick Original, *viz.* That ſome Thieves having corrupted one of his Bed-Chamber, were privately admitted in whilſt he was aſleep; and that awaken'd by their ſudden ruſhing in, he firſt ſlew his treacherous

cherous Servant, and afterwards ſix of the Thieves. This raiſed a great Clamour in the Court, and the reſt fled, but *Alexander* purſued them ſo fiercely that moſt of them were ſlain. Afterwards he turn'd his Thoughts to the Works of Peace; he built St. *Michael*'s Church in *Scone* from the very Ground: The College of Prieſts which was there he turn'd into a Monaſtery for *Monks*. Being once ſurpriz'd in a Tempeſt, and driven into the Iſle *Æmona*, he was there reduc'd to great Want and Hunger; for neither he nor his Companions could procure any Food for ſome Days, but what they got from thoſe that liv'd ſolitary Lives, commonly called *Hermits*. He built alſo a Church there, in Memory of St. *Columb*, ſupplying it with Canons, as they call them, and Lands to maintain them. He alſo gave great Gifts and Largeſſes, and ſettled Revenues on St. *Andrews*, which was rich enough before. He finiſh'd the Church at *Dumfermling*, which his Father had begun, and endow'd it with Revenues.

AFTER theſe Tranſactions in Peace and War, when he had reign'd ſeventeen Years, he departed this Life, leaving no Children by *Sibyl* his Wife, Daughter of *William* the *Norman*.

DAVID I. *The ninety firſt King.*

HIS Brother *David* ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, in the Year of Chriſt 1124. He ſeeing that his Brothers reign'd ſucceſſively, one after another in *Scotland*, ſtay'd with his Siſter *Maud* in *England*. There he marry'd *Maud*, his Niece, a Woman of great Beauty, Wealth and Nobility; for *Voldioſus* of *Northumberland* was her Father, and her Mother was *Judith*, Niece to *William* the *Norman*. He had a Son by her nam'd *Henry*, in whom both his Father's and Mother's Diſpoſition did preſently appear. Upon this Marriage his Revenues were much encreaſed by the Acceſſion of *Northumberland* and *Huntingtonſhire* to the Lands he enjoy'd before. Thus with the univerſal Gratulation of his Subjects he came into *Scotland* to poſſeſs the Kingdom; 'tis true the Memory of his Parents was of great Force to procure him the Favour of the People; yet his own Virtue was ſuch, that he ſtood in no need of any adventitious Help: For as in other Virtues he equalled other good Kings, ſo in his Condeſcention to hear the Cauſes of the Poor, he was much ſuperior to them. As for the Complaints of the Rich he heard them himſelf, and if a falſe Judgment had been given he would not ſet it aſide, but compelled the Judge

himſelf to pay the Damages awarded. He reſtrained Luxury, which then begun to ſpread, according to the Example of his Father. He baniſhed *Epicures*, and ſuch as ſtudied Arts to provoke the Appetite, out of the Kingdom. He far exceeded the Beneficence of his Parents and Allies, (which were worthy rather of Pardon than Praiſe) in increaſing the Revenues of the Church. He repair'd Monaſteries, whether decay'd by Age, or ruin'd by the Wars, and he alſo built new ones from the Ground: To the ſix Biſhopricks before he added four more, *Roſs*, *Brechin*, *Dunkelden*, and *Dunblain*. He almoſt impoveriſh'd the ſucceeding King to endow them, for he beſtow'd upon them a great part of the Royal Revenue. *Johannes Major*, who when I was but a Youth, was famous for his Theological Studies, having highly praiſed this King for his other Actions; yet he blames his profuſe Laviſhneſs in endowing Monaſteries in a ſolemn (and I wiſh it had been an undeſerved) Oration. And I the more wonder at this immoderate Profuſion of the publick Stock and Patrimony; becauſe in thoſe very Times St. *Barnard* ſharply reproves the *Prieſts* and *Monks* in his Invective and ſevere Sermons for their exceſſive Luxury and Expence; which yet, if compared with that of our Age, ſeems but moderate; and the Fruits which follow'd theſe *Donations*, ſhew that the Deſign was not well grounded: For as in Bodies too corpulent, the uſe of all the Members ceaſes; ſo the Sparks of Wit, oppreſſed by Luxury, languiſhed in the Abbies. The Study of Learning was extinct, Piety degenerated into Superſtition, and the Seeds of all Vices ſprung up in them, as in an uncultivated Field. All the time of his Reign he had but one Commotion, and that was rather a Tumult than a War; and it was quickly ended in the Slaughter of *Æneas*, Earl of *Murray*, with a great Number of his Followers. *Malcolm Mackbeth* went no farther than merely *endeavouring* to raiſe a new Sedition, was committed Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Roxburgh*. Other Matters ſucceeded according to his Deſire, but yet a double Diſtreſs, or rather Calamity, fell upon him. One from the untimely Death of his Wife, the other of his Son. As for his Wife *Maud* ſhe was a Woman of high Deſcent, of exquiſite Beauty, and moſt accompliſhed Manners: He loved her paſſionately whilſt ſhe lived, and the loſs of her in the Flower of her Age did ſo affect him, that for twenty Years after he lived a Widower, neither did he touch any other Woman all that while; and yet the greatneſs of his Sorrow was no hindrance to him from managing the Publick Offices and Concerns both of Peace and War. Concerning his Son I will ſpeak in due place.

DAVID

DAVID thus addicted himſelf to the Arts of Peace, but ſome troubleſome Matters in *England* drew him unwillingly into a War. The Occaſion this: All the Off-ſpring of King *Henry* of *England*, beſides his Daughter *Maud*, were drowned in their Paſſage out of *France* into *England*; which Misfortune ſo grieved him, that (it is reported) he was never ſeen to laugh after that time. *Maud*, who only ſurvived and eſcaped that Calamity, married the Emperor *Henry* the Fourth. Her Husband dying without Children, ſhe returned into *England* to her Father. He was willing to ſettle the Succeſſion on her, and in order to it, becauſe ſhe was a Widow and childleſs, if he himſelf ſhould die, he cauſed all the Nobility to ſwear an Oath of Fealty to her; and in hopes that ſhe might have Children, he marry'd her to *Geoffry Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*. Five Years after that Marriage *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* and King *Henry* died, and *Geoffry* of *Anjou* falling into a dangerous Diſeaſe lay bedrid.

IN the mean time *Stephen*, Earl of *Bologne*, in this want of Royal Iſſue, took Heart to attempt the Crown of *England*: Neither did he look upon it as a Deſign of any great Difficulty, both by reaſon of the Weakneſs of the adverſe Party, and alſo becauſe he himſelf had ſome Royal Blood running in his Veins: For he was born of a Daughter of *William* the *Norman*, which had married the Earl of *Bloys*. He himſelf had alſo married *Maud*, Daughter of the former Earl of *Bologne*, and Couſin-German to *Maud* the Empreſs, and born of *Mary*, Siſter to *David*, King of *Scotland*: Upon the Confidence of ſo great Alliances, by reaſon of the Abſence of *Maud* the Queen, and the Sickneſs of *Geoffry*, he thought he might eaſily obtain the Crown of *England*: And to make his Way clearer, without any Conſcience or Regard of his Oath which he and the other Kindred had taken to Queen *Maud*, he drew in, by great Promiſes, the Biſhops of *England*, who had alſo taken the ſame Oath, into his unlawful Deſign; and eſpecially *William*, Archbiſhop of *York*, who was the firſt that ſwore Allegiance to Queen *Maud*; and *Roger*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, who had not only taken the Oath himſelf, but had alſo read the Words of it to the other Nobles when they took the Oaths.

UPON this Confidence, even before his Uncle *Henry* was buried, he ſtept into the Throne, and the two firſt Years reigned peaceably enough; upon that growing inſolent, he began to neglect his Agreement made with the *Engliſh*, and alſo to deal harſhly with Strangers. After he had compelled all the *Engliſh*, partly by Fear, and partly by fair Promiſes,

Promiſes, to take an Oath of Allegiance to him, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *David*, King of *Scots*, to put him in mind to take the ſame Oath, for the Counties of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland* and *Huntingdon*, which he held of him. *David* returned Anſwer, That he, together with *Stephen* himſelf, and the other Nobles of *England*, had, not long ſince, bound themſelves by an Oath to obey *Maud*, their lawful Queen; and that he ought not, nor would acknowledge any other Monarch as long as ſhe was alive. When this Anſwer was brought to *Stephen*, preſently a War began. The *Engliſh* entred upon the adjacent *Scots*, the *Scots* doing as much for them. The next Year an Army of *Scots*, under the Conduct of the Earls of *Merch*, of *Menteith*, and of *Argus*, entred *England*, and met the *Engliſh* at the Town of *Allerton*, whoſe General was the Earl of *Glouceſter*. A ſharp Battel was there fought with equal Slaughter on both ſides, as long as the Army ſtood to it; at laſt, the *Engliſh* being overthrown, many periſh'd in the Flight, and many of the Nobility were taken Priſoners, amongſt whom was the *Earl* of *Glouceſter* himſelf. *Stephen*, very much concerned at this Overthrow, and fearing it might otherwiſe alienate from him the Affections of the Friends and Kindred of the captive Nobles, refuſed no Conditions of Peace. The Terms were theſe, "That the *Engliſh* Priſoners ſhould "be releaſed without Ranſom; That *Stephen* ſhould quit "Claim which as chief Lord he pretended to have over "*Cumberland*." But *Stephen* obſerved thoſe Conditions no better than he did the Oath formerly taken to *Maud*, his Kinſwoman; for before the Armies were quite disbanded, and the Priſoners releaſed, he privately ſurprized ſome Caſtles in *Northumberland*, and by driving away Booties from the *Scots* Countries renewed the War. The *Scots* gathering a ſudden Army together out of the neighbouring Provinces, and deſpiſing the *Engliſh*, whom they had overthrown in Battel the ſelf ſame Year, run raſhly on to the Conflict at the River *Tees*; where they paid for their Folly of undervaluing the Enemy, and received a ſignal Overthrow; they were likewiſe compelled to quit *Northumberland*: *David*, to retrieve this Loſs and Ignominy, gathered as great an Army as ever he could together, and came to *Roxburgh*; thither *Turſtan*, or (as *William* of *Newberry* calls him) *Truſtinus* was ſent by the *Engliſh* to treat concerning a Pacification, and there being ſome hope of Agreement, a Truce was made for three Months upon Condition, "That *Nor-*"*thumberland* ſhould be preſently reſtored to the *Scots*:" But this Promiſe, which was made by *Stephen*, only to have the

the Army disbanded, was not perform'd; ſo that *David* drove away a great Booty out of that part of *Northumberland* which obeyed *Stephen*; and *Stephen* gathering a great Force together pierced as far as *Roxborough*; but underſtanding that the Nobility were averſe, and complained that they were involv'd in an unjuſt and unneceſſary War, without performing any memorable Exploit, he retired into the Heart of his Kingdom: And the next Year, fearing ſome inteſtine Sedition, he ſent his Wife *Maud* to *David* her Uncle, to treat of Peace. Upon her Mediation it was accorded, That *David* from *Newcaſtle*, where he commonly reſided, and *Stephen* from *Durham*, ſhould ſend Arbitrators for compoſing of Matters to the Town of *Cheſter in the Street*, ſituate in the midway, equally diſtant from both Places. *David* ſent the Archbiſhops of St. *Andrews* and *Glaſgoe*; *Stephen*, the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*. Both Parties were the more inclinable to Peace, becauſe *Stephen* feared War from abroad, and Seditions at home; and the *Scots* complained that they were forced to bear the Shock of a War made in the behalf of another; whereas *Maud*, for whoſe ſake it was commenced, did nothing at all in it. The Peace was made on theſe Conditions, "That *Cumberland*, as by ancient Right ſhould be poſſeſſed by *David*, "and that *Northumberland* unto the River *Tees*, (as *William* "of *Newberry* the *Engliſhman* writes) and *Huntingtonſhire*, "ſhould be enjoyed by *Henry*, *David*'s Son, upon the account of his Mother's Inheritance; and that he ſhould do "Homage to *Stephen* for the ſame." When things were thus compoſed *David* retired into *Cumberland*, and *Stephen* into *Kent*. This Peace was made in the Year of our Lord 1139, in which Year *Maud* being returned to *England*, ſent her Son *Henry*, afterward King of *England*, to *Carliſle*, to *David* his Great Uncle, that he might be inſtructed in Feats of Arms, and likewiſe advanced by him to the Dignity of Knighthood; who, without doubt, was the moſt excellent Warrior in his time; and that Promotion was in thoſe Days performed with a great deal of Ceremony.

AT that time there was ſo great a Diſturbance in *England*, by reaſon of domeſtick Diſcords, that no part of it was free from a Civil War but that which was in the Hands of *David* the King of *Scots*; and that he alone might not plead Exemption from the publick Calamity, within three Years after his Son, the only Heir (in hope) of ſo much Power and Felicity, died in the Flower of his Age, leaving three Sons and as many Daughters. He died ſo greatly in the Love and Affection both of the *Scots* and *Engliſh*; that beſides

ſides the publick Loſs every one lamented his Death as his own private Misfortune; for ſo great a Sincerity and Moderation of Mind ſhone forth in him, even in that Age when Youth is accuſtomed to play the Wanton, that every body expected moſt rare and ſingular Fruits from his Diſpoſition when it was ripened by Age. His Father's Grief was alſo farther increas'd, by reaſon of the tender Age of his Nephew, and the Ambition and reſtleſs Diſpoſition of *Stephen*; and if he died he was troubled at the Fierceneſs of *Henry*'s Spirit, then in the Fervor of his Youth; who being the Son of *Maud*, was to ſucceed in the Kingdom. When the Thoughts of ſo many foreſeen Miſchiefs aſſaulted his diſeaſed and feeble Mind, inſomuch that all Men imagined he would have ſunk under them, yet he bore up ſo ſtoutly that he invited ſome of the Prime Nobility (who were ſolicitous for him, leſt he ſhould be too much afflicted, as well they might) to Supper, and there he entertained them with a Diſcourſe rather like a *Comforter* than a *Mourner*. He told them, "That no new thing had happened to him or to his Son. That he had long ſince learned from the Sermons of learned and holy Men, that the World was governed by the Providence of Almighty God, whom it was a fooliſh and impious thing to endeavour to reſiſt: That he was not ignorant his Son was born on no other Terms to live, but that he muſt as certainly die, and ſo pay that Debt to Nature which he owed even at his very Birth; and when Men were always ready to pay that Debt, 'twas no great matter when God, their great Creditor, called upon them for it: That if only *wicked* Men were ſubject to Death, then a Man might juſtly grieve at the Deceaſe of his Kindred; but when we ſee *good* Men alſo die, all Chriſtians (ſaid he) ought to be thoroughly ſettled in this Perſuaſion, *That no Evil can happen to the Good (either alive or dead,)* and therefore why ſhould we be ſo much troubled at a ſhort Separation, eſpecially from our Kindred, who have not ſo much left us, as they are gone before us, to our common Country; whither we too, tho' we ſhould live never ſo long, muſt yet at laſt follow? As for my Son, if he hath undertaken this Voyage before us, that ſo he might viſit and enjoy the Fellowſhip of my Parents and Brethren, thoſe precious Men, ſomewhat earlier than our ſelves; if we are troubled at it, let us take heed that we ſeem not rather to envy his Happineſs than to mourn for our own Loſs. As for you, worthy Lords, as I am beholding to you for many Offices of Reſpect, ſo

* "both

" both I and my Son (for I ſhall undertake alſo for him) " are much obliged for your Loves to me, and your grate- " ful and pious Memory of him.

THIS Greatneſs of Mind in the King, as it added much to the Veneration that was paid to his Royal Perſon, ſo it increaſed the Senſe of the Loſs of his Son in the Minds of all, when they conſider'd what a Prince they and their Children were deprived of. And *David*, that he might make uſe of the only way of Conſolation which was left him, cauſed his Nephews, and his Son's Children to be brought to him, and to be trained up in Court-diſcipline, which was *then* moſt pious. In fine, he provided for their Security as far as the Counſels of Man, or human Foreſight could provide. He commended *Malcolm*, the eldeſt of the three, to the Care of the whole Nobility, and particularly of *Macduff*, Earl of *Fife*, a very powerful and prudent Man, and he cauſed him to carry him all over the Land, that ſo he might be received as the undoubted Heir of the Kingdom: *William*, the next Son, he conſtituted Earl of *Northumberland*, and put him into the immediate Poſſeſſion of that Country: He created *David*, the third Son, Earl of *Huntingdon* in *England*, and of *Garioch* in *Scotland*. He made the more haſte to prefer them, becauſe lingering under a Diſeaſe that was judged to be mortal, he foreſaw his Time could not be long in this World. He died in the Year of Chriſt 1153, the 24th Day of *May*. He was ſo well beloved, that all Men thought that in him they had loſt rather a Father, nay rather the beſt of Fathers than a King: For though his whole Life was ſo devout, as no Hiſtory records the like, yet ſome few Years before his Death he devoted himſelf particularly to the Preparation for his latter End; ſo that his Deportment *then* very much encreaſed Mens Veneration for the former part of his Life. For tho' he equalled his Royal Predeceſſors, who were moſt Praiſeworthy in the Art of War, and excelled them in the Study of Peace; yet now leaving off contending with others for Superiority in Virtue, he maintained a Combat with himſelf alone, wherein he advanc'd ſo much, that if the higheſt and moſt learned Wits ſhould endeavour to give the Idea or Pattern of a good King, they could never comprehend in their Thoughts ſuch an exemplary Prince as *David* ſhewed himſelf in his whole Life to be. He reigned twenty nine Years, two Months, and three Days.

MALCOLM

MALCOLM IV. *The ninety ſecond King.*

HIS Nephew *Malcolm* ſucceeded him, who tho' then under Age, gave great hopes of his future Ingenuity. For he was ſo educated by his Father and Grandfather, that he ſeemed to reſemble them as much in the Virtues of his Mind, as in the Lineaments of his Body. In the beginning of his Reign a great Plague raged all over *Scotland*, by which great Numbers of Men and Cattel were deſtroyed. At that time, one *Somerled* was *Thane* of *Argyle*, whoſe Fortune was above his Family, and his Mind above his Fortune. He conceiving ſome hopes to enjoy the Kingdom, by reaſon of the King's Non-age, and the preſent Calamity, gathered a Band of his Confidents together, and invaded the adjacent Countries. The mighty Havock he made was ſpoken of far and near, and the fear of him ſpreading it ſelf farther, many *bad* Men coming in to him, and ſome *good* being forc'd to join with him too, in a ſhort time he made up a vaſt Army. Upon the Report of this Tumult, *Donald* alſo, the Son of *Malcolm Mackbeth*, made another Commotion; but being taken at *Whithorn* in *Galway*, and ſent to the King, he was committed to the ſame Priſon with his Father: But ſoon after the King was reconciled to them, and they were both releaſed. *Gilchriſt*, Earl of *Angus*, was ſent with an Army againſt *Somerled*, who defeated and killed many of his Men, and cauſed him, with ſome few more, to fly into *Ireland*. This Victory, thus unexpectedly and ſuddenly obtain'd, produc'd Tranquillity at home, but Envy abroad: For *Henry*, King of *England*, an ambitious Prince, and deſirous to inlarge his own Dominions, reſolved with himſelf to curb the growing Greatneſs and Power of *Malcolm*; but he could not well make open War upon him, out of Conſcience of that Pact and Oath which he had ſworn to him: For when he receiv'd the Military Girdle (as the Cuſtom is) from King *David*, *Malcolm*'s Grandfather, at *Carliſle*, he promiſ'd and took his Oath on it, (as *William* of *Newberry*, beſides our own Writers, ſay) *That he would never go about either to deprive* David *himſelf, or any of his Poſterity, of any part of thoſe Poſſeſſions which* David *then held in* England. He being in ſome Meaſure bound up by this Oath, that he might find out ſome Colour for his Calumnies, he reſolv'd to try the King's Patience in a leſs Affair. When *John* Biſhop of *Glaſgow* was dedicating Churches, ſhaving Prieſts, and performing the other Parts of his Epiſcopal Office, (as then they were judged to be) all over *Cumberland*; *Henry*, by *Truſtine*, Archbiſhop

biſhop of *York*, ſent a new Biſhop into that Country, called the Biſhop of *Carliſle*. *John* was ſo moy'd at the Injury, that ſeeing no ſufficient Safeguard, neither in the King nor in the Law, he left his Biſhoprick and retir'd into the Monaſtery of *Tours* in *France*; whence he returned not until the Pope, at *Malcolm*'s Requeſt, drew him unwillingly out of his Cell, and made him return to his own Country; *Malcolm* bore the Wrong better than ſome hoped; ſo that not thinking it a ſufficient Cauſe for a War, he went to *Cheſter in the Street*, there to quiet Suſpicions, and to cut off occaſions of Diſcord. Being arrived there, by the Fraud of *Henry* he was circumvented, and made to take an Oath of Fidelity to him; whereas it was not the King himſelf but his Brothers, who had Lands in *England*, according to an old Agreement, who were to take that Oath: But this was craftily and maliciouſly deviſed by the *Engliſh* King, to ſow the Seed of Diſcord amongſt Brethren; which the following Year did more fully appear, when he decoy'd *Malcolm* out of *Northumberland*, which was his Brother *William*'s Patrimony. For he ſent for him to *London*, that according to the Examples of his Anceſtors, he in a publick Aſſembly might acknowledge himſelf his Feudatary for the Lands which he held in *England*. He, under Covert of the publick Faith, came ſpeedily thither, but without doing any thing of that for which his Journey was pretended, he was forced againſt his Will, with that little Retinue which he had, to accompany *Henry* into *France*: *Henry*'s Deſign in this was partly that the *Scots* might not attempt any thing againſt him during his Abſence, and partly to alienate the Mind of *Lewis* King of *France* from him. Thus *Malcolm* was compelled for fear of a greater Miſchief, to go againſt his old Friend, and was not ſuffered to come back to his own Country; till King *Henry* having made no great Advantages of the *French* War did likewiſe return home. Then *Malcolm* obtained Leave to return to *Scotland*, where in a Convention of the Nobility he declar'd to them the Adventure of his Travels; but he found a great Part of them very much incens'd, that he had joined with a *certain* Enemy againſt an old and truſty Friend, and did not foreſee the Artifices by which *Henry* had gull'd him. The King on the other ſide alledg'd, that he was haled unwillingly into *France*, by a King in whoſe Power he was, and to whom he dar'd to deny nothing at that time; and therefore he did not deſpair but the *French* would be ſatisfy'd and appeas'd when they underſtood he was hurried thither by Force, and carry'd none of his Country Forces along with him. This Harangue, with much

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ado, quieted the Sedition for the preſent, which was almoſt ready to break out.

BUT *Henry*, who had Spies every where, knew that the Tumult was rather ſuſpended, than that the Minds of Men were reconciled to him, and therefore he ſummon'd *Malcolm* to come to a Convention at *York*. There he was accuſed of a pretended Crime, that the *Engliſh* had been worſted in *France* principally by his Means; and therefore it was referred to the Aſſembly, Whether he ought not to loſe all the Countries which he held in *England*. Though he anſwer'd all the objected Crimes, and fully clear'd himſelf, yet he found all their Ears ſhut againſt him, as being prepoſſeſſed by the Fears or Favour of the King, ſo that a Decree was made in Favour of *Henry*; neither was he contented with this Injury, but he alſo ſuborn'd ſome Perſons fit for his Purpoſe, to bruit it abroad, "That *Malcolm* had freely, "and of his own accord, quitted his Intereſt in thoſe Coun-"tries." At which his Subjects the *Scots* were ſo incenſed, that at his Return home they beſieg'd him in *Perth*, and had almoſt taken him; but by the Intervention of ſome great Men their Anger was a little abated, when he had inform'd the Nobility how unjuſtly and fraudulently *Henry* had deſpoiled him of his ancient Patrimony. This made them unanimouſly agree upon a War, that ſo he might recover by juſt Arms what was unlawfully taken from him by Force. Accordingly a War was reſolved upon, declared, and actually begun, not without great Inconveniencies to both Nations. At laſt both Kings came to a Conference not far from *Carliſle*, and after much Diſpute *Pro* and *Con*, *Henry* took away *Northumberland* from *Malcolm*, leaving him *Cumberland* and *Huntingtonſhire*; *Henry* had no other Pretence for his ambitious Avarice but this, that he could not ſuffer ſo great a Diminution to be made of his Kingdom: But ſeeing no reſpect to Juſtice and Right, no Pacts, no Covenants, no nor the Religion of an Oath, could hinder the unſatiable Avarice of *Henry*; *Malcolm* being a Man of low Spirit, and too deſirous of Peace, upon any Conditions whatever, accepted of his Terms, tho' it went ſorely againſt the Grain among the *Scots* Nobility, and cut them to the Quick; *They deny'd that the King could alienate any part of his Dominions without the general Conſent of the Eſtates.*

AFTER this the King began to be deſpiſed by his Subjects, as not having Fortitude or Prudence enough to weild the Scepter; neither did any thing bridle their fierce Minds from riſing in Arms, but a greater Fear from *Henry*; who (they knew) aimed at the Conqueſt of the whole Iſland, being encouraged

couraged thereunto by the Simplicity of *Malcolm*, and by his hopes of foreign Aid. This general Diſſatisfaction to the King did much leſſen the Reverence of his Government. A Rebellion was firſt begun by *Angus*, or rather *Æneas*, of *Galway*, a potent Man, but yet more confiding upon the King's Sloth than his own Power. *Gilchriſt* was ſent againſt him, who overthrew him in three Fights, and compelled him to take Sanctuary in the Monaſtery of *Whit-horn*, out of which it was not counted lawful to take him by Force; and therefore after a long Siege, being driven to the want of all Neceſſaries, he was forced to capitulate: He was to loſe part of his Eſtate for his Puniſhment, and his Son was to be given as an Hoſtage for his good Behaviour for the future: But he being of a lofty Spirit, and not able to endure this Abatement of his former Greatneſs, turn'd *Monk*, ſhav'd himſelf, and ſhut himſelf up in a Monaſtery near *Edinburgh* to avoid the Shame and Scorn of Men. Neither was there Peace in other Parts of the Realm, for the *Murray*-Men, being always given to mutinying, roſe in Arms under *Gildo*, or rather *Gildominick*, their Captain; and did not only ſpoil the Counties round about, but when Heralds of Arms were ſent from the King they moſt barbarouſly ſlew them. *Gilchriſt* was ſent out againſt them alſo, with a greater Army, but with unlike Succeſs; for the Valour of an Adverſary, which is wont to be a Terror to other Rebels, drove thoſe wicked Perſons, conſcious of their own Demerits, to Deſperation; and therefore endeavouring to ſell their Lives as dear as they could, they routed the oppoſite Army and became Conquerors. *Malcolm* upon this Overthrow recruited his old Army, and marched into *Murray*, and met the *Murray*-Men at the Mouth of the River *Spey*; who, tho' they knew that the King's Forces were encreaſed, and theirs diminiſhed in the late Fight; yet being encouraged by the Opportunity of the Place, and their newly obtain'd Victory, they reſolv'd to adventure a Battel. The Fight was carry'd on with great Reſolution, and no leſs Slaughter; for the *Moravians* gave not back till the King's Forces being weary'd had new Relief from Reſerves ſent them: Then the *Moravians* were broken, and there was no more fighting but killing. The Fury of the Soldiers ſpar'd no Age nor Rank of Men. In this Fight the old *Moravians* were almoſt all ſlain, which Puniſhment, tho' cruel, ſeem'd not to be undeſerv'd; and the greatneſs of the Revenge was allay'd and made excuſable by the ſavage Cruelty of that perfidious People againſt others; hereupon new Colonies were ſent into the Lands of the ſlain.

NEITHER did *Sumerled* in this Storm of Government think it fit to ſit ſtill; he (as I ſaid before) after his Overthrow fled into *Ireland*, and from that time forward exerciſed Pyracy upon the Coaſts of *Scotland*; but now judging that a great part of the military Men being ſlain in Battel, he might either get a rich Booty from thoſe who would ſhun the Hazard of fighting, or elſe a cheap and eaſie Victory from them who would ſtand to it, gathered a great Band of Royſters together, and arriving at the Firth or Bay of the River *Clyde* there made a Deſcent; and Fortune at firſt favouring his Deſign, he penetrated as far as *Renfreu*: But there, whilſt he was more intent on Plunder than on the Safety of his Men, he was ſurprized by a far leſs Number than his own, and loſt all his Soldiers, he himſelf being ſaved and brought alive to the King for farther Scorn and Puniſhment; though ſome ſay that both he and his Son too were ſlain in the Battel. Theſe things were acted about the Year of Chriſt 1165.

THE Kingdom being thus quieted from all Tumults, an Aſſembly of all the Eſtates was ſummoned at *Scone*, where many things were decreed for the Confirmation of the State of the Kingdom; and amongſt the reſt the whole Aſſembly unanimouſly made it their Requeſt to the King, *That he would think of Marriage, in regard he was now fit for it, as being above twenty two Years of Age, and by that Means he might have Children to ſucceed him.* They told him *it was a publick Debt due to the Kingdom, as well as a private one to his Family; and that he ought to mind not only the preſent time, but to have a Proſpect to the Tranquillity of future Ages too.* His Anſwer was, *That ever ſince he had been capable to order and direct his own Life, he had ſolemnly vowed to God to live a Continent, and a Batchelor's Life; which Vow,* ſaid he, *I think, was the more acceptable to God, both becauſe he gave me the Strength to perform it, and alſo, becauſe he hath prepared Heirs already to ſucceed me; ſo that I am not compelled to break my Vow, neither by any Weakneſs of my own Spirit, nor by any other publick Neceſſity.* Thus diſmiſſing the Parliament, having Peace abroad, he apply'd his Mind to the Arts of his Forefathers, *i. e.* Building of Churches, and Donations on *Monks*, wherein he would have exceeded his Anceſtors if God had given him a longer Life: For he died not long after on the nineteenth Day of *December*, in the twenty fifth Year of his Age, and a little more than the twelfth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Redemption 1165.

WILLIAM,

WILLIAM, *The ninety third King.*

HIS Brother *William* ſucceeded him, who entr'd upon the Kingdom fifteen Days after *Malcolm*'s Death. He would tranſact no publick or private Buſineſs of any Weight, till he had craved of *Henry* of *England* the Reſtitution of *Northumberland*. *Henry* commanded him to come to *London* to do him Homage for the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Huntington*, according to Cuſtom; which he did not unwillingly, yet deſiſted not from preſſing to have *Northumberland* reſtored. *Henry* gave him an ambiguous Anſwer, ſaying, *That in regard* Northumberland *was taken away from* Malcolm, *and given to him by the States of the Kingdom, he could not part from it without their Conſent; but he ſhould come to the next Parliament, and there expect Juſtice to be done.* *William*, though he expected no good from the Parliament, yet to cut off all Occaſions of Calumny from his Adverſary, reſolved to wait in *England* for the convening and opening of it; and in the mean time he accompany'd *Henry*, tho' againſt his Will, to the War in *France*. There he profited nothing by his daily Solicitations, and foreſeeing that the King would not ſpeedily return into *England*, with much ado he obtained a Convoy and returned into *Scotland*. After his Return, the firſt thing he did was to repreſs the Inſolencies of Thieves and Robbers, by puniſhing and clearing the Country of the Offenders; then he erected Caſtles, and placed Garriſons in convenient Places, to prevent ſudden Invaſions: At laſt he ſent Ambaſſadors into *England*, to demand *Northumberland*, denouncing War in caſe of Refuſal. *Henry* being entangled in the *French* War, yielded up to him that part of *Northumberland* which *William*'s great Grandfather held. *William* took it, but on this Condition, that he would not remit his Right in, or Claim to, the reſt. The *Engliſh* King took this very heinouſly, and being ſorry he had parted with any of *Northumberland* before the Controverſy was decided, he made Incurſions into the *Scots* Borders, and thus ſowed the Seeds of a new War; and by this means he hoped to have taken away alſo the other Lands, which he would have brought into Diſpute. When Right was claimed by the Wardens of the Marches, according to Cuſtom, the *Engliſh* complained that their Borders were moleſted by *Scotiſh* Robbers; ſo that the Ambaſſadors were ſent away without obtaining the thing they came for, nay almoſt without an Anſwer: The *Scots*, to obtain that by Force which they could not do by fair Means,

levied an Army, and entred upon and waſted the bordering Lands of the *Engliſh* with Fire and Sword. This being about Harveſt, the *Engliſh* in the Abſence of their King were content only to ſtand upon the defenſive what they could, but then levied no Army; yet the Winter following ſome Action paſſed, and many Incurſions were made. The next Summer *William* liſted a great Army, and marched into the Enemy's Country; the *Engliſh* having few or no Forces ready to withſtand them, ſend Ambaſſadors to their Camp, proffering a great Sum of Money for a Truce; which if they could obtain they gave Hopes that all things would be accorded to Content. *William* being a plain hearted Man, and willing to preſerve Peace, (if obtainable upon reaſonable Conditions) before a War, though a juſt one, gave Credit to their fallacious Promiſes. The *Engliſh* ſpent all the time of the Ceſſation in Preparations for War; but in the mean time they plied the *Scots* with Ambaſſadors who made large Promiſes, though their true Errand was to diſcover their Enemy's Camp; and finding the *Scots*, on Confidence of the Truce, remiſs and negligent, and the greateſt part of their Army ſcatter'd to get in Forage; they returned and gave their Army notice, that now was a fair Opportunity for Action, which they urged them not to omit; whereupon, placing the greateſt part of their Army in Ambuſh, about four hundred nimble Horſemen in the third Watch, a few Hours before Sun-riſing marched directly to *Alnwick*, where the *Scots* Camp was pitch'd; there finding all things in greater Security than they expected, they ſet upon the King who was riding up and down (with ſixty Horſe only, as if there had been a ſetled Peace) and before it could well be diſcerned whether they were Friends or Enemies (for they diſguiſed themſelves with *Scots* Arms and Enſigns, that they might paſs for *Scots*) they took him Priſoner in the ninth Year of his Reign; ſome few were rouz'd up at the Report, and purſued in a ſcatter'd manner; divers of them ruſhed amongſt their Enemies, as not being willing to forſake their King, and ſo were made Priſoners themſelves. *William* was carry'd to *Henry*, then warring in *France*. The *Engliſh*, elated with this unexpected Succeſs, invaded *Cumberland*, thinking to carry it without Blows; but *Gilchriſt* and *Rolland*, two *Scots* Commanders, did ſo entertain them, that being repulſed they made a Truce, and were content to enjoy *Northumberland* only, as long as the *Scots* King was a Priſoner, and to leave *Cumberland* and *Huntingtonſhire* to the free Poſſeſſion of the *Scots*.

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In the mean time *David*, the Brother of *William*, Earl of *Huntington* in *England*, and *Garioch* in *Scotland*, who then fought under the *Engliſh* Banners, received a Convoy and returned into *Scotland*; where having ſetled things for the preſent, he ſent Ambaſſadors into *England* about the Redemption of his Brother, who was then kept Priſoner at *Faliſe*, a Town in *Normandy*. The King gave fifteen Hoſtages to the *Engliſh*, and ſurrender'd up four Caſtles, *viz.* the Caſtle of *Roxburgh*, of *Berwick*, of *Edinburgh*, and of *Sterling*, and then he was permitted to return home on the firſt of *February*; but then he was called upon by the *Engliſh* to appear at *York*, with his Nobles and Biſhops, on the fifteenth Day of *Auguſt*: Being arrived there he and all his Followers (who were the chief Nobility) took an Oath of Obedience to King *Henry*, and gave up the Kingdom of *Scotland* into his Guardianſhip and Patronage. Theſe Conditions, though very hard, yet the *Scots* were willing to accept of, that ſo they might have the beſt of Kings reſtored to them, as the *Engliſh* Writers ſay. *Thomas Walſingham* of *England* writes, that this Surrender was not made at *York*, but at *Conſtance*; yet ſome ſay that this Interview of both Kings was not in order to the Surrender of the Kingdom, but for the Payment of certain pecuniary Penſions; and that the Caſtles were put into the Hands of the *Engliſh* as Cautionaries only, till the Money was paid. This Opinion ſeems to me moſt probable, as appears by the League renewed with *Richard*, *Henry*'s Son, of which in its due place.

WILLIAM at his Return, in a few Months, by *Gilchriſt* his General, quelled the Inſurrections made in his Abſence in *Galway*. On the twenty eighth of *January* there was an Aſſembly ſummoned at *Norham* by *Tweed*, thither *William* came; where the *Engliſh* labour'd extremely, that all the *Scots* Biſhops ſhould acknowledge the Biſhop of *York* for their *Metropolitan*; the Pope's Legate alſo concurr'd with them in their Deſire, and earneſtly preſſed that it might be ſo enacted. After a long Diſpute the *Scots* anſwered, That at preſent few of their Countrymen were there, and that they could not bind the abſent to obey their Decree, if they ſhould conſent to any. Upon this the Matter was deferred to another time, and ſhortly after the *Scots* Biſhops ſent Agents to *Rome*, to juſtify their Cauſe before *Alexander* the Third, by whoſe Decree the Biſhops of *Scotland* were freed from the Yoke of the *Engliſh*, and ſo the Meſſengers returned joyfully home. Not long after *Gilchriſt*, whom I have often mentioned before, ſlew his Wife, who was the King's Siſter, becauſe ſhe had committed Adultery. He was ſum-

moned to appear on a certain Day, but not coming was baniſh'd for ever; his Houſes were demoliſh'd, and his Goods confiſcated. About the ſame time the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* was reſtored to the *Scots*, one of the Penſions having been paid; and to make the Concord between both Kings more firm, a Law was paſs'd, *That neither King ſhould harbour the Enemy of each other.* Upon this Law *Gilchriſt*, who lived baniſh'd in *England*, was forced to return, and ſhifting from place to place, as a Stranger, amongſt Strangers, and unknown, he paſſed his miſerable Life in great Penury and Want. In the interim *William* prepared for an Expedition into *Murray*, to ſuppreſs the Thieves of the *Ebudæ*, whoſe Captain was *Donald Bane*, *i. e.* the *White*, who derived his Pedigree from the Kings, and had alſo aſſumed the Name of *King*: He made his Deſcent from his Ships in many Places, and ſpoiled not only the maritime Parts, but, his Boldneſs encreaſing, by reaſon of Impunity, thoſe Places alſo which were very remote from the Sea. The King ſent out Ships to ſail about and burn his Fleet, whilſt he with a Land Army attack'd them; and ſo doing, he put them almoſt all to the Sword. In his Return, as he was near *Perth*, he found three Countrymen, which yet ſeemed to be more than ſo, had not it been for their ſhabby and uncouth Habit, who look'd as if they had a mind to avoid meeting any Company; but the King cauſed them to be brought to him, and viewing them intently, was very earneſt to know what manner of Creatures they were. *Gilchriſt* being the elder of them fell down at the King's Feet, and making a miſerable Complaint of his Misfortunes, tells who he was; upon which the Memory of his former Life, which he had paſſed with ſo much Splendor, did ſo paſſionately affect all that were preſent, that they could not chuſe but fall a weeping: Whereupon the King commanded him to riſe from the Ground, and reſtored him to his former Dignity, and the ſame degree of Favour he had before.

THESE things fell out about the Year 1190, at which time *Richard*, who the Year before had ſucceeded *Henry* his Father in the Throne of *England*, prepared for an Expedition into *Syria*. He reſtored the Caſtles to the King of *Scots*, and ſent back the Hoſtages, freeing him and his Poſterity from all Pacts, either extorted by Force, or obtained by Fraud, made with the *Engliſh*, and ſuffered him to enjoy the Realm of *Scotland* by the ſame Right, and within the ſame Limits as *Malcolm*, or any former Kings had held it: *Matthew Paris* makes mention of theſe Conditions; *William*, on the other ſide, that he might not be ungrateful to *Richard*,

Richard, upon his going to War into a ſtrange Country, gave him 1000 Marks of Silver, and commanded *David* his Brother, who was declared Earl of *Huntington*, to follow him into *Syria*. This *David* in his Return from thence had his Navy ſcatter'd by a Tempeſt, was taken Priſoner by the *Ægyptians*, redeem'd of the *Venetians*; and at laſt, being known at *Conſtantinople* by an *Engliſh* Merchant, after four Years time he returned into *Scotland*, and was received with the general Gratulation of all Men, eſpecially of his Brother. *Boetius* thinks that the Town where this *David* was landed in Safety, before-named *Alectum*, was now called *Deidonum*; but becauſe the Name of *Alectum* is found in no Author but only in *Hector Boetius*, I rather think it was called *Taodunum*, a Word compounded of *Tay* and *Dun*, *i. e. Dundee*.

NOT long after *Richard*, after many Hazards and Misfortunes, returned alſo from the ſame Voyage. *William* and his Brother came to congratulate him upon his Return, and gave him 2000 Marks of Silver, as a Largeſs, being moved thereunto either out of Remembrance of his former Bounty to him, or on the Conſideration of his preſent Want. Neither were ever the *Scots* and *Engliſh* more gracious than at that time, as many judge: There *William* fell very ſick, and a Rumour of his Death being noiſed abroad, cauſed new Combuſtions in *Scotland*. *Harald*, Earl of the *Orcades*, and of *Caithnes*, hated the Biſhop of *Caithnes* becauſe (as he alledg'd) he was the Obſtacle, that he could not obtain what he deſired of the King; and therefore he took him Priſoner, cut out his Tongue, and alſo put out his Eyes. The King returning home overthrew *Harald* in ſeveral Skirmiſhes, and deſtroyed moſt of his Forces. *Harald* himſelf was taken in his Flight, and brought back to the King; who when his Eyes alſo were firſt put out, by way of Retaliation, was afterwards hang'd; his whole Male-Stock were gelded, the reſt of his Kin, and Companions of his Wickedneſs, were deeply fined. Theſe things are thus related by *Hector Boetius*, and common Report confirms them; yea, the Hill receiving its Name from *Teſticles*, gives Credit to the Relation, ſo that it ſeems truer than what others write in this Matter. Theſe things happen'd in the Year of our Salvation 1198, in which Year the King had a Son named *Alexander* born to him, and *Richard* of *England* dying, his Brother *John* ſucceeded him.

HEREUPON the King of *Scots* went into *England*, to take his Oath to him for the Lands which he held in *England*; and in the beginning of *John*'s new Reign his coming was

not more acceptable than his Departure diſpleaſing; becauſe he refuſed to follow *John* in his Expedition into *France* againſt *Philip* his old Friend. So that as ſoon as *John* returned out of *France*, he ſought Occaſion for a War with the *Scots*, and began to build a Fort over againſt *Berwick*. *William* having in vain complain'd of the Injury by his Ambaſſadors, gathered a Company together, and demoliſhed as much as was built of it. Upon which Armies were levied on both ſides, but when their Camps were near one another Peace was made by the Intervention of the Nobles on theſe Terms, "That *William*'s two Daughters "ſhould be given in Matrimony to *John*'s two Sons, as ſoon as ever they were marriageable. A great Dowry was promiſed, and Caution made, that no Fort ſhould be built, and Hoſtages alſo were given in the Caſe. *William* at his Return fell into an unexpected Danger; the greateſt part of the Town of *Berth* was ſwept away in the Night, by an Inundation of the River *Tay*; neither was the King's Palace exempted from the Calamity, but his Son, an Infant, with his Nurſe and fourteen more, were drowned, the reſt hardly eſcaping; many alſo of the promiſcuous Multitude loſt their Lives. The King perceiving that the Water had overwhelmed the greateſt part of the Ground on which the City ſtood, and that almoſt every Houſe in the Town had ſuffered by it, cauſed a new City to be built a little below in a more commodious Place, on the ſame River; and making ſome ſmall variation of the Name, called it *Perth*, in Memory (as ſome ſay) of one *Perth*, a Nobleman, who gave the King the Land on which the City was built. About the ſame time the King took *Gothered Makul*, Captain of the Rebels in the *North*, who was betrayed to him by his own Men. When he was Priſoner he conſtantly abſtained from all Food, to prevent, as 'tis thought, a more heavy Puniſhment. This was in a manner the laſt memorable Fact of *William*'s, which yet, in regard of his unweildy Age, was acted by his Captains; for he died ſoon after in the 74th Year of his Age, and the 49th Year of his Reign, *A. D.* 1643.

NOT long before his Death Leagues were renewed with *John* King of *England* almoſt every Year; for he being a Man deſirous to enlarge his Dominions, tho' he had War with the *French* abroad, with the *Romaniſts* at home, and moreover was never on ſure Terms of Peace with the *Iriſh* or *Welſh*; yet did not break off his Inclination to invade *Scotland*, which had then an old Man for their King, and the next Heir to him a Child. Frequent Conferences hap-

pen'd on this Occaſion, rather to try what might be obtain'd than in hopes of any good Iſſue; at length the Matter broke out into open Suſpicion; and after many Leagues made between them, at laſt *William* was called to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*; whither he came, but there falling into a dangerous Diſeaſe, he returned without doing any thing. In fine, a little before his Death he was invited to *Norham* on the *Tweed*, and when his Sickneſs would not permit him to go his Son was deſired to come in his ſtead, which yet by the Advice of the Council was refuſed: the Leagues eſtabliſhed in thoſe Interviews I ſhall not particularly mention, for they almoſt all contain the ſame things, having in them nothing new, ſave that in one of them it was articled, that the *Scotiſh* Kings ſhould not ſwear, nor be Feudataries to the Kings of *England* themſelves, for the *Engliſh* Lands they held, but their Children only. The mention of theſe things is wholly omitted by the *Engliſh* Writers alſo, I believe, for this very Cauſe.

ALEXANDER II. *The ninety fourth King.*

WILLIAM was ſucceeded by *Alexander* his Son, begot on *Emergard*, who was Kinſwoman to the King of *England*, and Daughter to the Earl of *Beaumont*. He was but ſixteen Years of Age when he began to reign, entering upon the Government in troubleſome Times; he compoſed and ſetled things more prudently than could be expected from one of his Years. Firſt of all he called a publick Convention of the Eſtates, and there by a Decree he confirmed all the Acts of his Father, that good and prudent Prince. His firſt Expedition was into *England*, not out of any private Ambition, but to bridle the Tyranny of *John*; and it was then ſaid that he was invited in by the *Eccleſiaſticks* of that Kingdom. He left *Norham* upon certain Conditions, when he had begun to beſiege it, and penetrating farther into the Kingdom, he carry'd it very ſeverely againſt all the Royaliſts. Upon his Return home *John* invaded *Scotland* quickly after: He made a mighty Devaſtation in *Dunbar*, *Hadington*, and all the neighbouring Parts of *Lothian*; and to ſpread the War and Ruin farther, he determined to return another Way. *Alexander* being very deſirous to decide it by a Battel, pitched his Tents between the *Pentland* Hills and the River *Eske*, which way, as it was bruited, he would return; but *John*, to avoid fighting, marched along by the Sea, and burnt the Monaſtery of *Coldingham*: He alſo took and burnt *Berwick*, which was then

then but meanly fortified. As he thus marched hallily back, *Alexander* followed him as faſt as he could, and making great Havock all over *Northumberland*, came as far as *Richmond*: But *John* by ſpeedy Marches having retreated into the Heart of *England*, *Alexander* returned by *Weſtmoreland*, and laid all Waſte to the very Gates of *Carliſle*; the City it ſelf he took by Force, and fortified it. The next Year *Lewis*, the Son of *Philip* King of *France*, was ſent for by thoſe who favour'd the *Eccleſiaſtical* Faction, to *London*; that ſo he, upon the Proſcription of *John*, might poſſeſs the Kingdom; and ſo was King *Alexander* of *Scotland* too, who came to aid his old Friend: But *John* being deſerted by his Subjects, and aſſaulted by foreign Arms, upon the Payment of a great Sum of Money at preſent, and the Promiſe of a perpetual Penſion; and moreover, transferring the Right of the Kingdom of *England* to the *Pope*; ſo that the Kings of *England*, for the future, were to be his Feudataries, was received into Favour: So that he obtained Letters from *Rome* by Cardinal *Galo*, a Man of known Avarice, wherein the *Scots* and *French* were, with great Threats, forbid to meddle with a People which were Tributaries to the *Holy See*.

UPON this ſudden Change of things *Lewis* returned into *France*, and *Alexander* into *Scotland*; but his Return home was not ſo quiet as his Entrance into *England* was: For the *Engliſh* preſſing upon the Rear of his retiring Army, took many of the Stragglers Priſoners; and beſides, *John* had broken down all the Bridges on the *Trent*, and had faſtened ſharp Pikes, or Paliſadoes in all its Fords, removing away all Ships and Boats, ſo that it ſeemed to be ſo great an Impediment unto him that he could not avoid it, but muſt certainly be deſtroy'd. In the mean time *John* was poyſoned by an *Engliſh* Monk at *Newark*, a Town ſeated on the *Trent*, and being carry'd in a Litter died in two Days. That Caſualty open'd the way for *Alexander*'s March; then blaming and puniſhing his Men for their former Careleſſneſs, he marched on more circumſpectly, but not without the great Damage of thoſe thro' whoſe Countries he paſſed: For whatſoever could be driven away, or carried, he took with him, and ſo returned home with a great Booty. *Galo*, the Pope's Legate, when he had ſetled *Henry*, the Son of *John*, in the Throne, fined the Nobles of *England* in a great Sum of Money, and then received them into Favour. And to give them ſome Recompence for their Loſs, by the like Calamity of their Enemies, he excommunicates *Lewis* of *France*, and *Alexander* of *Scotland*, in hopes to obtain ſome Booty from them into the Bargain. The *Scots* were interdicted all

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divine Offices; for he imagined that his thundering *Anathema*'s would prevail more amongſt the ſimple Vulgar than with the Kings: But at laſt Peace was made between the two Monarchs; the *Scots* were to reſtore *Carliſle*, and the *Engliſh Berwick*; and the ancient Bounds at *Kings-Croſs* were to be obſerved by them both. *Alexander* and his Subjects were releaſed from their Cenſures by the *Engliſh* Biſhops, who were authorized for that Purpoſe. *Galo* was much enraged that ſo great a Prey ſhould be taken out of his Hands, ſo that he turned his Anger on the Biſhops, and the reſt of the Clergy of *Scotland*, as his own Peculiar, with whom Kings had nothing to do. He ſummoned them to appear at *Alnwick*, whither when they came, the more fearful appeaſed his Wrath with Money, the more reſolute were cited to *Rome*. But they having alſo received many Letters from ſome of the *Engliſh* Biſhops and Abbats, directed to the Pope concerning the ſordid Spirit of the Ambaſſador or Legate, made grievous Complaints againſt him, calling him the *Firebrand of all Miſchief, becauſe he ſtudied not the Publick Good, but his own Avarice, and did chaffer for and ſell Peace and War amongſt Princes at his own Pleaſure.* *Galo* not being able to acquit himſelf of the Crimes laid to his Charge, was fined by the Pope in the Loſs of the Money he had got, which was to be divided amongſt his Accuſers. Upon this they returned home, with a whole Load of large Promiſes, but with empty Purſes. A few Years after *Henry* of *England* being now grown ripe both in Years and Judgment, came to *York*: there he agreed with *Alexander*, in the Preſence of *Pandulphus*, the Pope's Legate, to take *Joan*, *Henry*'s Siſter, to Wife, by whom, becauſe of her untimely Death, he had no Children.

FROM that time there was Peace between both Kings as long as they lived: There he alſo ſolemnly promiſed and ſwore before the ſame *Pandulphus*, That he would beſtow the two Siſters of *Alexander* in honourable Marriages according to their Dignity, as his Father had promiſed before; but one of them returned home unmarry'd, one only being beſtowed in Marriage. The next Year, *viz.* 1220, the Cardinal of St. *Giles* came into *England* to fiſh for Money for the *Holy War*; and accordingly having ſcrap'd together a great Sum in both Kingdoms, which by his Impoſtures he had gulled Perſons of that were too credulous, he luxuriouſly ſpent it in his Journey; ſo that he came empty to *Rome*, falſely alledging that he was robb'd by Thieves in the way. Another Legate preſently ſucceeded him, but Men having been twice cheated by *Italian* Fraud, forbad him in a

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publick Decree, to ſet his Foot upon *Engliſh* Ground. *Alexander* was buſied to ſuppreſs Vices at home, which ſprung up by the Licentiouſneſs of War, and he travelled over the whole Kingdom with his Queen to do Juſtice; whilſt *Gilеſpy*, a *Roſſian*, ſpoiled *Roſs*, and the neighbouring Counties; for paſſing over the River *Neſs*, he took and burnt the Town of *Enverneſs*; he cruelly ſlew all thoſe that refuſed to obey him. *John Cumin*, Earl of *Buchan*, was ſent againſt him, who took him and his two Sons as they were ſhifting up and down, and changing their Quarters to ſecure themſelves, and cut off their Heads, and ſo ſent them to the King. About this time the *Caithneſians* entered by Night into the Bedchamber of *Adam* their Biſhop, and there killed a Monk, who was his uſual Companion, (for he had been before Abbat of *Mulroſs*) and one of his Bechamber; as for the Biſhop himſelf they grievouſly wounded him, and dragging him into the Kitchen, there they burnt him and the Houſe he was in. The Cauſe of their great Cruelty was, (as 'tis reported) becauſe the Biſhop was more ſevere than in former Times in exacting his Tithes. The Offenders were diligently ſought out, and moſt ſeverely puniſhed; the Earl of *Caithnes*, though he was not preſent at the Fact, yet was ſomewhat ſuſpected; but afterwards being brought privately to the King in the *Chriſtmas* Holy-days, which the *Scots* call *Saturnalia*, he humbly begg'd his Pardon of the King, and obtained it.

About this time *Alane* of *Galway*, the moſt powerful Man in *Scotland*, departed this Life. He left three Daughters behind him, of whom I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. *Thomas*, his Baſtard Son, deſpiſing their Age and Sex, ſets up for himſelf as Lord of the Family, and not contented with that, he gathers 10000 Men together, kills all that oppoſe him, and drives Booties far an near from all the neighbouring Countries. At laſt the King ſent an Army againſt him, who ſlew 5000 of the Rebels with their General. The ſame Year *Alexander*, with his Wife, went for *England* to allay the Tumults as much as he could, raiſed againſt *Henry*, and to reconcile him to the Nobility. Whilſt he was buſy about this at *York*, his Wife went with the Queen of *England* a Pilgrimage to *Canterbury*; but at her return ſhe fell ſick, died, and was buried at *London*. Not long after her Death, the King being childleſs, married *Mary*, the Daughter of *Ingelram*, Earl of *Coucy* in *France*, in the Year of Chriſt 1239, by whom he had *Alexander*, who ſucceeded his Father in the Throne. Two Years after, *viz.* in 1242, whilſt the King was haſtening to *England* to viſit that King, newly

newly returned from *France*, and refreſhed himſelf a while at *Hadington* in *Lothian* with Horſe-Races; the Lodging or Inn of *Patrick* of *Gallway*, Earl of *Athol*, was ſet on Fire, where he and two of his Servants were burnt, the Fire ſpreading it ſelf a great way farther: It was not thought to have caſually happened, becauſe of the noted Feuds between *Patrick* and the Family of the *Bizets*. And tho' *William*, the Chief of that Family, was at *Forfar*, above ſixty Miles from *Hadington* the ſame Night that the Fire happen'd, as the Queen could teſtify in his behalf; yet becauſe the adverſe Party, being the Kindred of *Patrick*, pleaded that many of his Servants and Tenants were ſeen at *Hadington* at that time, *William* was ſummoned to appear: He came to *Edinburgh* at the Day prefixed, but not daring to ſtand to his Trial, becauſe of the Power of his Adverſaries, which were the *Cumins*'s, he would have tried the Matter in a Duel; but that being not accepted, he and ſome of his Friends baniſh'd themſelves into *Ireland*, where he left a Noble Family of his Name and Houſe. There was alſo another ſeditious Tumult in *Argyle*, raiſed by *Sumerled*, Son of the former *Sumerled*, but it was ſoon ſuppreſſed by *Patrick Dunbar*, and ſubmitting to the King's Mercy, obtained Pardon for all his paſt Offences. The King not long after fell ſick, and died in the fifty firſt Year of his Age, the thirty fifth of his Reign, and of our Lord 1249.

ALEXANDER III. *The ninety fifth King.*

ALEXANDER the Third, his Son, was crowned King at *Scone* the ſame Year, a Child not paſt eight Years old. The Power of all things was moſtly in the Faction of the *Cumins*'s; for they turned the publick Revenue to the Enrichment of themſelves, oppreſſed the Poor, and by falſe Accuſations cut off ſome of the Nobles who were averſe to their Humours and Deſires, and dared to ſpeak freely of the State of the Kingdom; and being condemn'd their Goods were confiſcated, and brought into the King's Exchequer; from whence they (who rather commanded than obeyed the King) received them back again for their private Emolument. A Convention of the Eſtates being held, the chief Matter in Agitation was to pacify the King of *England*, leſt in ſuch a troubleſome time he ſhould make any Attempt upon them, and to do it more eaſily an Affinity was propoſed. This Way ſeemed more commodious to the *Anti-Cuminian* Party to undermine their Power, than openly to oppugn it. Accordingly Ambaſſadors were ſent to

to *England*, who were kindly received, and munificently rewarded by that King, who granted them all their Desires. The next Year, which was 1251, both Kings met at *York* on the twenty fourth of *November*. There on *Christmas* Day this *Alexander* was made Knight by the King of *England*; and the Day after the Match was concluded betwixt him and *Margarite*, *Henry*'s Daughter. A Peace was also renewed betwixt them, which as long as *Henry* lived was invialobly observed. And because *Alexander* was yet but a Child, and under Age, it was Decreed by the Advice of his Friends, *That he should consult his Father-in-Law, as a Guardian, in all Matters of Weight*; some of the prime Men being accused by virtue of this Decree, secretly withdrew themselves. When the King returned home, *Robert*, Abbat of *Dumferling*, Chancellor of the Kingdom, was accused, because he had legitimated the Wife of *Alane Durward*, who was but the natural or base-born Daughter of *Alexander* the Second; that so, if the King died without Issue, she might come in as Heiress: Upon this Fear the Chancellor, as soon as ever he returned home surrendred up the Seal to the Nobles. *Gamelin*, afterwards Bishop of St. *Andrews*, succeeded him in his Office.

THE three next Years, they who were the King's Council, did almost every one of them carry themselves as Kings, whatever they catched was their own; so that the poor Commonalty was left destitute, and miserably oppressed. The King of *England* being made acquainted with it, out of his paternal Affection to his Son-in-Law, came to *Werk*-Castle, scituate on the Borders of *Scotland*, and sent for his Son-in-Law *Alexander* and his Nobles thither. There, by his Advice, many advantageous Alterations were made, especially of those Magistrates by whose Defaults Insurrections had been caused at home, and also many profitable Statutes were enacted for the future. The King returned to *Scotland* with his Wife, and having an *English* Guard to convey him home, he resolved to reside in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. *Walter Cumins*, Earl of *Monteath*, kept the Castle, who was disaffected because of the Change of the Publick State, made by the King of *England*; yet he was compelled to surrender it by *Patrick Dunbar*, with the Assistance of the *English* Forces. The greatest part of the Nobility, and of the Ecclesiasticks were offended, in regard their Power was somewhat abridged by those new Statutes, which they looked upon as a Yoke imposed upon them by the *English*, and a beginning of their Servitude: Nay they proceeded to that height of Contumacy, that being summoned to give a legal

legal Account of their Management of Affairs in former Times, they made light of the Summons; the ſame Perſons, who were the principal Actors in diſturbing things before, were now the chief Encouragers to Diſobedience. They were generally the *Clans* of the *Cumins*'s, *Walter*, Earl of *Monteath*; *Alexander*, Earl of *Buchan*; *John*, Earl of *Athol*; *William*, Earl of *Mar*, and other conſiderable Men of the ſame Faction. They did not dare to put their Cauſe on a legal Trial, as being conſcious to themſelves of the many Wrongs done to the Poor and meaner Sort, nay to the King himſelf; and therefore they reſolved to outface Juſtice by their Impudence and Audacity: For being informed that the King was but lightly guarded, and lived ſecurely at *Kinroſs*, as in a time of Peace, they immediately gathered a Band of their Vaſſals about them, ſeized him as he was aſleep, and carried him to *Sterling*; and as if there had been no Force in the Caſe, but they had been rightfully elected, they diſcharged and expelled his Servants, took new, and manag'd all things at their own Will and Pleaſure; ſo that now the Terror and Conſternation was turned upon the former Counſellors.

But this Sedition was allayed by the Death of *Walter Cumins*, who was poyſoned, as it is thought, by his Wife, an *Engliſh* Woman; the Suſpicion of its being done by her was increaſed, becauſe though ſhe was courted by many Noblemen, yet ſhe marry'd *John Ruſſel*, her Gallant, a young *Engliſh* Spark: She was accuſed of Witchcraft too, and thrown into Priſon, but ſhe bought her Liberty. *Ruſſel* and his Wife obtained Letters from the Pope, permitting them to commence an Action of the Caſe againſt her Adverſaries, for the Wrong done them, before the Pope's Legate; but it was to no Purpoſe, becauſe the *Scots* urged an ancient Privilege, exempting them from going out of the Kingdom when they were to plead their Cauſes.

When the King was of Age, upon the humble Petition of the *Cumins*'s, he pardoned them as if all their Offences had been expiated by the Death of *Walter*. He was induced ſo to do, (as ſome ſay) by reaſon of the Greatneſs of their Family; and alſo, becauſe he was apprehenſive of foreign Wars, when Matters lay ſo unſetled at home; but that War began not ſo ſoon as Men thought it would.

In the Year of Chriſt 1263, on the firſt of *Auguſt*, *Acho* King of *Norway*, with a Fleet of 160 Sail, came to *Air*, a maritime Town of *Coil*, where he landed 20000 Men. The Cauſe of the War, as he pretended, was, that ſome Iſlands which were promiſed to his Anceſtors by *Mackbeth*,

were

were not yet put into his Hands, *viz. Bote*, *Aran*, and both the *Cumbras*'s, which were never reckoned amongſt the *Æbudæ*; but it was enough for him who ſought a Pretence for a War, that they were called *Iſlands*. *Acho* took two of the greateſt of them, and reduced their Caſtles before he could meet with any Oppoſition; being puffſt up with this Succeſs, he makes a Deſcent into *Cuningham*, the next Continent over againſt *Bote*, in that part of it which they call the *Largs*. There he met with two Misfortunes, almoſt at one and the ſame time; one was, that he was overcome in Fight by *Alexander Stuart*, the Great Grandfather of him who firſt of that Name was King of *Scotland*; and being almoſt taken by the Multitude of his Enemies, he hardly eſcaped in great Fear to his Ships. The other was, that his Ships being toſſed in a mighty Tempeſt, could hardly carry him with a few of his Followers who eſcaped into the *Orcades*. There were ſlain in that Battel ſixteen thouſand of the *Norwegians*, and five thouſand of the *Scots*; ſome Writers ſay that *Alexander* himſelf was in this Fight; yet they alſo make honourable mention of the Name of this *Alexander Stuart*. *Acho* died of Grief for the Loſs of his Army, and of his Kinſman too, a valiant Youth, whoſe Name is not mentioned by Writers.

His Son *Magnus*, who was lately come to him, perceiving things in a more deſperate Poſture than he ever thought they would be brought to; eſpecially having no hopes of Recruits from home before the Spring, and alſo finding the Minds of the *Iſlanders* alienated from him, and that he was forſaken by the *Scots* too, in confidence of whoſe Aid his Father had undertaken that War; theſe things conſidered, he eaſily inclined to Terms of Peace: The Spirit of the young Man was depreſſed both by the unlucky Fight, and alſo by his Fear of the *Iſlanders*; for *Alexander* by ſending about ſome Ships had then recovered the Iſle of *Man*, ſituate almoſt in the midſt between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, upon theſe Conditions, That the King of it ſhould ſend in ten Gallies to the *Scots* as often as there was occaſion, and that the *Scots* ſhould defend him from a foreign Enemy. When *Magnus* ſaw that the reſt of the Iſlands inclined to follow the Example of the *Manks-Men*, he ſent Ambaſſadors to treat of Peace, which *Alexander* refuſed to make, unleſs the *Æbudæ* were reſtored; at laſt, by the Diligence of the Commiſſioners, it was agreed that the *Scots* ſhould have the *Æbudæ*; for which at preſent they were to pay 1000 Marks of Silver, and 100 Marks an Year. And moreover, that *Margarite*, *Alexander*'s Daughter, being then but four Years old, ſhould marry

marry *Hangonan*, the Son of *Magnus*, as ſoon as ſhe was fit for Marriage.

ABOUT this time the King of *England* being infeſted with Civil War, had five Thouſand *Scots* ſent him for his Aſſiſtance, under the Command of *Robert Bruce* and *Alexander Cumins*, whom the *Engliſh* Writers call *John*; the greateſt part of them were ſlain in Fight, and *Cumins*, with the *Engliſh* King himſelf and his Son, and a great part of the *Engliſh* Nobility, of the King's Party, were taken Priſoners.

MOREOVER the *Scots* King was much troubled at the Arrogance of the Prieſts and Monks in his Kingdom; who being enriched by former Kings, began to grow wanton in a continued Peace; nay they endeavoured to be equal, if not ſuperior, to the Nobility, whom they excelled in Wealth. The young Nobility repining at it, and taking it in great Diſdain, uſed them pretty roughly; Complaints were made by them to the King, who imagining either that their Wrongs were not ſo great as they repreſented them, or elſe, that they ſuffered them deſervedly, neglected their pretended Grievances: What do they do next truly but excommunicate every Soul except the King, and in great Wrath determined to go to *Rome*. But the King remembring what great Commotions *Thomas Becket*, the prime Promoter of Eccleſiaſtical Ambition had lately made in *England*, called them back from their Journey, and cauſed the Nobility to ſatisfie not only their Avarice, but even their Arrogance too: And indeed they were the more inclinable to an Accord with the King, becauſe he had lately undertaken the Patronage of the Eccleſiaſtical Orders againſt the Avarice of the *Romaniſts*; for a little before *Ottoboni*, the Pope's Legate, was come into *England* to appeaſe the Civil Diſcords; but not being able to effect the thing he came for, he omitted the publick Care, and ſtudied his own private Gain and Lucre: He called an Eccleſiaſtical Aſſembly of the *Engliſh*, Proctors from *Scotland* being alſo ſummoned to it. In the mean time he endeavoured to exact four Marks of Silver from every Pariſh in *Scotland*, and ſix from all *Cathedrals*, by way of Procuration-Money. This Contribution, or Tax, was ſcarce refuſed, when News was brought that another Legate was arrived in *England*, intending alſo for *Scotland*, on Pretence to gather up Money for the *Holy War*; and beſides that procurable by Indulgences, and other Lime-twigs to catch Money, he endeavoured to wreſt from all Biſhops, Abbats and Pariſh Prieſts (as judging them to be immediately under Papal Juriſdiction) the tenth part of their yearly

Revenues; that ſo *Edward* and *Edmond*, Sons to the King of *England*, might go more nobly and numerouſly attended to the War in *Syria*. The *Scots* judged this Tax to be very grievous and unjuſt, eſpecially becauſe the *Engliſh* ſeemed to be ſo forward to have it granted, as if *Scotland* were not *ſui Juris*, or an abſolute Kingdom, but dependent on *England*. Moreover, they were afraid leſt the Legate ſhould riotouſly miſpend the Money deſigned for the War, as was done ſome Years before; Upon this they forbad him to enter their Borders, but ſent him Word that they themſelves, without his Preſence, would gather Money for, and ſend Soldiers to the *Syrian* War; and indeed they ſent Soldiers, under the Command of the Earls of *Carick* and *Athol*, two of the Chief Nobility, to *Lewis* King of *France*; and to the Pope, leſt he might think himſelf altogetner diſeſteemed, they ſent 1000 Marks of Silver.

THE Year after *Henry*, King of *England*, died, and his Son *Edward* the Firſt ſucceeded him; at whoſe Coronation *Alexander* and his Wife were preſent, ſhe returning died ſoon after; nay *David* the King's Son, and alſo *Alexander*, being newly married to the Daughter of the Earl of *Flanders*, followed her a little time after, and made a continuando of Mourning and Funerals; *Margarite* alſo, the King's Daughter, departed this Life, who left a Daughter behind her, that ſhe had by *Hangonanus* King of *Norway*. *Alexander* being thus in a few Years deprived both of his Wife and Children too, took to Wife *Joleta*, the Daughter of the Count *de Dreux*; and within a Year he fell from his Horſe and broke his Neck, not far from *Kinghorn*, in the Year of our Lord 1285, and on the nineteenth of *March*; he lived forty five Years, and reigned thirty ſeven.

HE was more miſſed than any King of *Scotland* had been before him; not ſo much for the eminent Virtues of his Mind, and the Accompliſhments of his Body, as that People foreſaw what great Calamities would befal the Kingdom upon his Deceaſe. Thoſe wholſome Laws which he made are grown obſolete and out of uſe through the Negligence of Men, and the length of Time, and their Utility is rather celebrated by Report than felt by Trial and Experience. He divided the Kingdom into four Parts, and almoſt every Year he travelled them all over, ſtaying about three Months in each of them to do Juſtice, and to hear the Complaints of the Poor, who had free Acceſs to him during that whole time. As ſoon as he went to an Aſſize or Seſſions, he commanded the Prefect or Sheriff of that Precinct to meet

him

him with a ſelect Number of Men, and alſo to accompany him at his departure to the end of his Bailywick, till the next Precinct, where he was guarded by another like Company. By this means he got a thorough Knowledge of all the Nobility, and was himſelf as well known to them; and the People, as he went, were not burthened with a Troop of Courtiers, who are commonly imperious, and given to play the Game of Avarice whereſoever they come. He commanded the Magiſtrates to puniſh all idle Perſons who followed no Trade, nor had any Eſtates to maintain them; for his Opinion was, *That Idleneſs was the Source and Fountain of all Wickedneſs.* He reduced the Train of Horſemen that attended the Nobles when they travelled, to a certain Number; becauſe he thought that the Multitude of Horſes which were unfit for War, would ſpend too much Proviſion: And whereas, by reaſon of Unskilfulneſs in Navigation, or elſe by Men's Avarice, in venturing out raſhly to Sea, many Shipwracks had happened; and the Violence of Pyrates making an addition to the Misfortunes, the Company of Merchants were almoſt undone, he commanded they ſhould Traffick no more by Sea. That Order laſted about an Year, but being accounted by many of a publick Prejudice, at length ſo great a Quantity of foreign Commodities were imported, that they were never more in *Scotland* within the Memory of Man, or leſs cheap. In this Caſe, that he might ſtudy the good of the Merchants-Company, he forbad that any but Merchants ſhould buy what was imported by Wholeſale; but what every Man wanted he was to buy it of them at ſecond Hand, or by Retail.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK VIII.

ALEXANDER, and his whole Lineage (beſides one Grandchild by his Daughter) being extinct, a Convention of the Eſtates was held at *Scone*, to treat about creating a new King, and ſetling the State of the Kingdom; where, when moſt of the Nobility were come, in the firſt place they appointed Vicegerents to govern Matters at preſent; ſo dividing the Provinces, That *Duncan Mackduff* ſhould preſide over *Fife*, of which he was Earl; *John Cumins*, Earl of *Buchan*, over *Buchan*; *William Frazer*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, over that part of the Kingdom which lay *Northward*: And that *Robert*, Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, another *John Cumins*, and *John Stuart*, ſhould govern the *South-*

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ern Countries, and that the Boundary in the midſt ſhould be the River *Forth*. *Edward*, King of *England*, knowing that his Siſter's Grandchild, Daughter of the King of *Norway*, was the only ſurviving Perſon of all the Poſterity of *Alexander*; and that ſhe was the lawful Heireſs of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſent Ambaſſadors into *Scotland*, to deſire her as a Wife for his Son.

THE Ambaſſadors in the Seſſion diſcourſed much of the publick Utility like to accrue to both Kingdoms by this Marriage, neither did they find the *Scots* averſe to it; for *Edward* was a Man of great Courage and Power, yet he deſired to encreaſe it; and his Valour highly appeared in the *Holy War* in his Father's Life-time, and after his Death in his ſubduing of *Wales*, neither were there ever more Endearments paſſed betwixt the *Scots* and the *Engliſh* than under the laſt Kings; nay the ancient Hatred ſeemed no way more likely to be aboliſhed than if both Nations, on juſt and equal Terms, might be united into one.

FOR theſe Reaſons the Marriage was eaſily aſſented to, other Conditions were alſo added by the Conſent of both Parties; as that the *Scots* ſhould uſe their own Laws and Magiſtrates 'till Children ſhould come by that Marriage, who might govern the Kingdom; or if no ſuch ſhould be born, or being born ſhould die before they came to the Crown, then the Kingdom of *Scotland* was to paſs to the next a Kin of the Blood-Royal. Matters being thus ſetled, Ambaſſadors were ſent into *Norway*. *Michael*, or as others call him, *David Weems* and *Michael Scot*, two eminent Knights of *Fife*, and much famed for their Prudence in thoſe Days: But *Margarite*, (for that was the Name of the young Princeſs) died before they came thither, ſo that they returned home in a ſorrowful Poſture, without doing their Errand.

BY reaſon of the untimely Death of this young Lady a Controverſie aroſe concerning the Kingdom, which gave a mighty Shock to *England*, but almoſt quite ruin'd *Scotland*. The Competitors were Men of great Power, *John Baliol* and *Robert Bruce*; *Baliol* had Lands in *France*, *Bruce* in *England*, but both of them great Poſſeſſions and Allies in *Scotland*. But before I enter upon their Diſputes, that all things may be more clear to the Reader, I muſt begin with them a little higher.

THE three laſt Kings of *Scotland*, *William*, and the two *Alexanders*, the *Second* and the *Third*, and their whole Offſpring being extinct, there remained none who could lawfully claim the Kingdom but the Poſterity of *David*, Earl

of *Huntington*. This *David* was Brother to King *William*, and great Uncle to *Alexander* the *Third*. He marry'd *Maud* in *England*, Daughter to the Earl of *Cheſter*, by whom he had three Daughters; the eldeſt named *Margarite*, marry'd *Alan* of *Galway*, a Man very powerful amongſt the *Scots*; The ſecond was matched to *Robert Bruce*, Sirnamed the *Noble*, of high *Engliſh* Deſcent, and of a large Eſtate; the third was marry'd to *Henry Haſtings*, an *Engliſhman* alſo, whoſe Poſterity moſt deſervedly enjoy the Earldom of *Huntington* to this very Day. But to let him paſs, (becauſe he never put in for the Kingdom) I ſhall confine my Diſcourſe to the Stock, Cauſe, and Anceſtry of *Baliol* and *Bruce* only. Whilſt *William* was King of *Scotland*, *Fergus*, Prince of *Galway*, left two Sons, *Gilbert* and *Ethred*; *William* to prevent the Seeds of Diſcord betwixt the two Brothers, divided their Father's Inheritance equally betwixt them; *Gilbert* the eldeſt took this highly amiſs, and conceived an Hatred againſt his Brother, as his Rival, and againſt the King too, for his unequal Diſtribution. Afterwards, when the King was Priſoner in *England*, being then freed from the Fear of the Law, he diſcovered his long concealed Hatred againſt them both: As for his Brother, he ſurprized and ſeized him unawares, pulled out his Eyes, cut out his Tongue, and ſo, (not contented with merely putting him to Death) he put him to grievous and exceſſive Tortures before he dy'd; and he himſelf joined with the *Engliſh*, and preyed upon his Neighbours and Countreymen, as if they had been in an Enemy's Country, for he waſted all with Fire and Sword. And unleſs *Rolland*, the Son of *Ethred*, had gathered a Band of Countrymen, who remained firm to the King, together, to reſiſt his Attempts, he had either waſted the neighbouring Countries, or drawn them all over to his Party. This *Rolland* was a forward young Man of great Abilities both of Body and Mind; he not only abated the Fury of his Uncle, but many times fought valiantly, and ſometimes ſucceſsfully with the *Engliſh*, as he met them, whilſt he repreſſed their Plunderings, or as he himſelf ſpoiled their Lands. At laſt, when the King was reſtored, *Gilbert*, by the Mediation of his Friends, got a Pardon upon Promiſe of a Sum of Money for the Wrongs he had done, and giving Pledges to that Purpoſe; but *Gilbert* dying a few Days after, thoſe who were accuſtomed to Blood and Plunder under him, and who had given themſelves up into the Protection of the King of *England*, either out of the Inconſtancy of their Diſpoſitions, or for fear of Puniſhment; and being excited to it by the Remorſes of an accuſing Conſcience,

ſcience, which prick'd them for what they had formerly done, took up Arms again under the Command of *Gilpatrick*, *Henry Kennedy* and *Samuel*, who before had been the Aſſiſtants and Companions to *Gilbert* in his Wickedneſs. *Rolland* was ſent with an Army againſt them, and after a great Fight he ſlew their chief Leaders, and a great part of the common Soldiers. They who eſcaped fled to one *Gilcolumb*, a Captain of the Freebooters and Robbers, who had made a great Spoil in *Lothian*, and much damaged the Nobles and richer Sort, ſome of whom he kill'd. Thence marching into *Galway* he undertook *Gilbert*'s Cauſe, when every Body elſe look'd upon it as deſperate. He not only claimed his Lands as his own, but carry'd himſelf high, and as if he was the Lord of all *Galway*. At laſt *Rolland* fought with him on the firſt of *October*, about three Months after *Gilbert*'s Forces were defeated, and ſlew him and the greateſt part of his Army, with very little Loſs of his own ſide; amongſt the ſlain there was found his own Brother, a young Man of experienc'd Bravery.

THE *Engliſh* being troubled at the Overthrow of theſe Men, who had put themſelves under their Protection the Year before, march'd with an Army to *Carliſle*; thither alſo came *Rolland*, being reconciled to the King of *England* by the Mediation of *William*, where he refuted the Calumnies of his Enemies, and ſhewed that he had done nothing maliciouſly or cauſeleſly againſt his own and the publicks Enemy, upon which he was honourably diſmiſſed by the King. *William* alſo returned home, and calling to mind the Conſtancy of his Father *Ethred*, and how many noble Exploits he had perform'd for the Good of the Publick, he gave him all *Galway*: And beſides, he beſtowed *Carrick* on the Son of *Gilbert*, tho' his Father had not deſerved ſo well of him. *William* of *Newberry*, the *Engliſh* Writer, records theſe things as done *Anno* 1183. *Rolland* took to Wife the Siſter of *William Morvill*, who was Lord High Conſtable in *Scotland*; who dying without Iſſue, *Rolland* enjoyed that great Station as Hereditary to him and his Family. He had a Son call'd *Alan*, who for his Aſſiſtance afforded to *John*, King of *England*, in his *Iriſh* War, was rewarded by him with large Poſſeſſions; on which accompt by the permiſſion of *William* of *Scotland*, he was a Feudatary to the *Engliſh* King, and ſwore Fealty to him: This *Alan* took to Wife *Margarite*, the eldeſt Daughter of *David*, Earl of *Huntington*; by her he had three Daughters, the eldeſt, *Dornadilla*, he marry'd to *John Baliol*, who was King of *Scotland*, (for ſome Years.) But *Robert Bruce* marry'd *Iſabella*, *David*'s

ſecond Daughter, and came to be Earl of *Carrick* by that means. *Martha*, Counteſs of *Carrick*, being marriageable, and the only Heireſs of her Father, who died in the *Holy War*, as ſhe was a Hunting turn'd her Eyes upon *Robert Bruce*, the moſt beautiful young Man of all her Train; ſhe courteouſly invited him, and in a manner compelled him into her Caſtle, which was near at Hand: Being come thither, his Age, Beauty, Kindred and Manners, eaſily procuring mutual Love, they were quickly marry'd in a private way. When the King was inform'd of the Matter, he was much offended with them both, becauſe the Right of beſtowing the Lady in Marriage lay in him; yet by the Mediation of Friends he was afterwards reconciled to them: From this Marriage *Robert Bruce* was born, who afterwards was King of *Scotland*.

THUS having enlarged upon the Prologue of what I have to relate, I come now to the matter in Hand, and to the Competitors of the Kingdom: They were *Dornadilla*, the Grandchild of *David* of *Huntington*, by his eldeſt Daughter; and *Robert Bruce*, Earl of *Carrick*, Grandſon of the ſaid *David*, by his youngeſt Daughter. *Dornadilla*'s Pretenſions were grounded on the Cuſtom of the Country, whereby he or ſhe that was nearer in Degree had a better Right: *Robert Bruce* inſiſted on the Sex, that in a like degree of Propinquity *Males* ought to be preferred before *Females*; ſo that he deny'd it to be juſt, that as long as a Grandſon was alive, a Grand-daughter ſhould inherit her Anceſtor's Eſtate; and though ſometimes the contrary may be practiſed in the Inheritances of private Men, yet the Matter is far otherwiſe in thoſe Eſtates which are called *Feuds*, and in the Succeſſion of Kingdoms. And of this there was urged a late Example in the Controverſie concerning the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*; which the Earl of *Nevers*, who marry'd the Grandchild of the laſt Duke, by his eldeſt Son, claimed, yet the Inheritance was adjudged to the Son of the Duke's younger Brother; ſo that *Robert* contended that he was nearer in Degree, as being a Grandſon, than *John Baliol*, who was but a great Grandſon: As for *Dornadilla*, with whom he ſtood in equal Degree, yet he was to be preferred before her, as a *Male* before a *Female*.

THE *Scots* Nobles could not decide this Controverſie at home, for by reaſon of the Power of both Parties, the Land was divided into two Factions: For *Baliol*, by his Mother, held all *Galway*, a very large Country; and beſides, he was ally'd to the *Cumins*'s Family, which was the moſt powerful next the King's; for *Mary*, the Siſter of *Dornadilla*, had

marry'd

marry'd *John Cumins*. *Robert* on the other ſide in *England* poſſeſſed *Cleveland*; in *Scotland*, *Annandale* and *Garioch*; and by his Son, Earl of *Carrick*, (who was afterwards King) was related to many Noble Families, and he was alſo very gracious with his own People; ſo that for theſe Reaſons the Controverſie was not able to be decided at home; nay, if it ſhould have been equitably determined, yet there was not a ſufficient Party in *Scotland* to compel both Sides to ſtand to the Award; and therefore *Edward* of *England* was almoſt unanimouſly choſen to be the Decider of this important Point: Neither was there any Doubt made of his Fidelity, as being born of ſuch a Father, as the late King of *Scotland* had experienced to be, both a loving Father-in-Law to him, and a juſt Guardian too; and on the contrary the *Engliſh* King had received a late and memorable Teſtimony of the *Scots* good Will towards him, in that they ſo readily conſented to the Marriage of his Son with their Queen.

EDWARD, as ſoon as he atriv'd at *Berwick*, ſent Letters to the Peers and Governors of *Scotland* to come to him, proteſting that he ſummon'd them to appear before him, not as Subjects before their Lord or ſupreme Magiſtrate, but as Friends before an Arbitrator, choſen by themſelves. Firſt of all he required an Oath of the Competitors to ſtand to his Award; in the next Place he requir'd the ſame Oath of the Nobles and Commiſſioners to obey him as King whom he upon his Oath ſhould declare ſo to be; and for this he deſired there ſhould be given to him a publick Scroll, or Record, ſigned by all the Eſtates, and each one's Seal affixed to it. This being done, he choſe, of the moſt prudent of all the Eſtates, twelve *Engliſh*, and adjoined twelve *Scots* to them; he enjoined them all to be upon Oath, to judge rightly and truly, according to their Conſciences, in the Caſe. Thus things were managed openly and above board, which, in appearance, were honeſt and taking with the People, but his private Deſign was carry'd on very ſecretly, and amongſt but a few, how he might bring *Scotland* under his Subjection; the thing was thought feaſible enough, for that the Kingdom was divided into two Factions; but to make the Way more intricate, and to cover the Fraud the deeper from every Eye, he raiſed up three other Competitors, beſides *Bruce* and *Baliol*, that he might more eaſily bring over one, or more, to his Party, when ſo great a Number were contending.

And, leſt ſo great a Matter might ſeem to be determined unadviſedly, he conſulted with thoſe who were moſt eminent in *France*, for Piety and Prudence, and moſt learned in the Law. Neither did he doubt, but that (as that Claſs of Men

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are never always of one Opinion) he ſhould fiſh ſomething out of their Anſwers, which might make for his purpoſe: The new Competitors, ſeeing no Grounds for their Pretenſions, quickly deſiſted of their own accord; but as he governed and influenced the Lawyers as he pleaſed, a falſe, or made Caſe was thus ſtated and propounded to them: *A certain King, that was never wont to be crowned, nor anointed, but only to be placed in a kind of Seat, and declared King by his Subjects, yet not a King ſo free, but that he was under the Patronage of another King, whoſe Homage or Beneficiary he profeſſed himſelf to be; ſuch a King died without Children; Two of his Kinſmen begat by* Sempronius, *Great Uncle of the deceaſed King, claim the Inheritance; to wit,* Titius *Great Grandſon by the eldeſt Daughter of* Sempronius, *and* Seius, *Grandſon by his younger Daughter; now which of theſe is to be preferred, in an Eſtate, whoſe Nature and Eſſence it is that it can never be divided?* The Caſe being propounded in almoſt theſe very Words, they all generally anſwered, *That if any Law or Cuſtom obtain'd in the Kingdom, which was ſued for, they were to be guided by, and ſtand to it; if not, then they muſt be guided by him, under whoſe Patronage they were, becauſe, in judging of Freehold, Cuſtom doth not aſcend*; i. e. *the Uſage and Award of the Superior, is to be a Law to the Inferior, but not on the contrary.* It would be too prolix a Task, to reckon up particularly all the Opinions, but, in brief, almoſt all of them anſwered very doubtfully and uncertainly, as to the Right of the Competitors; but, as the Caſe was falſly ſtated, they all gave the ſupreme Power of Judgment in the Controverſy, to *Edward*. Thus the Matter was made more intricate and involved than before; ſo that the next Year they met again at *Norham*. There *Edward*, by Agents fit for his purpoſe, gently tried the Minds of the *Scots*, whether they would willingly put themſelves [illegible] the Power and Juriſdiction of the *Engliſh*, which (as [illegible] alledged) their Anceſtors had frequently done: But when they all unanimouſly refuſed ſo to do, he called to him the Competitors whom he himſelf had ſet up; and, by great Promiſes, extorted from them to ſwear Homage to him; and next he perſuades the reſt to remove the Aſſembly to *Berwick*, as a more convenient Place. There he ſhut up the twenty four Judges, elected as before, in a Church, without any body elſe amongſt them, commanding them to give their Judgments in the caſe, and no Man was to have Acceſs to them, 'till they had unanimouſly come to a Concluſion. But they being ſlow in their Proceedings he ever now and then went in alone to them, and by diſcourſing ſometimes

times one, and ſometimes another, found a great Majority of this Opinion, That the Right lay on *Baliol*'s ſide, tho' he was inferior in Favour and Popularity: And finding this, he went to *Bruce*, whom, becauſe he was legally caſt by their Votes, he thought he might more eaſily perſuade to cloſe in with his Deſign, and promiſed him the Crown of *Scotland*, if he would put himſelf under the Patronage of the King of *England*, and be ſubject to his Authority. *Bruce* anſwered him ingenuouſly, *That he was not ſo eager of a Crown, as to accept of it, by abridging the Liberty his Anceſtors had left him:* Upon that Reply he was diſmiſſed, and he ſends for *John Baliol*, who, being more deſirous of a Kingdom, than of honeſt Methods to come by it, greedily accepted the Condition offered him by *Edward*.

JOHN BALIOL, *The ninety ſixth King.*

ACCORDINGLY *John Baliol* was declared King of *Scotland*, ſix Years and nine Months after the Death of *Alexander*. The reſt of the *Scots*, ſtudious of the publick Tranquillity, led him to *Scone*, and there crowned him, according to Cuſtom, and all ſwore Fealty to him, except *Bruce*; he being thus made King by the *Engliſh*, and accepted by the *Scots*, and ſtanding now in full Security of the Kingdom, came to *Edward*, who was at *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, and, according to his Promiſe, ſwore Fealty to him, and the Noblemen who were his Attendants, not daring to contradict two Kings, eſpecially being ſo far from home, did the ſame: As ſoon as the reſt of the Nobility heard of it, they were extremely offended, but conſcious of their want of Power, they diſſembled their Anger for the preſent.

HOWEVER ſoon after an Occaſion was offered them to ſhew it. *Mackduff*, Earl of *Fife*, (who in the time of the *Interregnum* was one of the ſix Governors of the Land) was murdered by the *Abernethians*, which was then a rich and potent Family in *Scotland*; and the Earl's Brother being accuſed by them, and brought to his Anſwer before the Aſſembly of the States, the King gave Sentence in Favour of the *Abernethians*. So that *Mackduff* was diſpoſſeſſed of the Land which was in Controverſy betwixt them: This made him doubly diſpleaſed at the King; firſt, on the account of his own Wrong; and ſecondly, becauſe he had not ſeverely puniſhed the Murderers of his Brother. Upon this he appealed to the King of *England*; and deſired that *Baliol* might anſwer the Matter before him. Accordingly the Cauſe was removed to *London*; and as *Baliol* was caſually ſitting by

by *Edward* in the Parliament Houſe, and when he was called would have anſwered by a Proctor, it was denied him; ſo that he was forced to riſe from his Seat, and to plead his Cauſe from a lower Place. He bore the Affront ſilently for the preſent, not daring to do otherwiſe; but as ſoon as ever he was diſpatched from thence, ſuch Flames of Anger burnt in his Breaſt, that his Thoughts were wholly taken up, how to reconcile his own Subjects, and how to be even with *Edward*. While his Mind was taken up with theſe Meditations, it happened commodiouſly for him, that a new Diſcord aroſe betwixt the *French* and *Engliſh*, which preſently after broke out into a War. Ambaſſadors were ſent to the Aſſembly of Eſtates in *Scotland*, from both Kings. The Errand from *France* was to renew the old League with their new King. That from *England* was, upon the Account of their late Oath to *Edward*, to receive Aids from them in the War that was commenc'd: Both Embaſſies were referred to the Council of the Eſtates, where the Nobles, prone to Rebellion, gave it as their Opinion, that the Requeſt of the *French* was juſt, and the Demand of the *Engliſh* unjuſt: For the League made by univerſal Conſent with the *French* more than 500 Years before, had been kept ſacred and inviolable to that very Day, in regard of the Juſtice and Utility it carried along with it; but this late Subjection and ſurrendring themſelves to the *Engliſh* was extorted from the King againſt his Will; and tho' (as they proceeded to alledge) he had been willing, yet it did oblige neither King nor Kingdom, it being made by the King alone, without the Conſent of the Eſtates; whereas the *King might not act any thing relating to the publick State of the Kingdom without, much leſs againſt, the Advice of the States.* Therefore a Decree was made, that Ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent into *France* to renew the ancient League; and that a Wife ſhould be deſired for *Edward* [illegible] Son to *John*, out of the King's Royal Iſſue. Another Embaſſy was alſo ſent into *England*, to ſignify that the King of *Scots* revoked the Reddition of the Kingdom and himſelf, which he had forceably and unjuſtly made; and that renouncing his Friendſhip both for that Cauſe, and alſo for the many and innumerable other Wrongs which *Edward* had done to him and his, he was reſolved to aſſert his ancient Liberty. No Man of any Eminence would carry this Meſſage to *Edward*, becauſe he was by Nature fierce, and rendred more ſo, by the Indulgence of Fortune, which made him even almoſt forget himſelf: At laſt a certain Monk, or, as ſome ſay, the Abbat of *Aberbrothoc* carried Letters of that Import to him, who was forced to undergo a great many Affronts for his Pains,

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and had much ado to eſcape home, protected more by his being of little Diſtinction, and ſo undervalued, than by the Reverence that is due to an Ambaſſador.

IN the mean time *Edward* had made a Truce with the *French* for ſome Months, hoping that before it was at an end he might ſubdue the *Scots*, by taking them unprovided; and therefore he ſent his Fleet deſigned for *France* againſt *Scotland*, commanding them to ſtop all Proviſions from being carried into *Berwick*, where he heard there was a very ſtrong Garriſon. The *Scots* fought with this Fleet in the Mouth of the River, they deſtroyed and took eighteen of their Ships, and put the reſt to Flight. *Edward*, who was naturally of an impetuous and fierce Diſpoſition, fired by this Loſs, breathed nothing but Fury and Revenge. He ſummons *Baliol* once and again to appear; and he himſelf levies a great Army, and comes to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*. There again likewiſe he puts forth an Edict for *John* to appear, in order to clear himſelf from the Crimes objected againſt him in a legal way. But neither he nor any for him appearing at the Day appointed, he added Policy to Force, and ſent for *Bruce*, and promiſed him the Kingdom, if he would do his Endeavour faithfully to depoſe and drive out *Baliol*. To do which, ſaid he, you need be at little Labour or Coſt, only write Letters to your Friends, that either they would deſert the King's Party; or not be hearty or forward if it came to a Battel. He by long Marches came to *Berwick*, but not being able to carry it, by reaſon of the Strength of the Garriſon, he pretended to quit the Siege, and cauſed a Rumour to be ſpread abroad, by ſome *Scots* of *Bruce* his Party, that he deſpaired of taking it; and that *Baliol* was coming with a great Army to raiſe the Siege, and was now near at hand; upon which all the chief Men of the Garriſon made Haſte out to receive him honourably, in promiſcuous Multitudes, Horſe and Foot together; ſo that *Edward* ſ[illegible]in ſome Horſe amongſt them, ſome they trod down and k[illegible]led, others they divided from their Company, and ſeizing on the neareſt Gate, they entred the Town. *Edward* followed with his Foot, and made a miſerable Slaughter of all ſorts of People. Above 7000 of the *Scots* are reported to have been there ſlain, amongſt them were the Flower of the Nobility of *Lothian* and *Fife*.

THO' I love not to interrupt the continued Series of my Hiſtory (as having reſolved againſt it at firſt) with any unneceſſary Digreſſion, yet I cannot forbear to expoſe that unbridled Liberty of Evil ſpeaking, which *Richard Grafton*, who lately compiled the Hiſtory of *England*, aſſumes to himſelf; that ſo they who read what I here write, may judge what Credit

Credit is to be given to him: For he ſays that *Hector Boetius* writes in his 14th Book, Chap. II. That ſo much Blood was ſpilt there, that Rivers of it running through the City, might have driven a Water-Mill for two Days: To which I ſay, That *Boetius* never divided his Book into Chapters; and beſides, what he affirms is no where found in his Writings; but to leave this unlearned and ſhameleſs Relator, I return to *Edward*; who, big with the exorbitant Power and Numbers of his Army, ſent part of it to beſiege *Dunbar*; and a few Days after the Caſtle of *Berwick*, deſpairing of any Relief, was ſurrendred to him. Afterwards he joined all his Forces together at *Dunbar*, to fight the *Scots* Army, who came to relieve it: It was a very fierce Engagement; and the Victory inclining to the *Engliſh*, the chief of the Nobility fled into the Caſtle, but the Caſtle was ſoon taken, either by the Treachery of *Richard Stuart* the Governor, or elſe becauſe he had not Proviſions for ſo great a Multitude as were ſhut up in ſo narrow a Compaſs: *Edward* was very cruel to all the Priſoners: Some caſt the Blame of this Overthrow upon *Robert Bruce* the elder, in that his Friends giving back in the Battel, it ſtruck a Terror into the reſt. But our Writers do unanimouſly agree in affirming, That when *Bruce* demanded of *Edward* the Kingdom of *Scotland*, according to his Promiſe, (as a Reward of his Pains that Day) that *Edward* ſhould anſwer in *French*, of which Language he was a perfect Maſter, *What, have I nothing elſe to do but to win Kingdoms for you*? When *Dunbar* and ſome other Caſtles near the Borders of *England* were taken, the Surrender of *Edinburgh* and *Sterling* followed ſoon after. Next *Edward* paſſing over the *Forth*, directed his March where *Baliol* was at that time. When he was come as far as *Montroſs*, without any Oppoſition, *Baliol*, by the Perſuaſion of *John Cumins* of *Strabogy*, came to him and ſurrendred to him himſelf and the Kingdom. *Baliol* went into *England* by Sea, and *Edward* returning to *Berwick* iſſued out a ſtrict and ſevere Summons to all the *Scots* Nobility to attend him there; after they came, he compelled them to ſwear Fealty to him. But *William Douglas*, an eminent Man, both on the account of his Family, and alſo his own famous Exploits, obſtinately refuſing to do it, was thrown into Priſon, where, in a few Years, he died.

THUS *Edward*, having ſucceeded in his Expedition according to his Mind, left *John Warren*, Earl of *Surrey*, as Proxy behind him; and *Hugh Creſſingham*, Lord Chief Juſtice, or Treaſurer, and ſo returned to *London*. There he committed *John Baliol* to Priſon, in the fourth Year of his Reign; but a while after, at the Entreaty of the Pope, and his

his Promiſe that he would raiſe no farther Tumults in *Scotland*, he was ſent back into *France*, his Son *Edward* being retained as an Hoſtage. *Edward* having prepared all things for the *French* War, (which by reaſon of the Commotions in *Scotland* he had deferred) now ſails thither with great Forces; the *Scots*, by reaſon of his Abſence, being erected to ſome Hopes of their Liberty, choſe twelve Men to govern the State. By the unanimous Conſent of theſe, *John Cumins*, Earl of *Buchan*, was ſent into *England*, with a good Force; and in regard the *Engliſh*, who were ſcattered in Garriſons over *Scotland*, dared not ſtir, he ravaged *Northumberland* without Controul, and laid Siege to *Carliſle*, but to no purpoſe: Tho' this Expedition did ſomewhat encourage the before creſt-fallen *Scots*, and hindred the *Engliſh* from doing them farther Miſchief, yet it contributed little or nothing to the main Chance, in regard that all the Places of Strength were poſſeſſed by the Enemy's Garriſons; but when the Nobility had neither Strength nor Courage to undertake great Matters, there preſently ſtarted up one *William Wallace*, a Man of an ancient and noble Family, but one that had lived poorly and meanly, as having little or no Eſtate; yet this Man performed in this War, not only beyond the Expectation, but even the Belief, of all the common People; for he was bold of Spirit, and ſtrong of Body; and, when he was but a Youth, had ſlain a young *Engliſh* Nobleman, who proudly domineered over him. For this Fact he was fain to run away, and to skulk up and down in ſeveral places for ſome Years, to ſave his Life; and by this Courſe of living his Body was hardned againſt Wind and Weather, and his Mind was likewiſe fortified to undergo greater Hazards, when time ſhould ſerve. At length, growing weary of ſuch a wandring unſettled way of living, he reſolved to attempt ſomething, tho' never ſo hazardous; and therefore gathered a Band of Men together, of like Fortune with himſelf, and did not only aſſault ſingle Perſons, but even greater Companies, tho' with an inferior Number, and accordingly ſlew ſeveral Perſons in divers Places. He plaid his Pranks with as much Diſpatch as Boldneſs, and never gave his Enemy Opportunity to fight him, ſo that in a ſhort time his Fame was ſpread over both Nations, by which means many came in to him, moved by the likeneſs of their Cauſe, or with the like Love of their Country; thus he made up a conſiderable Army. And ſeeing the Nobles were ſluggiſh in their Management of Affairs, either out of Fear or Dulneſs, this *Wallace* was proclaimed *Regent* by the tumultuous Band that followed him, and ſo he managed things as a lawful Magiſtrate, and the Subſtitute of *Baliol*. He accepted of this Name,

Name, not out of any Ambition, or Deſire to rule, but becauſe it was a Title given him by his Countrymen out of pure Love and Good-will. The firſt viſible Exploit he performed with this Army was at *Lanerick*, where he ſlew the Major General of that Precinct, being an *Engliſhman* of good Deſcent. Afterwards he took and demoliſhed many Caſtles, which were either ſlenderly fortified, or meanly garriſoned; or elſe guarded negligently; which petty Attempts ſo encouraged his Soldiers, that they ſhunned no Service, no not the moſt hazardous, under his Conduct, as having experienced, that his Boldneſs was guided by Counſel; and that his Counſel was ſeconded by Succeſs.

WHEN the Report of theſe things was ſpread abroad, and perhaps, ſomewhat enlarged, beyond the Bounds of Truth, out of Mens Reſpect and Favour to him; all that wiſhed well to their Country, or were afraid of their own particular Conditions, flocked in to him, as judging it fit to take Opportunity by the Forelock; ſo that in a ſhort time he reduced all the Caſtles which the *Engliſh* held on the other ſide of the *Forth*, tho' never ſo well fortified, and more carefully guarded, merely for fear of his Attacks. He took and demoliſhed the Caſtles of *Dundee*, *Forfar*, *Brechin*, and *Montroſs*; he ſeized on *Dunoter* unawares, and garriſoned it; he entred *Aberdene*, (which the Enemy, for fear of his coming, had plundered and burnt) even whilſt it was in Flames; but a Rumour being ſcattered abroad, concerning the coming of the *Engliſh* Army, prevented his taking the Caſtle; for he determined to meet them at the *Forth*, not being willing to hazard a Battel but in a Place that he himſelf ſhould pitch upon. *Edward* of *England*, when he went into *France*, (as I ſaid before) put *Engliſh* Garriſons into all the ſtrong Holds of *Scotland*; and beſides, having many of the *Scots faithful* to *him*, and *unfaithful* to their *Country*, he baniſhed and [illegible] the *Scots* Nobility, whom he moſt ſuſpected, into the He[illegible] of *England* till his Return. Amongſt theſe was *John Cum[illegible]*, Lord, or petty King, of *Badenach*; and *Alan Longan*, a Man fit both for the Cabinet and the Field; and having ſettled Matters after this ſort, he was ſo far from fearing any Inſurrection in *Scotland*, that he carried all his Army over along with him. But hearing of the many Exploits of *Wallace*, he thought there was need of a greater Force to ſuppreſs him; yet that the Expedition was not worthy of a King neither, (as being only againſt a roving Thief, for ſo the *Engliſh* called *Wallace*) and therefore he writes to *Henry Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *William Latimer*, that they ſhould ſpeedily levy what Forces they could out of the neighbouring

Parts,

Parts, and join themſelves with *Creſſingham*, who as yet remained in *Scotland*, to ſubdue the rebellious *Scots*. *Thomas Walſingham* writes, that the Earl of *Warren* was General in this Expedition. But *Wallace*, who was then beſieging the Caſtle of *Cowpar* in *Fife*, left his Army, which he had increaſed againſt the Approach of the *Engliſh*, ſhould be idle, the *Engliſh* being near at hand, marched directly to *Sterling*. The River *Forth*, no where almoſt fordable, may be there paſſed over by a Bridge of Wood, tho' it be increaſed by the Addition of other Rivers, and by the coming in of the Tide too. There *Creſſingham* paſſed over with the greateſt part of his Army, but the Bridge, either having its Beams looſen'd and disjointed on purpoſe, by the Skill of the Architect, (as our Writers ſay it was) that ſo it might not be able to bear any great Weight; or elſe, being overladen with the heavy Burden of ſo many Horſe, Foot, and Carriages as paſſed over, was broken, and ſo the March of the reſt of the *Engliſh* was obſtructed: The *Scots* ſet upon thoſe, who were paſſed over before they could put themſelves into a Poſture; and, having ſlain their General, drove the reſt back into the River; the Slaughter was ſo great, that they were all either killed or drowned; *Wallace* returned from this Fight to the beſieging of Caſtles; and, in a ſhort time, he ſo changed the Scene of Affairs, that he left none of the *Engliſh* in *Scotland*, but ſuch as were made Priſoners. This Victory (wherein none of any Diſtinction among the *Scots* fell, ſave *Andrew Murray*, whoſe Son, ſome Years, was Regent of *Scotland*) was obtained on the fifteenth of *September*, in the Year of *Chriſt* 1297. Some ſay, that *Wallis* was called off to this Fight, not from the Siege of *Cowpar*, but of *Dundee*, whither he alſo returned after the Fight; ſo *John Major*, and ſome Books found in Monaſteries, do relate.

By means of theſe Combuſtions the Fields lay untilled, [illegible] much, that after that Overthrow a Famine enſued, and a Peſtilence after the Famine; from whence a greater Fear was apprehended, than from the War: *Wallis*, to prevent this Miſchief as much as he could, called together all thoſe who were fit for Service, to appear at a certain Day, with whom he marched into *England*; thinking with himſelf, that their Bodies, being exerciſed with Labour, would be more healthy; and, that wintring in an Enemy's Country, Proviſions might be ſpared at home; and the Soldiers, who were in much Want, might reap ſome Fruit of their Labours in a rich Country, and flouriſhing by reaſon of its continued Peace: When he was entred into *England*, no Man dared to attack him, ſo that he ſtaid there from the firſt

of *November* to the firſt of *February*; and having refreſhed and enriched the Soldiers with the Fruits and Spoils of the Enemy, he returned home, with great Renown. This Expedition, as it increaſed the Fame and Authority of *Wallis* amongſt the Vulgar, ſo it heightned the Envy of the Nobles againſt him in a great degree. For his Praiſe ſeemed a tacit Exprobration to them, who being Men of great Power and Wealth, either out of Slothfulneſs durſt not, or out of Treachery would not attempt, what he, that was a mean Man, and deſtitute of all the Advantages of Fortune, had not only valiantly undertook, but alſo ſucceſsfully performed. Moreover, the King of *England*, finding the Buſineſs to be greater than could well be managed by his Deputies, made ſome Settlement of things in *France*, and returned home; and gathering together a great Army, but haſtily levied, (for he brought not back his veteran Soldiers from beyond Sea) and, for the moſt part, raw and unexperienced Men, he marches toward *Scotland*; ſuppoſing he had only to do with a diſorderly Band of Robbers. But when he ſaw both Armies in Battel array, about five hundred Paces one from another, in the Plains of *Stanmore*, he admired the Diſcipline, Order, and Confidence of his Enemies. So that, tho' he himſelf had much the greater Force, yet he durſt not put it to the Hazard of a Battel, againſt ſuch a veteran and ſo experienced a Captain, and againſt Soldiers inured to all Hardſhips, but turned his Enſigns, and marched ſlowly back: *Wallace* on the other hand durſt not follow him, for fear of Ambuſcades, but kept his Army within their Trenches. Having thus got the Victory, tho' bloodleſs, over ſo puiſſant a King, his Enemies were ſo much the more enraged againſt him, and cauſed Rumours to be ſcattered up and down, *That* Wallis *did openly effect a ſupream or tyrannical Power*, which the Nobles, eſpecially *Bruce* and the *Cumin*'s, of the Royal Stock, took in mighty Diſdain; they ſaid thus within themſelves, *That if they muſt be Slaves, they had rather be ſo, under a great and potent King, than under an Upſtart, whoſe Domination was like to be not only baſe, but alſo dangerous:* And therefore they determined, by all means, to undermine the Authority of *Wallis*. *Edward* was not ignorant of theſe Diſguſts, and therefore, the next Summer he levies a great Army, conſiſting partly of *Engliſh*, partly of *Scots*, who had remained faithful to him, and came to *Falkirk*, which is a Village built in the very Tract of the Wall of *Severus*, and is diſtant from *Sterling*, little more than ſix Miles. The *Scots* Army were not far from them, of ſufficient Strength, for they were thirty thouſand, if the

Generals

Generals and Leaders had agreed amongſt themſelves: Their Generals were *John Cumins*, *John Stuart*, and *William Wallace*; the moſt flouriſhing Perſons amongſt the *Scots*; the two former, for their high Deſcent and Opulency; the latter for the Glory of his former Exploits.

WHEN the three Armies were ready to fight, a new Diſpute aroſe, beſides their former Envy, who ſhould lead the Van of the Army; and when all three ſtood upon their Terms, the *Engliſh* decided the Controverſy, who, with Banners diſplay'd, marched with a ſwift Pace towards them; *Cumins* and his Forces retreated, without ſtriking a Stroke; *Stuart*, being beſet before and behind, was ſlain, with all that followed him. *Wallace* was ſorely preſſed upon in the Front, and *Bruce* had fetched a Compaſs about an Hill, and fell on his Rear; yet he was as little diſturbed, as in ſuch Circumſtances he could poſſibly be, but retreated beyond the River *Carront*, where, by the Interpoſition of the River, he had got an Opportunity to defend himſelf, and alſo to gather up the ſtraggling Fugitives; and *Bruce* deſiring to ſpeak with him, he agreed to it. They two alone ſtood over againſt one another, where the River hath the narroweſt Channel, and the higheſt Banks: And firſt *Bruce* began, and told *Wallace*, *He wondred what was in his Mind, that, being hurried on by the uncertain Favour of the Vulgar, he ſhould expoſe himſelf to ſuch aſſiduous and imminent Danger againſt a King, the moſt potent of that Time, and who was alſo aſſiſted by a great Number of the* Scots; *and that to no purpoſe neither, for if he overcame* Edward, *the* Scots *would never grant him the Kingdom; and if himſelf were overcome, he had no Refuge but in the Mercy of his Enemy.* To whom *Wallis* reply'd, *I never propoſed that Scope to my Deſigns and Labours, as to obtain the Kingdom, of which my Fortune is not capable, neither doth my Mind aſpire ſo high: But when I ſaw my Countrymen, by your Slothfulneſs (to whom the Kingdom doth rightly appertain) deſtitute of Governors, and expoſed not to the Slavery only, but even to the Butchery of a cruel Enemy, I had pity on them, and undertook the Cauſe which you deſerted; neither will I forſake the Liberty, Good and Safety of my Countrymen, till Life forſake me: You, who had rather chuſe baſe Servitude with Security, than honeſt Liberty with Hazard, follow, and hug the Fortune, which you ſo highly eſteem: As for me, I will willingly die in my Country, which I have often defended; and my Love to it ſhall remain, as long as my Life continues.* Thus the Conference was broken off, and each of them retired to their Forces. This Battel was fought on the twenty ſecond of *July*, where there fell of the *Scots* ten

thouſand, amongſt whom, of the Nobles, were *John Stuart*, *Macduff* Earl of *Fife*; and of *Wallis* his Army, *John Grame*, the moſt valiant Perſon of the *Scots*, next to *Wallis* himſelf. Of the *Engliſh*, were ſlain *Frere Briangy*, highly fam'd and notic'd for Skill in Arms and military Exploits. After this unhappy Fight, *Wallis* came to *Perth*, and diſmiſſed his Army, giving place to that Envy, which, he knew, he could not reſiſt; and from that Day forward, he never acted as a General; yet he ceaſed not, with a few of his Friends, who ſtill ſtuck to him, tho' he renounced the Name of a *General*, as often as a convenient Opportunity was offered, to preſs upon the *Engliſh*.

EDWARD likewiſe after he had waſted all the Country beyond the *Forth*, even unto *Perth*, receiving into his Obedience all thoſe who durſt not, as long as he was preſent, make any Inſurrection, drew back his Army. Thoſe of the *Scots*, who, after the Enemies Departure, did moſt ſtudy the Liberty of their Country, being a little heartned, made *John Cumins Junior* their Regent. He, according to the Advice of the Council, ſent Embaſſadors to *Philip Valois*, King of *France*, to deſire him, that, by the Mediation of his Siſter, who was then betrothed to *Edward*, they might obtain at leaſt a Truce. By her Endeavours, a Truce was obtained for ſeven Months, which yet was not faithfully obſerved: For the *Engliſh* detained the Embaſſadors, which were ſent to *Boniface* VIII. and committed them to Priſon. In the mean time the *Scots*, who could neither bear the Tyranny of the *Engliſh*, nor ſatisfie the cruel Mind of *Edward*, by their Puniſhments, nor yet obtain an equal Peace from him, with obſtinate Minds, and in deſpair of Pardon, reſolved to fight it out to the laſt. Firſt of all, they expel all *Edward*'s Governors, who were *Engliſh*, from all Towns and Caſtles; next, they afflict the *Scots* of their Faction, as much as ever they could. They remained in this Poſture almoſt two Years, and then *Edward* ſent *Ralph Confray* with great Forces to ſubdue the Robbers, (as he called them) and to make an end of the War. They met with no Oppoſition, but preyed far and near, till they came to *Roſlin*, (a Place in *Lothian*, about five Miles diſtant from *Edinburgh*) and there they divided their Army into three Parts, to make the greater Havock, and ſo pitched their Tents. *John Cumins*, with the Aſſiſtance of *John Frazer*, the moſt potent Man in all *Tivedale*, gathered eight thouſand Men together, and marched towards the Enemy, thinking to abridge the Bounds of their plundering Excurſions, or otherwiſe, if an happy Opportunity offered itſelf for Action, not to be wanting to Fortune. And indeed, he met with

with a fairer Occaſion than he hoped for: For the *Engliſh*, little expecting an Aſſault, from an Enemy that they had ſo often conquered, and brought ſo low, lived after a more ſtraggling manner than they ought to have done in an Enemy's Country; ſo that their firſt Camp was ſoon taken, by the ſuddain Approach of the *Scots*, and with a great Slaughter: They, who eſcaped, carried the Noiſe into the next Camp: Thoſe again, in a great Fear, cried out, *Arm*, *Arm*, and they all exhorted one another to ſuccour their Fellow-Soldiers; but perceiving that the deſigned Succour was too late, they prepared for Revenge. A fierce Fight was commenced betwixt them, as Men eager and deſirous of Victory and Revenge; at laſt, the *Engliſh* were routed, and put to flight, and the Victory, tho' a bloody one, remained to the *Scots*: In the mean time, the third Camp, which was farther off, came, and occaſioned ſome Terror to the *Scots*. For, in regard many of them were wounded, and the greateſt part wearied with the Toil of a double Fight, they ſaw, that there was imminent Danger in fighting, and aſſured Deſtruction in flying away. At length, by the Command of their Leaders, they ſlew all the Priſoners, leſt, while they were buſied with their Enemies, they ſhould riſe up and ſet upon them in the Rear; and arming their Servants with the Spoils of the Slain, they made a Shew of a greater Army than indeed they were Upon this, the Battel was begun, and fiercely carried on by both Parties. The Fight being a long time doubtful, the *Scots* by the Encouragement of their Leaders, putting them in mind of their double Victory, took freſh Courage, and charged the Enemy with ſuch Violence, that they broke their Ranks, and put them to flight. This Fight was at *Roſlin*, on the twenty fourth of *February*, in the Year 1302.

As the Victory was the more famous, being obtained by but one Army over three, in one and the ſame Day, ſo it mightily incenſed the Mind of *Edward*. To blot out the Ignominy, and to put an end, at length, to a long and tedious War, he therefore levies an Army bigger than ever he had before, and aſſaulted *Scotland* both by Sea and Land, and made ſpoil of it, even unto the uttermoſt Borders of *Roſs*, no Man daring to oppoſe ſo great a Force. Only *Wallis* and his Men, ſometimes in the Front, ſometimes in the Rear, ſometimes in the Flanks, would ſnap, either thoſe that raſhly went before, or that loitered behind; or that, in plundering, ſtraggled too far from the main Body, neither did he ſuffer them to ſtray far from their Colours. *Edward* ſought, by great Promiſes, to bring him over to his Party; but his conſtant

ſtant Tone was, *That he had devoted his Life to his Country, to which it was due, and if he could do it no other Service, yet he would die in its Defence.* There were ſome Caſtles yet remaining, not ſurrendred to the *Engliſh*, as *Urchart* in *Murray*, which was taken by Storm, and all the Defendants put to the Sword; upon which the reſt ſurrendred themſelves out of mere Fear. After theſe Exploits, the *Engliſh* King joined his Son *Edward*, whom he had left at *Perth*; and by the Addition of his Forces, he beſieged *Sterling*, which, after a Month's Siege, he took; the Garriſon in it being reduced to the Want of all Things; the Conditions were only Life and Liberty. And yet, *William Oliver*, againſt the Tenor of his Articles of Surrender, was detain'd, and ſent Priſoner into *England*. When all *Scotland* was reduced, an Aſſembly of the States was called by *Edward* to be held at St. *Andrews*, where all, out of fear, took an Oath of Allegiance to him, except *Wallis* alone; and fearing he ſhould be given up by the Nobility (who were much diſguſted at him) to *Edward* his mortal Enemy, he retired himſelf into his old Places of abſconding.

EDWARD, having appointed Governors and Magiſtrates over all *Scotland*, returned into *England*; but, at his Departure, he ſhewed an evident Demonſtration of his great Hatred againſt the *Scotiſh* Race; for he was not content only with the taking with him all thoſe, whom he feared would raiſe new Seditions, but he endeavoured, as much as he could, to aboliſh the very Memory of the Nation. For, he repealed their old Laws, and ſet up the eccleſiaſtical State and Ceremonies, according to the Manner of *England*: He cauſed all Hiſtories, Leagues, and ancient Monuments, either left by the *Romans*, or erected by the *Scots*, to be deſtroyed: He carried all the Books, and all that were Teachers of Learning, into *England*: He ſent alſo to *London* an unpoliſhed *Marble Stone*, wherein it was vulgarly reported and believed, that the *Fate* of the Kingdom was contained; neither did he leave any thing behind him, which, either upon the Account of its Memory, might excite generous Spirits to the Remembrance of their ancient *Fortune*, and Condition; or indeed, which could excite them to any true Greatneſs of Mind; ſo that, having broken their Spirits, (as he thought) as well as their Force, and caſt them into a ſervile Dejection; he promiſed himſelf a perpetual Peace from *Scotland*. At his Return, he left *Ailmer Valentine* as his *Regent*, or *Vice-Roy*, who was to nip all ſeditious Attempts, if any did break forth, in the very Bud. Yet, a new War ſprung up againſt him, from a part he little thought of.

THERE

There were ſome of the prime Nobility in *Scotland* with *Edward*, as *Robert Bruce*, the Son of him who contended with *Baliol* for the Kingdom, and *John Cumins*, ſirnamed *Red*, from the Colour of his Face, Couſin-German to *John Baliol* the laſt King of *Scotland*. *Edward* called them often to him a-part, and put them ſeverally in a vain Hope of the Kingdom, and ſo he made uſe of their Aſſiſtance in the conquering of *Scotland*. But, at the laſt, they diſcovered the Mockery and Cheat, ſo that each of them deſired nothing more than a fit Occaſion to revenge the Unfaithfulneſs of that King. But, in regard, they were Corrivals, their mutual Suſpicion kept them back from communicating their Counſels one to another. At laſt, *Cumins*, perceiving that Matters, as managed by *Edward*, were diſtaſteful to *Bruce*, he ſpake to him, and taking the Riſe of his Diſcourſe from the Beginning of their Miſeries, deplored much the lamentable Condition of their Country, and greatly inveighed againſt the Falſeneſs of *Edward*; withal grievouſly accuſing himſelf and *Bruce* too, that they had, by their Labour and Aſſiſtance, helped to plunge their Countrymen into this Abyſs of Miſery. After this firſt Diſcourſe, they proceeded farther, and each of them promiſing Silence, they agreed, that *Bruce* ſhould enjoy the Kingdom, and *Cumins* ſhould wave his Right to it; but, in lieu of it, ſhould enjoy all thoſe large and fruitful Poſſeſſions, which *Bruce* had in *Scotland*; and, in a word, that he ſhould be the Second Man in the Kingdom: Thoſe Covenants were writ down, ſealed and ſworn, betwixt themſelves. Upon this, *Bruce*, watching an Opportunity to riſe in Arms, left his Wife and Children in *Scotland*, and went to the Court of *England*. After his Departure, *Cumins*, (as 'tis reported) either repenting himſelf of his Agreement, or elſe endeavouring fraudulently to remove his Corrival, and ſo obtain an eaſier Way to the Kingdom, betrayed their ſecret Combination to *Edward*; and in Evidence of it, he ſent him the Covenants ſigned by them both. Upon that, *Bruce* was impleaded as guilty of *High Treaſon*, he was forbid to depart the Court, and a privy Guard ſet over him, to inſpect his Words and Actions. The King's Delay to puniſh him in a Crime ſo manifeſt, proceeded from a Deſire he had to take his Brethren too, before they had heard any Noiſe of his Execution. In the mean time, *Bruce* was informed by the Earl of *Mountgomery*, his Grandfather's old Friend, of his ſudden Danger, who dared not to commit his Advice for his Flight to writing, being diſcouraged by *Bruce* his Example, but he ſent him a Pair of guilt Spurs, and ſome pieces of Gold, as if he had borrowed

them of him the Day before. *Robert*, upon the Receipt of the Gift, *as Dangers make Men ſagacious*, ſoon ſmelt out what his Meaning was, ſo that he ſent for a Smith in the Night, and commanded him to ſet on Shoes on three Horſes the backward way, that ſo his Flight might not be traced by the Mark of the Horſes Feet; and, the ſame Night, he and two other Companions began their Journey, and, Man and Horſe being extreamly tired, in ſeven Days he came to his Caſtle ſituate by *Loch Maban*: There he joined *David* his Brother, and *Robert Fleming*; to whom he had ſcarce declared the Cauſe of his Flight, before he lighted upon a flying Poſt, who was conveying Letters from *Cumins* to *Edward*: The Contents were, *That* Robert *ſhould ſpeedily be put to Death*; *that there was Danger in Delay, leſt a Man ſo nobly deſcended, and ſo popular as he, adding Boldneſs to his Wiſdom too, ſhould raiſe new Commotions.* The perfidious Treachery of *Cumins* being thus (as well as otherwiſe) plainly detected, *Robert* was inflamed with Anger, and rode preſently to *Dumfreiz*, where his Adverſary *John Cumins* was in the *Franciſcans* Church, whom he confronted with his own Letters which he then ſhewed him; he very impudently denied them to be his; but *Robert*, no longer able to bridle his Wrath, run him into the Belly with his Dagger, and ſo left him for dead. As he was mounting his Horſe, *James Lindſay* and *Roger Kirkpatrick*, one his Kinſman, the other his old Friend, perceiving by his Countenance that he was troubled, asked him the Cauſe; he told them in Brief the whole Buſineſs, adding withal, that *he thought* he had killed *Cumins*. What, ſays *Lindſay*, will you leave a matter of that Conſequence upon an, *I thought*? And as ſoon as he had ſpoke the Word, he ran into the Church and diſpatched him quite, and alſo his Kinſman, *Robert Cumins*, who endeavoured to ſave him. This Murder was committed in the Year 1305, on the tenth of *February*. About the ſame time alſo *Wallis* was betrayed in the County of *Glaſcow* (where he then hid himſelf) by his own familiar Friend *John Menteith*, whom the *Engliſh* had corrupted with Money, and ſo was ſent to *London*; where, by *Edward*'s Command, he was wofully butchered, and his Limbs, for the Terror of others, hang'd up in the moſt noted Places of *London* and *Scotland*. Such an End had this Perſon, the moſt famous Man of the Age in whom he lived, who deſerved to be compared with the moſt renowned Captains of ancient Times, both for his Greatneſs of Mind in undertaking Dangers, and for his Wiſdom and Valour in overcoming them: For Love to his Country, he was Second

cond to none; who, when others were Slaves, was alone free, neither could he be induced by Rewards, or moved by Threats, to forſake the publick Cauſe, which he had once undertaken: His Death was the more to be lamented, becauſe he was not conquered by his Enemy, but betrayed by his Friend, who had little Reaſon to be guilty of ſo treacherous an Action.

BRUCE, *The ninty ſeventh King.*

BRUCE ſtayed ſo long, till he had obtained Pardon from the Pope, for killing a Man in *Holy Church*, and then in *April* following, *Anno Domini* 1306, he went to *Scone* and was crowned King.

THE firſt Thing he did, knowing that he had to do with a powerful Enemy, was to levy all the Force he could make; but, in regard the whole Family of the *Cumins*'s (whoſe Greatneſs was never equalled by any in *Scotland*, either before or ſince) was againſt him, and alſo the Minds of many were offended with him, for his former aſſiſting of the *Engliſh*; and moreover, moſt of the *Scots* were, out of Fear, willing to be quiet under the *Engliſh* Power; yet he adventured with a ſmall Army to try his Fortune at *Methven*, where he was overthrown by *Ailmer*, *Edward*'s General, but with little Slaughter, becauſe his Men ſeeing their own Weakneſs, fled away entire, almoſt at the firſt Charge; this was done on the twentieth of *July*. And not long after, coming to *Athol*, and deſigning for *Argyle*, his Intent was diſcovered by the *Cumins*'s, and he was forced in his very March, at a Place called *Dalree*, i. e. *Kingsland*, to try his Fortune in a Battel, where he was overthrown again, but loſt few, in regard every one fled ſeveral Ways as they thought fit: After that time, he had but two or three in his Company; for he thought himſelf more ſecure with a few, and thus he wandred up and down in ſecret Places, living moſtly a Foreſter's Life, and in Deſpair of any Aid, if he had a Mind again to try his Fortune. For the Vulgar, upon his double Diſcomfiture, drew thence diſcouraging *Omens*, and ſo they all left him, only two of his old Friends, *Malcolm*, Earl of *Lennox*, and *Gilbert Hay*, never forſook him, but remained conſtant to him in all Misfortunes. The *Engliſh*, not yet ſatiated with his Miſeries, ſend about through all Parts of the Kingdom, to apprehend his Allies and Kindred; and beſides, they commanded all the Wives and Children of thoſe who were baniſhed, to depart the Kingdom, at a time prefixed. The Wife

of

of *Robert* himſelf was taken by *William*, Earl of *Roſs*, and ſent into *England*; and *Neile*, his Brother, with his Wife and Children, came into the Hands and Power of the *Engliſh*; his Caſtle of *Kildrummy* being betrayed, by the Governor of it, to them. Moreover, his Brothers, *Thomas* and *Alexander*, endeavouring to paſs out of *Galway* to *Carick*, were taken at the *Loch Ryan* (which *Ptolemy* calls the Bay *Rerigonius*) and ſent into *England*. Theſe three were put to Death in ſeveral Places; the reſt of the *Brucian* Party were diligently ſought after, and put alſo Death, and their Eſtates confiſcated. The King himſelf, with one or two, and ſometimes alone, wandred up and down through uncouth Places daily, nay hourly, changing his Receſſes; and yet, even thus, not thinking himſelf ſafe enough from the Cruelty of his Enemies, and the Perfidiouſneſs of his Subjects, he paſſed over to another Friend of his into the *Ebudæ*, where he lurked for ſome Months: And, in regard, he did no where appear, he was thought to be dead, and ſo they gave over ſearching for him. This Report, as it made for his Safety, ſo if it had continued long, it would have taken away all Hopes from his Friends, of his ever obtaining and recovering the Kingdom. Upon that account, he judged it fit to attempt ſomething, and receiving a ſmall Force from his Friends, where he had hid himſelf, he ſailed over into *Carick*; and by means of his ſudden coming, he there ſurprized a Caſtle, which was his own Inheritance, but garriſoned by a ſtrong Party of *Engliſh*, whom he put all to the Sword; and leſt his Paſſage might be ſtopped by the Enemy, he paſſed over by the Bay of *Clyde*, and came to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Innerneſs*, ſituate on a pretty high Hill by the River *Neſs*, which, as being in a remote Country, and negligently guarded, he alſo happily took.

THE Report of it being divulged, occaſioned great Thoughts and couragious Sentiments all over *Scotland*: For, beſides his *old* Friends, who came to him from all Places out of their lurking Holes, the Pride of the *Engliſh* had raiſed him up many *new* ones; for they, thinking that he had been dead, began to lord it more imperiouſly and cruelly than ever they had done before. So that his Forces being conſiderably encreaſed, and that with very good Soldiers, whom either Labour had hardned, or Deſpair urged to the moſt deſperate Attempts, he took all the Caſtles in the North of *Scotland*, and demoliſhed them as they were taken; partly, that he might not weaken his Forces by dividing them into Garriſons, and partly, that the Enemy might have no Harbour there. Thus, overcoming all as he went, he came in-

to

to the very Heart of the Kingdom: *John Cumins*, Earl of *Buchan*, being informed of it, gathered together a ſuddain Company of *Scots* and *Engliſh*, even as many as were able to bear Arms; when he was come to the Foreſt, through which the River *Esk* falls down into the Plains of *Mern*, he overtook him at a Place call'd *Glenesk*. *Bruce*, perceiving that the Narrowneſs of the Paſſages was advantageous for his Men, ſtood ready to fight, expecting his Enemy. *Cumins* drew out his Army in length, imagining, that *Bruce* would be aſtoniſhed at the Sight of ſuch a Multitude: But when he ſaw that he ſtirred not from the Place, and being alſo conſcious of the Weakneſs of his Men, he durſt not draw them forth into a Place of greater Diſadvantage. He firſt ſent an *Herald* to *Bruce* for a Truce; wherein, they might treat of Terms of Peace: The Truce being obtained, *Cumins* made no more mention of Peace, but encreas'd his Forces as much as ever he could; neither would he truſt the *Scots* that were with him, (the Favour of many of them inclining to *Robert*) but craved Aid from *England*. In the mean time, *Bruce*, to remove the contemptible Opinion which the *Engliſh* might conceive of him, and to encourage the Spirits of his Friends, was always nibbling at his Enemies Heels; here taking *ſome*, there *others*, and ſurprizing their weakeſt Garriſons; he never ſtaid long in a Place, neither gave he Opportunity to the Enemy to fight him.

BUT about this time, *Simon Frazer* and *Walter Longan*, brave Soldiers both, and Lovers of their Country, were taken by ſome of the *Cuminian* Faction, delivered over to the *Engliſh*, and put to Death at *London*. And almoſt about the ſame time, *James Douglas* joined himſelf with *Bruce* his Party. He was the Son of *William*, a young Man, extreamly well inſtructed in all the liberal Arts, who, when he was ſtudying at *Paris*, hearing that his Father was caſt into Priſon by the *Engliſh*, where he ſoon after dy'd, return'd home to receive the Advice of his Friends, how he might order the Reſidue of his Life: But being deprived of his Patrimony, and all his Friends variouſly diſperſed, in great Want he repaired to *William Lambert*, Biſhop of St. *Andrews*; by whom he was admitted as one of his Family, and kindly entertained, until King *Edward* came to beſiege *Sterling*, after he had conquered almoſt all *Scotland* beſides. *Lambert*, going thither to ſalute the King, carried *Douglas* along with him, and having got a proper Opportunity, he ſpake to the King to reſtore his Patrimony, to take him into his Protection, and to make uſe of his faithful Endeavours in his Service; ſome other Things he alſo added, in

Praiſe

Praiſe of the young Man; the King hearing of his Name and Family, ſpoke very roughly concerning the Stubbornneſs of *William* his Father; adding withal, that he intended not to make any Uſe of his Son, nor of any Aſſiſtance of his, and as for his paternal Eſtate, he could not reſtore it if he would, becauſe he had gratified his Friends with it, who had merited well of him. *James*, being thus diſmiſſed by the King, ſtayed with *Lambert*, till *Bruce* came to *Merne*: And then, that he might omit no Occaſion to prejudice *Edward* (whoſe Mind, he found, was implacably bent againſt him) he took away *Lambert*'s Horſes, and ſome Money, not without his Privity, and came to *Bruce*; and his Service was of great Uſe to him afterwards in many ſharp Storms.

NOT long after, both Kings, almoſt in the ſame Moment of Time, fell grievouſly ſick; *Edward*, being buſie in Preparations for War againſt *Scotland*, dy'd within a few Days at *Lancaſter*, leaving his ſecond Son *Edward* for his Heir, who was called *Edward* of *Carnarvon*, from the Place where he was born; he, marching into his Enemy's Country with the Army which his Father had recruited, ſent a Proclamation before to *Dumfreiz*, *That all the* Scots *ſhould meet him there*; but there came in but a few, and thoſe out of the neighbouring Parts, and very ſlowly too. He being informed, that his Matters beyond Sea did not go on well, left a Force, ſuch as he thought ſufficient to quell the Inſurrection in *Scotland*, and ſettling Things as ſoon as he could, he went over into *France*. In the interim, *Robert*, hearing of *Edward*'s Death, was ſomewhat relieved, and began to hope better of his Affairs; and ſo the Strength of his Mind ſupported his weak Body: But not being ignorant, how much the ſole Conduct of a General might contribute to a Victory, he ſo prepared himſelf for the extream Puſh of Fortune, that he expected his Enemy and a Battel. On the other ſide, the *Engliſh* King coming back more ſlowly than his Friends hoped; *John Cumins*, greedy of the Glory, that the War was ended by him, hoping alſo, that *Robert* was dead, by reaſon of his Diſeaſe joined to his other Hardſhips; or, at leaſt, that his Sickneſs would hinder him from being preſent in the Army, gathered together all the Forces he could make, and marched directly towards his Enemy. On the other ſide, *Robert*, to encourage his Men, cauſed himſelf to be ſet on Horſeback; His very Sight, tho' he was ſupported by two Men, and could not ſtay long, yet gave ſuch Heart to his Men, that they never began any Fight more courageouſly than they did that. *Cumins*, who had placed the Hope of his Victor-

ry in the Sickneſs of his Enemy, being not able to keep his Men together, neither by Perſuations nor Puniſhments, was forced to fly away in their Company; many were taken in the Purſuit, and all courteouſly uſed. This Victory gotten at *Ennerury*, as it recovered the King from his Diſeaſe, ſo it was the *Omen* of his future proſperous Proceedings; for, from that Day forward, he ſucceeded in all that he attempted. A while after he marched into the Country of *Argyle*, which he pillaged, and forced *Alexander*, the Lord of it, to a Surrender, who, retiring into *England*; in a little time, there ended his miſerable Life in great Want. The ſame Year, on the thirteenth of *June*, *Edward Bruce* alſo had proſperous Succeſs at a Battel fought at *Die*, a River of *Galway*; *Rolland*, a noble Knight of *Galway* was ſlain in the Fight; *Donald*, the *Iſlander*, was taken Priſoner as he was flying away, and the whole Country of *Galway* was waſted far and near. Theſe Tumults rouz'd up *Edward* (who was rather deſirous to live in Peace) to a War, even againſt his Will; for perceiving that his Affairs were ill managed, he the next Year, with a great Army of *Engliſh*, entred *Scotland*, and there joined a numerous Body of *Scots*, who had not yet revolted from the *Engliſh*. With thoſe Forces he pierced as far as *Renfroy*, and then retreated, having performed no memorable Act in his Expedition; either becauſe he himſelf was of a dull and unactive Nature, or elſe becauſe *Robert* (beſides the Scarcity which did then generally afflict all *Scotland*) had cauſed all the Proviſions to be carried away from thoſe Places, thro' which his Army was to march, and had laid them up more out of the Way. After his Departure, *Robert* ſpent the reſt of the Year in recovering thoſe Caſtles which the *Engliſh* yet held, of which many ſurrendred before they were beſieged, as deſpairing of any help from *England*.

THE next Year, which was 1310, *Bruce*, to be even with the *Engliſh* for the Damage they had done in *Scotland*, marched twice into *England* with his Army, and returned back laden with Spoils, without coming to any Engagement. The two next Years he recovered almoſt all the ſtrong Garriſons, which yet remained in the Hands of the *Engliſh*. He took *Perth* by Storm, and put all the Garriſon Soldiers, both *Engliſh* and *Scots*, without Diſtinction, to the Sword; and that others might be deterred from the like Obſtinacy by their Example, he razed the Walls, and filled up their Trenches. The Terror of that Example cauſed *Dumfreiz*, *Lanerick*, *Air* and *Bote*, and many other weaker Forts, to ſurrender. At the beginning of the Spring, *Roxburgh* was taken

taken by *James Douglas*, when the Garriſon was intent upon their Sports and Paſtimes, in thoſe Revels which were wont to be celebrated about the beginning of *Lent*. And not long after, *Thomas Randolph* recovered the ſtrong Caſtle of *Edingburgh*: The Iſle of *Man* was alſo ſurrendred, and the Caſtles thereof demoliſhed, that they might not again be a Receptacle to the Enemy. In the mean time, *Edward Bruce* laid cloſe Siege to the Caſtle of *Sterling*, ſituate on a Rock, which was ſteep every Way but that one, where the Paſſage lay up to it. It was defended by *Philip Mowbray*, a vigilant Commander, who, perceiving the Succeſs of the *Brucians* in *Scotland*, and foreſeeing a Siege, had taken great Care to ſtore and fortify it before-hand, with Proviſions and Arms. And therefore, when *Edward* had fruitleſly ſpent many Days in beſieging it, and had no Hopes of carrying it by Force, that he might not ſeem to be repulſed without doing any thing, he enters into Conditions with *Mowbray*, *That if he was not relieved in a Year, to commence from that very Day, by the* Engliſh, *then the Caſtle was to be ſurrendred, and the Garriſon ſhould have Liberty, Bag and Baggage, to march whither they pleaſed.* Theſe Conditions much diſpleaſed the King; yet, that he might not detract from his Brother's Credit, he reſolved to obſerve them. However, in regard he did not doubt but the *Engliſh* would come at the Time appointed, he prepares as much as in ſo great a Scarcity of Things he was able, to manage his laſt Encounter with his potent Enemy. And indeed *Edward*, conſidering that he was not only diſpoſſeſſed of *Scotland*, whoſe People his Father had left to him conquered and broken, but that *England* was alſo in Danger, had a Deſire to root out ſo rebellious, diſobedient, and unquiet a Nation. In order to it he levied an Army, not only of *Engliſh* and ſuch *Scots* who adhered to them, but he increaſed it by Supplies from his tranſmarine Dominions (which *then* were many, great, and opulent) ſo that his Army was bigger than ever any King of *Englana* had before. Nay, he received additional Forces too from his Allies beyond the Seas, eſpecially from *Flanders* and *Holland*, whom his Father had ſtrenuouſly aſſiſted againſt *Philip*, King of *France*. They ſay, it conſiſted of above one hundred thouſand fighting Men. There followed alſo his Army a multitude of Baggagers, Attendants, and Sutlers, who carried Proviſion both by Sea and Land, becauſe they were to come into a Country not very fruitful of it ſelf; and beſides, which had ſo many Years before been haraſſed with all the Miſeries of War. Moreover, there was a multi-

tude

tude of ſuch as were to ſet out, or deſcribe Colonies, and to receive Dividends of Land, who brought their Wives and Children along with them; ſo that the Force of ſo rich, powerful, and flouriſhing a Kingdom as *England* was, being thus as it were abridged and epitomized into one Army, the Conſideration of it produced ſuch a Confidence in them all, that now all the Diſcourſe was not of fighting, but rather of dividing the Spoil. *Bruce*, hearing of this great Preparation of the Enemy, prepares alſo his Forces, far inferior in Number to ſo great a Multitude, as being thirty thouſand only, but ſuch as were inured to Hardſhips, and the Toil of a Civil War; and who now carried the Hopes of their Lives, Fortunes, and of all that is dear to Men, as it were, on the Point of their Swords. With this Army he pitch'd on the left Bank of the River *Bannock*. This River hath ſteep Banks on both ſides, and it had but a few, and thoſe too, narrow Paſſages or Fords; it is about two Miles from *Sterling*: Below the Hills, before it makes its influx into the *Forth*, it paſſeth thro' a little leveller Ground, yet here and there it is marſhy. In the Winter it uſually runs with a rapid Torrent; but, in that hot Time of the Year the Water was but low and fordable in many Places. *Bruce*, by how much the Weaker in Force, was ſo much the more circumſpect, and therefore he uſed Art and Policy to make the Paſſage over the River more difficult to the *Engliſh*, who poſſeſſed the right hand Bank of it. In order whereunto, he cauſed deep Trenches to be dug in level Places, where he faſtned ſharp Stakes, or Spikes, and covered them with ſome light Turfs a top, that ſo his Stratagem might not be diſcovered; and moreover, he cauſed * *Calthrops* of Iron to be thrown up and down on the Ground in Places moſt convenient.

WHEREFORE, when Camp was almoſt joined to Camp, as being on different Hills, only a ſmall River between them, *Edward* ſent eight hundred Horſe a little before to *Sterling*, who marched a little off from the Camp; *Robert*, imagining that they were ſent to plunder in the Neighbourhood, gave Command to *Thomas Randolph* to follow them with five hundred Horſe, either to prevent the Stragglers in waſting the Country, or if a fit Occaſion were offered, to fight them. The *Engliſh* ſeeing them, deſiſted from their intended March to *Sterling*, and faced about. The Fight was

* *Small Engines, ordinarily round, with ſharp Iron Spikes, ſtanding out on each ſide of them, ſo that, throw them which way ſoever you will upon the Ground, one Spike or other turns upward, and wounds or pierces the Horſe's Foot that treads upon it, and thus makes him lame and unfit for Service.*

ſharp,

ſharp, and continued long, the Victory inclining for a Time to neither Party; ſo that *James Douglas* being concerned for the *Scots*, who were the fewer in Number, earneſtly deſired *Bruce*, that he might go and relieve them. *Bruce* peremptorily denied him, whereupon, tho', at preſent, a Spectator only from an Hill, yet he reſolved, if the *Scots* were farther diſtreſſed, to ſuccour them; but perceiving the *Engliſh* to give back, and the *Scots* to get Ground, he ſtopped his March, that ſo he might detract nothing from another Man's Praiſe. The *Engliſh*, having loſt but thoſe few out of ſo numerous an Army, were not diſcouraged in their Spirits, and alſo the *Scots* prepared themſelves for the Encounter the next Day, as if they had already received an *Omen* of a compleat Victory.

THE Night, tho' very ſhort, (for the Battel was fought on the twenty third of *June*) yet ſeemed long to both Parties for the Eagerneſs they had to fight. All the *Scots* were divided into three Brigades, the King led the middle, or main Battel: His Brother commanded the Right Wing; and *Randolf* the Left. The *Engliſh*, beſides a multitude of Archers, which they placed on the outſide of both their Wings, had alſo Cuiraſſiers out of *France*. They ſpeeding towards *Randolf*, who ſtood on the lower Ground, and endeavouring to wheel about and take him on his Flank, fell ſuddainly into the Ditches made by *Bruce*, where they tumbled one upon another with great Slaughter, both of Man and Horſe. They that firſt fell in, were ſlain by the Preſſure of thoſe that fell upon them, and the laſt Ranks being diſcouraged at the Loſs of the firſt, retreated back. This Terror in ſome Meaſure retarded the Foot, for they were afraid of falling into the like Snares. There happen'd likewiſe another Accident, which, tho' little in it ſelf, yet contributed very much (as ſuch Niceties are wont to do in War) to the main Chance. *Robert* rode up and down before his Army, to keep them in their Ranks, having a Batoon in his Hand; a certain *Engliſhman* knew him, and ran at him with his Spear. The King avoided the Blow, and as the Horſe, [illegible] his Carrier, ran a little beyond him, ſtruck his Rider dead with his Batoon, and down he tumbled from his Horſe to the Ground. The common Soldiers highly commended the brave and perilous Exploit of their King; and could [illegible] hardly kept in by their Commanders, but would [illegible]ſh headlong upon the Enemy, with ſuch an Eagerneſs of Mind, that they were likely to break their Enemy's Rank, but that the *Engliſh* Archers, who were placed in their Wings, had repulſed them with great Loſs; and *Bruce* alſo ſent in ſome

Troops

Troops of Horſe, who drove them back: Yet, in this Action, a Miſtake did more Prejudice to the *Engliſh* than their Enemy did. The Rabble-Rout, which followed the Camp, cauſed the Baggage-Men to mount their Draught-Horſes, and to hang out ſome Linen-Cloth inſtead of Enſigns; thus they ſtood on an Hill where they might eaſily be ſeen, and made an Appearance of a new Army. The *Engliſh*, who ſtood neareſt, were ſurprized with a double Fear, and betook themſelves to their Heels: Their Fear diſordered the reſt of the Army. A multitude of common Soldiers were ſlain in the Purſuit; ſome of our Writers ſay, *That fifty thouſand* Engliſh *fell at that Fight. Caxton*, an *Engliſhman*, doth not ſet down the preciſe Number, but he ſays it was a mighty Overthrow, an innumerable Multitude being ſlain; and he did well in not being poſitive in the Number, for it was hard to compute it, in regard the Flight was ſo ſcattered, wherein more periſhed than in the Battel. This is certain, the Slaughter was ſo great, that the *Engliſh*, tho' they had many Provocations from the *Scots*, yet did not ſtir for two or three Years after. Of the *Engliſh* Nobility, there fell about two hundred, and almoſt an equal Number were taken Priſoners. The Priſoners related, that the King himſelf began to fly firſt; and if he had not been received into the Caſtle of *Dunbar* by the Earl of *March*, and ſo ſent in a Skiff by Water to *Berwick*, he had not eſcaped the Hands of *Douglaſs*, who, with four hundred Horſe, purſued him forty Miles. Amongſt the Priſoners there was taken a Monk, one of thoſe who are called *Carmelites*, from Mount *Carmel* in *Syria*, he was accounted a good Poet for that Age, and was brought into the Army to celebrate the Victory of the *Engliſh* in a Poem; but they being beaten, he ſung their Overthrow in a *Canto*, (for which he had his Liberty.) His Verſe was rude and barbarous, yet it did not altogether diſpleaſe the Ears of the Men of that Age. Neither was the Victory unbloody to the *Scots*; they loſt above four thouſand Men, amongſt whom there were but two Knights: Upon this, *Sterling* Caſtle was ſurrendred according to Compact, and the Garriſon ſent away.

About this time there happened a Paſſage not unworthy to be related, in regard of the Variety of Providences in a narrow Compaſs of Time. *John Menthet*, who betrayed his Friend *Wallis* to the *Engliſh*, and was therefore deſervedly hated by the *Scots*, received, amongſt other Rewards, the Government of the Caſtle of *Dumbritton* from the *Engliſh*. When other Forts were recovered, that only, or but very few with it, held out for the *Engliſh*: And becauſe it was naturally im-

pregnable, the King dealt with the Governor, by his Friends and Kindred, to ſurrender it. He demanded the Country, or Earldom of *Lennox*, as the Price of his Treachery, and Surrender: Neither would he ever ſo much as hear of any other Terms. In this caſe the King waver'd and fluctuated in his Mind what to do; on the one ſide, he earneſtly deſired to have the Caſtle; yet, on the other, he did not ſo much prize it, as, for its ſake, to diſoblige the Earl of *Lennox*, who had been his faſt and almoſt his only Friend in all his Calamities. But the Earl of *Lennox* hearing of it, and coming in, ſoon decided the Controverſy, and perſuaded the King, by all means, to accept the Condition. Accordingly the Bargain was made as *John Menteith* would have it, and ſolemnly confirmed: But when the King was going to take Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, a Carpenter, one *Rolland*, met him in the Wood of *Cholcon*, about a Mile from it, and having obtained Liberty to ſpeak with the King, concerning a matter of great Importance; he told him, what Treachery the Governor intended againſt him, nay, and had prepared to execute it: It was this; in a Wine-Cellar concealed, and under Ground, a ſufficient number of *Engliſhmen* were hid, who, when the reſt of the Caſtle was given up, and the King ſecure, were to iſſue forth upon him as he was at Dinner, and either to kill or take him Priſoner. This being too late, the King, upon the Surrender of the other Parts of the Caſtle by *John*, being kindly invited to a Feaſt, refuſed to eat; till, as he had ſearched all other Parts of the Caſtle, ſo he had viewed that Wine-Cellar alſo. The Governor excuſed it, pretending that the Smith, who had the Key, was out of the Way, but that he would come again anon; the King, not ſatisfy'd therewith, cauſed the Door to be broke open, and ſo the Plot was diſcovered: The *Engliſh* were brought forth in their Armour, and being ſeverally examined, confeſſed the whole Matter; and they added alſo another Diſcovery, *viz.* that a Ship rode ready in the next Bay to carry the King into *England*. The Complices in this wicked Deſign were put to Death; but *John* was kept in Priſon, becauſe the King was loth to offend his Kindred, and eſpecially his Sons-in-Law, in ſo dangerous a Time: For he had many Daughters, all of them very beautiful, and married to Men rich enough, but factious. Therefore, in a Time of ſuch imminent Danger, the Battel drawing near, wherein all was at Stake, leſt the Mind of any powerful Man might be rendred averſe from him, and thereby inclined to practiſe againſt him, *John* was releaſed out of Priſon upon this Condition, (for the Performance where-

of his Sons-in-Law undertook) that he ſhould be placed in the Front of the Battel, and there, by his Valour, ſhould wait the Deciſion of Providence. And indeed the Man, otherwiſe fraudulent, was in this as good as his Word; for he behaved himſelf ſo valiantly, that that Day's Work procured him not only Pardon for what was paſt, but large Rewards for the future.

THE Fame of this Victory being divulged over all *Britain*, did not only abate the Fierceneſs of the *Engliſh*, but raiſed up the *Scots* even from an Extremity of Deſpair; ſupplying them not only with Money but with Glory, with Arms and other Furniture for War. Neither did they only releaſe their own Men, who were made Priſoners, either in Fight or upon Surrenders, but they raiſed likewiſe great Sums by the Ranſom of the *Engliſh* they had taken. And, out of the Spoils, many recompenſed and made up the Loſſes they had received in former Times, nay, and got great Eſtates too for the future: For the *Engliſh* came with all their precious Things about them, not as to a War, but as to an aſſured Victory. The King having thus proſperouſly ſucceeded in the War, ſpent the following Winter in ſettling the State of the Kingdom, which was much weakened by ſo long a War, and alſo in beſtowing Rewards on the well-deſerving. The next Spring, *Berwick* was taken from the *Engliſh* after they had enjoyed it twenty Years. In the next place, he convened an Aſſembly of the Eſtates at *Air*, a Town of *Kyle*. *There, in a full Aſſembly, by the Suffrages of all the Orders, the Kingdom was confirmed to* Bruce; *and afterwards, becauſe the King had but one only Daughter, left by his former Wife, the States, remembring what publick Miſchiefs had happened by the Diſpute, which in former Times had been managed concerning the Right of Succeſſion, made a Decree, That if the King left no Iſſue Male, his Brother* Edward *ſhould ſucceed him in the Kingdom, and his Sons in order after him. But if he alſo ſhould deceaſe without Iſſue Male, then the Crown was to deſcend to* Mary, *the Daughter of* Robert, *and to her Poſterity; yet ſo, that the Nobility were to provide her an Husband fit for her Royal Eſtate, and for the Succeſſion in the Kingdom: For it was look'd upon as far more juſt, that an Husband ſhould be choſen for the young Lady, than that ſhe ſhould chuſe an Husband for herſelf, and a King for the whole Land.* It was alſo decreed, *That in the Minority of the King,* Thomas Randolfe, *or if he ſhould miſcarry,* James Douglas, *ſhould be Tutors to the King, and Governors of the Kingdom.* The Fame of *Robert*'s noble Exploits both at home and abroad, excited the *Iriſh* to ſend

Ambaſſadors to him, to put themſelves and their Kingdom under his Protection. And if his domeſtick Affairs ſhould not ſuffer him to accept of the Kingdom himſelf yet, that he would permit his Brother *Edward* to do it, that ſo a Nation allied to him, might no longer ſuffer under the cruel, inſulting, and intolerable Domination and Servitude of the *Engliſh*. The *Iriſh* wrote alſo to the *Pope* to the ſame purpoſe; and he, by his Miſſioners, deſired the *Engliſh* to forbear wronging and oppreſſing the *Iriſh*, but in vain; ſo that *Edward Bruce* went thither with a great Army, and, by univerſal Conſent, was ſaluted King. In the firſt Year of his Arrival he drove the *Engliſh* out of all *Ulſter*, and reduced it to his Obedience; nay, he paſſed over all the reſt of the Iſland with his victorious Army. The next Year, a new Army was ſent over from *England*; *Robert* perceiving that the War would grow hotter, levied new Forces, and made haſte over to his Brother. He ſuffered much in that Expedition, by his Want of Proviſion, and when he was about one Day's March from him, he heard, that he and all his Men were defeated on the fifth of *October*. The Report is, that *Edward*, edged on by too much Deſire of Glory, did precipitate the Fight, leſt his Brother ſhould ſhare with him in the Glory of the Victory.

THE King of *England* being informed, that the Flower of the Militia of *Scotland* attended *Bruce* in a foreign Country, and thinking this a fit Opportunity offered him to revenge the Loſſes of former Times, ſent a great Army under ſelect Commanders into *Scotland*. *Douglas*, Governor of the Borders, fought with them thrice in ſeveral Places, and ſlew almoſt all their Commanders, and a great part of the Soldiers. The *Engliſh* having ſped ill with their Land Army, came into the *Forth* with a Naval Force, and infeſted all the Sea Coaſts by their Excurſions: The Earl of *Fife* ſent five hundred Horſe to reſtrain the Plunderers; but they not daring to encounter ſo great a Multitude, in their Retreat met with *William Sinclare*, Biſhop of the *Caledonians*, accompanied with about ſixty Horſe, who perceiving the Cauſe of their Retreat, reproach'd them very ſeverely for their Cowardiſe, and cried out, *All you that wiſh well to* Scotland *follow me*; and thereupon catching up a Lance they all cheerfully followed him, and he made ſo brisk an Aſſault on the ſcattered Plunderers, that they fled haſtily to their Ships; and whilſt they all endeavoured to get aboard, one Ship overladen with Paſſengers was ſunk, and all that were in it drowned. This Attempt of *Sinclare*'s was ſo grateful to the King, that ever after he called him *his Biſhop*.

ſhop. That Summer, when all the *Engliſh* Counties bordering on the *Scots*, lay deſolate and unmanured, by reaſon of want of Proviſion, (Diſeaſes alſo abounding amongſt all ſorts of tame Animals and Cattel) as alſo by reaſon of the frequent Invaſions; to remedy this Inconvenience, *Edward* came to *York*, but there he was not able to compleat an Army by reaſon of the Thinneſs of the Inhabitants; ſo that the *Londoners*, and the Parts adjoining, were fain to ſupply him with Soldiers, tho' many of them had their Paſſes and Diſcharges from all military Services before. At length, he makes up an Army, and marches to beſiege *Berwick*. He was ſcarce arrived there, when *Thomas Randolfe* paſſed the River *Solway*, and marched another Way into *England*; where he waſted all with Fire and Sword without any Reſiſtance; nay, in ſome Places, he could hardly meet with any Man at all. For a Plague, which reigned the former Year, had made ſuch a Devaſtation, that the Face of Things ſeemed very piteous, even to their very Enemies. When the *Scots* had marched above one hundred Miles, and had fired all, eſpecially about *York*, the Archbiſhop of that See, more for the Indignity of the Thing, than the Confidence in his Force, took up Arms. He gathered together an Army numerous enough, but raw and undiſciplined, conſiſting of a promiſcuous Company of Prieſts, Artificers, and Country-Labourers, whom he led with more Boldneſs than Conduct againſt his Invaders; but being overcome by them, he loſt many of his Men, and he, with ſome few, ſaved themſelves by Flight. There was ſo great a Slaughter of Prieſts made there, that the *Engliſh*, for a long time after, called that Battel, *The White Battel*.

EDWARD hearing of this Overthrow, leſt his conquering Enemy ſhould make farther and greater Attempts, raiſes his Siege, and retreats to *York*, (the *Scots* having withdrawn themſelves) and from thence into the Heart of his Kingdom. The *Engliſh* were buſied with domeſtick Tumults, ſo that a ſhort Truce was made, rather becauſe both Kings were tired with the War, than deſirous of a Pacification. In this Calm, *Robert* calls a Convention of all the Eſtates and Nobility: And becauſe the Changes, happening in ſo long a War, had confounded the Right of Mens Poſſeſſions, he commanded every one to produce and ſhew, by what Title he held his Eſtate. This Matter was equally grievous to the old Poſſeſſors, and to the new. Valiant Men thought they enjoyed that by a good Right, which they had taken from their Enemies; and they took it much amiſs, that what they had got as the Price of their military Toil, nay, of their very

Blood too, ſhould be rent from them in Times of Peace. As for the old Owners of Eſtates, ſeeing there was no one Houſe almoſt but had ſuffered in the War, they had loſt their Deeds, (by which they held their Lands) as well as their other Goods. Therefore they all entred upon a Project that had a brave Appearance, but proved bold and raſh in the Event. For when the King, in the Parliament, commanded them to produce their Titles, every one drew his Sword, and cry'd out, *We carry our Titles in our Right Hands*; the King, amazed at this ſudden and ſurprizing Spectacle, tho' he took the Matter very heinouſly, yet he ſtifled his Indignation for the preſent, and deferr'd it to a proper Time of Revenge. And it was not long before an Occaſion was offered him to ſhew it; divers of the Nobles being conſcious to themſelves of the Boldneſs of their late Attempt, and fearing to be puniſhed for it, conſpire together to betray the Kingdom to the *Engliſh*. The Fact was diſcovered to the King, and that ſo plainly, that the Letters declaring the Manner, Time, and Place were intercepted, and their Crime made evident. They were all taken and brought to the King, without any Tumult at all raiſed at their being apprehended. And becauſe it was much feared, that *William Souls*, Governor of *Berwick*, would deliver up both Town and Caſtle to the *Engliſh*, before the Conſpiracy was publickly divulged, he made a Journey thither as it were by the by. A Convention was made at *Perth*, to try the Priſoners, where the Letters were produced, and every ones Seal known; and being convicted of *High-Treaſon*, by their own Confeſſion, they were put to Death. The Chief were *David Brechin*, and *William* Lord *Souls* of the Nobility; alſo *Gilbert Mayler*, *Richard Brown*, and *John Logie*; beſides, there were many others of all Ranks and Degrees accuſed, but there being only matter of Suſpicion againſt them, they were diſmiſſed. The Death of *David Brechin* only, diverſly affected Mens Minds; for beſides that he was the Son of the King's Siſter, he was accounted the prime young Man of his Age for all Arts both of Peace and War. He had given evident Proofs of his Valour in *Syria* in the *Holy War*. He being ſummoned in by the popular Conſpirators, never gave his Conſent to the Treaſon, only his Crime was, that being made acquainted with ſo foul a Machination, he did not diſcover it. The Body of *Roger Mowbray*, who dy'd before Conviction, was condemned to all kind of Ignominy, but the King remitted that Puniſhment, and cauſed it to be buried.

SOME few Months before this Proceſs was had, the Pope's Legates, who, at the Requeſt of the *Engliſh*, came to

to compoſe the Diſſenſions betwixt the Kingdoms, not being able to do any thing in the Matter, leſt they might ſeem to have done nothing for the *Engliſh* in their Legateſhip, excommunicated the *Scots*, and forbad them the Uſe of publick Divine Service, (the Pope's Thunderbolts being terrible in thoſe Days.) *Bruce*, to ſhew how little he valued the Pope's Curſes in an unjuſt Cauſe, gathered an Army and invaded *England*, following the Legate at his Departure almoſt at his very Heels. There he made a foul Havock with Fire and Sword, and came as far as the *Croſs* at *Stanmore*. The *Engliſh*, not to ſuffer ſo great Ignominy to paſs unrevenged, levied ſo numerous an Army, that they promiſed themſelves an eaſy Victory even without Blood. *Robert* thought it dangerous to run the Hazard of all in a Battel againſt the mighty Army of ſo great a King, but he reſolved to help out the Matter with Policy rather than by Force. He drove all the Cattel into the Mountains whither the Armies could not, but with great Difficulty, aſcend; and all other things of Uſe for an Army, he cauſed either to be repoſited in fortify'd Places, or to be wholly ſpoiled.

THE *Engliſh*, who came thither in Hopes of a ſpeedy Battel, and had not Proviſions for a long March, when they perceived what Devaſtation was made in their own Country, were inflamed with Anger, Hatred, and Deſire of Revenge, and reſolved to pierce into the midſt of *Scotland*, and to ferret the King out of his Boroughs; nay, and force him to a Fight whether he would or no. For the Greatneſs of his Forces encouraged him to hope, that either he ſhould blot out his former Ignominy by an eminent Victory, or elſe ſhould recompenſe his Loſs lately received by an enlarged Depopulation: With this Reſolution he came in all haſte to *Edinburgh*; he ſpared Churches only in his March, but the farther he was to go, the more Scarcity he was like to find; ſo that, in five Days time, he was forced to retreat. At his Return, he ſpoiled all Things both ſacred and prophane. He burnt the Monaſteries of *Driburgh* and *Mulroſs*, and killed thoſe old Monks, whom either Weakneſs or Confidence in their old Age had cauſed to ſtay there. As ſoon as *Bruce* was informed that *Edward* was returned for Want of Proviſion, and that Diſeaſes raged in his Army, and that he had loſt more Men than if he had been overcome in Battel, he almoſt trod upon his Heels with an Army, noted more for the Goodneſs than the Number of Soldiers, and came as far as *York*, making grievous Havock as he went. He had almoſt taken the King himſelf by an unexpected Aſſault at the Monaſtery of *Biland*, where *Edward*, in a tu-

multuary Battel, was put to Flight, all his Houſhold-ſtuff, Money, Bag and Baggage being taken. To wipe away the Shame of this infamous Flight, *Andrew Berkley*, Earl of *Carliſle*, was a while after accuſed, as if he had been bribed to betray the *Engliſh*, and ſo he loſt his Life, in Puniſhment for the Cowardiſe of another Man.

THE next Year, a double Embaſſy was ſent, one to the Pope, to reconcile him to the *Scots*, from whom he had been alienated by the Calumnies of the *Engliſh*; and another to renew the ancient League with the *French*. Both Ambaſſadors eaſily obtained what they deſired: For, when the Pope underſtood, that the Controverſy aroſe by the Injury and Default of *Edward* the Firſt, who affirmed, *That the King of* Scots *ought to obey, as a Feudatary, the King of* England; *and, that the* Engliſh *had nothing to defend their Claim by, but old Fables, and late Injuries; and beſides, that, in Proſperity, being ſummoned by the Pope, they always avoided an equal Deciſion of Things, tho', in their Adverſity, they were always humble Suiters to him for his Aid; and, on their ſide, the* Scots *always were willing to have their Cauſe heard, and never ſhunned the Determination of an equal Judge, nor the Arbitration of any Good Men; and moreover, when they produced many Grants and Summons of former Popes, which made for them, and againſt their Enemies, the* Scots *were always preſent at the Day, and the* Engliſh, *though they had Notice given, never came:* Upon this Remonſtrance the Pope was eaſily reconciled to the *Scots*; and the *French* as eaſily induced to renew the ancient League, only one Article was added to the old Conditions, *That if any Controverſy ſhould hereafter ariſe amongſt the* Scots, *concerning him who was to ſucceed in the Kingdom, the ſame ſhould be decided by the Council of the States; and the* French *King, if need ſhould be, was to aſſiſt him by his Authority, and with his Arms, who, by lawful Suffrages, was by them declared King.* Our Writers caſt the Riſe of the *Hamiltons*, now a powerful Family in *Scotland*, upon theſe Times.

THERE was a certain Nobleman in the Court of *England* who ſpoke honourably of the Fortune and Valour of *Bruce*; whereupon, one of the *Spencers*, Bed-Chamber-Man to the King, either thinking, that his Speech was reproachful to the *Engliſh*; or elſe to curry Favour with the looſer ſort of the Nobility, drew his Faucheon, and, making at him, gave him a ſlight Wound in the Body. The Man, being of a great Spirit, was more concerned at the Contumely, than at the Damage; and, being

being hindered by the coming in of many to part the Fray, from taking preſent Revenge; the Day after, finding his Enemy in a fit Poſture, in the ſame Place, he run him thorough; And fearing the Puniſhment of the Law, and the great Power of the *Spencers* at Court, he fled preſently into *Scotland*, to King *Robert*, by whom he was very graciouſly received; and ſome Lands, near the River *Clyde*, were beſtowed upon him. His Poſterity, not long after, were admitted to the Degree of Noblemen; and the opulent Family of the *Hamiltons* was ſirnamed from him, and alſo the Name of *Hamilton* was impoſed on the Lands, which the King gave him.

NOT long after, *Edward* had great Combuſtions at home, inſomuch, that he put many of the Nobles to Death, and advanced the *Spencers*, the Authors of all evil Counſel, higher than his own Kindred could bear; ſo that he was apprehended by his Son, and by his Wife, (who had received a ſmall Force from beyond the Seas,) and kept cloſe Priſoner; and not long after he was put to a cruel ſort of Death, an hot Iron was thruſt into his Fundament, through a Pipe of Horn, by which his Bowels were burnt up, and yet no Sign of ſo terrible a Fact appeared on the outſide of his Body. His Wife and Son were thought privy to the Parricide, either becauſe his Keepers would never have dared to commit ſuch a Deed ſo openly, unleſs they had had great Authors; or elſe becauſe they were never called in Queſtion for ſo inhuman a Butchery.

THESE Diſturbances in *England*, which were followed by the King's Death, *Bruce* alſo growing old and weak in Body, were the Occaſions that a Peace was kept on Foot for ſome Years between the two neighbouring Nations. For *Bruce*, being freed from the Fear of the *Engliſh*, and being alſo called upon by his Age, converted his Thoughts to ſettle his domeſtick Affairs. And firſt, he made haſte to confirm the Kingdom, (which was not yet quite recovered, nor fully ſettled, from the Commotions of former Times) to his only Son, yet but a Child, by the Conſent and Decree of the Eſtates. And, if he died without Iſſue, then he appointed *Robert Stuart*, his Grandſon by his Daughter, to be his Succeſſor: He cauſed the Nobles to take an Oath, for the Performance of this Decree. But afterwards fearing, that, after his Death, *Baliol* would begin his old Diſpute about the Kingdom; eſpecially ſeeing his Heirs, becauſe of their Minority, might be liable to be injured by others; he ſent *James Douglas* to *John Baliol*, then in *France*, with large Gifts and Promiſes, that he

he would ceaſe his Claim to the Kingdom: This he did, not ſo much to acquire a new Right, (becauſe, according to the *Scotiſh* Cuſtom, *the King is made by the Decree of the Eſtates, who have the ſupream Power in their Hands*;) but that he might cut off all Occaſion from wicked Men, to calumniate his Poſterity; and alſo, that he might root out the very Seeds of Sedition. *Douglas* found *Baliol* far more compliable than he, or others, thought he would be; for he was now ſurrounded with the Miſeries of extream old Age. He ingenuouſly confeſſed, 'That his 'peccant Exorbitance was juſtly reſtrained, and that he 'was deſervedly driven out of the Kingdom, as unwor-'thy to reign. And therefore he was very willing, that 'his Kinſman *Robert* ſhould enjoy the Crown, by whoſe 'high Valour, ſingular Felicity, and unwearied Induſtry, 'it was reſtored to its ancient Splendor: In one thing he 'rejoyced, that they, by whom he was deceived, did not 'enjoy the Reward they promiſed themſelves by their 'Treachery.

WHEN *Robert* had ſettled theſe Matters, according to his own Deſire, the ſame Year, which was 1327, our Writers ſay, that Ambaſſadors were ſent into *Scotland*, by *Edward* the Third, for a Pacification; in which Matter they ſeemed to act treacherouſly, and inſtead of Peace, they carried home War; but what the particular Fraud was, is not expreſſed, and the *Engliſh* ſay, that the War was openly declared by *Robert*, but they deſcribe not the Cauſe of it; ſurely it muſt needs be ſome great and mighty one; or elſe, a ſick infirm old Man, when Peace was ſcarce ſettled at home; and, who might have been ſated with his former Victories, rather than with War, would not ſo ſoon have been provoked to have had freſh recourſe to Arms. This is certain, that the King, by reaſon of his Age, could not manage the War himſelf in Perſon; ſo that *Thomas Randolfe*, and *James Douglas*, the moſt valiant and the wiſeſt Men of all that Age, were ſent by him into *England*, with twenty thouſand gallant light Horſe, but no Foot at all. The Reaſon was, that they might fly up and down ſwiftly, and not abide in one place, nor be forced to fight the *Engliſh*, unleſs when they had a mind themſelves for the Engagement. For they knew, that the *Engliſh* would make Head againſt them in their firſt Expedition, with a far more numerous Army: Neither were they deceived in their Opinions; for the King of *England*, beſides his domeſtick Forces, had procured great Aſſiſtance of Horſe from *Flanders*; but they and

and the *Engliſh* happening to fall out at *York*, ſome *Engliſh* Writers ſay, that they returned home again. But *Froſſard*, a *French* Writer of the ſame Age, ſays, that they accompanied the *Engliſh* during the whole Expedition; and that, not only for Honour's ſake, but alſo for Fear of Sedition; and they had the next Place to the King's Regiment always aſſigned to them in the Camp. The King, having made a Conjunction of all his Forces, (which were clearly above ſixty thouſand Men) marched againſt the *Scots*, who had already paſſed over the *Tyne*: Now, there were two fortified Towns on the *Tyne*, one nearer *Wales*, which was *Carliſle*; and the other about Fifty Miles lower, called *Newcaſtle*. The *Engliſh* had ſtrongly garriſoned both of them, to hinder the Enemy's Paſſage over the River; but the *Scots*, knowing where the River was fordable, paſſed over without any Noiſe, and ſo deceived both the Garriſons. When the *Engliſh* were come into the *Biſhoprick* of *Durham*, from the Tops of the Hills they might ſee Fires from afar, and then beginning to underſtand how near their Enemy was, they tumultuouſly cryed, *Arm, Arm*, as if they were preſently to come to an Engagement.

THEY drew forth their Army into a threefold Order of Battel, and marched directly to the Place, where they ſaw the Smoak of the Fire; the General denouncing a great Penalty on him that, without his Leave, ſhould ſtir from his Colours. Thus they wearied themſelves till the Evening, and then mark'd out a Place for their Camp, in a Wood, near a certain River, and there they placed their Baggage and Carriages, which could not ſo ſwiftly follow the flying Army.

THE next Day they marched in the ſame Order, and towards Evening they were forced to abide in their Tents, which they had pitched, as conveniently as the Place would afford, that ſo the Draught-Horſes, and the Foot, might receive a little Refreſhment. There the Nobles came to the King, and deliberated how they ſhould bring the *Scots* to a Battel. The moſt Part were of Opinion, that the *Engliſh* Foot would never be able to overtake the flying Horſe of the *Scots*, and if they did, yet they could not compel them to fight, but in thoſe Places which they themſelves judged moſt convenient: But becauſe there was ſuch a general Devaſtation, that they could not ſtay long in an Enemy's Country, they judged it beſt, to paſs over the *Tyne* with all their Forces, and to intercept the Enemy on the Return home. And beſides, the Country beyond

beyond the *Tyne* was plainer and fitter to draw up an Army in, that ſo the whole Body of the Army might be put upon Service. This Opinion was approved, and a Command given to refreſh themſelves, and to do it as ſilently as ever they could, that they might more eaſily hear the Word of Command, and the Sound of the Trumpets; that ſo, leaving the Baggage behind, every one ſhould carry a Loaf apiece; and, as if the next Day they were to fight the Enemy, they were to wait the Event of Fortune; ſo that their Bodies being refreſhed from the Wearineſs of the Day before, a little after Midnight they took up their Arms, and, in good Order, begun their March; but the Mariſhes and Hills, by which they were to paſs, quickly made them break their Ranks, and he, that could, led the Van; the reſt followed their Steps, and their March was in ſuch Diſorder, that many Horſe, and Carriage-Beaſts, either ſtuck in the Mud, or elſe tumbled down from ſteep Places, and oftentimes they cryed, *To your Arms*; and then all of them, in great Trepidation, ran to the Place from whence the Noiſe and Cry came, without any Order at all. But when they came to thoſe that led the Van, they underſtood, that the Tumult was occaſioned by a Multitude of Stags; who, being rouzed out of the Heath, by the Noiſe of Men, and afraid to ſee them, ran up and down in great Confuſion, amongſt the *Brigades*. At laſt, about Evening, the Horſe, but without the Foot, came to the Fords of *Tyne*, over which the *Scots* had paſſed, and by which they would return, (as they hoped) and, at Sunſet, they forded over; the round and ſlippery Stones, which the River rolls up and down, much incommoding their Horſe. And beſides, they were afflicted with another Inconvenience, they had few or none of them any Iron Tools to cut down Wood with; ſo that after they had marched twenty eight Miles, they were fain to lie in their Arms that Night on the bare Ground, holding their Horſes Bridles in one of their Hands; for they could not cut down Wood to make Tents, (having brought none with them) nor Huts, nor ſo much as Stakes to tye their Horſes to. Early in the Morning, as ſoon as it was Light, there fell ſuch mighty Showers of Rain, that even ſmall Brooks were hardly paſſable by Man or Horſe; and beſides, they were inform'd by ſome Countrymen, whom they took, that the neighbouring Country was ſo barren and deſolate, that no Proviſion was to be had nearer than *Newcaſtle* and *Carliſle*; one of which was twenty four, the other thirty Miles off. They ſent their

Draught

Draught-Horſes and Servants thither; in the mean time, they made uſe of their Swords, to cut down Stakes to tye their Horſes to; and ſome Shrubs and ſmall Trees to build them Huts, with the Leaves of which they fed their Horſes, and ſo that Night they were fain to faſt.

THREE Days after, they that were ſent to the Towns, returned with ſome ſmall Proviſions, which they brought along with them; and ſome Sutlers came along with them with Bread and Wine, to make a Gain of; but it was but little, and that not good; yet, ſuch as it was, the Soldiers were ready to fall out who ſhould have it firſt. Having thus paſſed ſeven Days in great Want, and being alſo much moleſted with continual Showers, ſo that their Horſe-furniture was wet, and their Horſes Backs were all ulcerated, and they themſelves ſtood (many of them) armed, Day and Night, in their wet Cloaths; neither could they make any Fire, by reaſon that the Wood was green; and beſides, it was wetted by the Rain Water; the eighth Day they reſolved to repaſs the River at a more commodious Ford, ſeven Miles above the Place where they were; but there alſo the River was ſwell'd by reaſon of the Showers, ſo that they were much incommoded, and ſome were drowned in their Paſſage. As ſoon as they had landed their Army on the other ſide, a great Reward was propos'd to him who could bring the firſt certain Tidings where the *Scots* were. The two next Days, their March lying through deſolate Places, and ruined by late Fires, they had Forage enough for their Horſes, but little Proviſion for themſelves. On the fourth Day, one of the fifteen young Men, who ſcouted out to bring News where the *Scots* lay, returned back, and informed them, that the *Scots* Army was about three Miles diſtance from theirs; and that, for eight Days laſt paſt, they had been as uncertain what became of the *Engliſh*, as the *Engliſh* had been what became of them. This he affirmed for Truth, as having been taken Priſoner by the *Scots*, and freed without Ranſom, upon Condition, he would go tell his King, *That they would wait for his coming in that Place; and that they were as willing to fight as he.*

UPON the Receipt of this Meſſage, the King commanded his Army to make an Halt, that Man and Horſe might take ſome Refreſhment, and ſo be ready for the laſt Encounter; and thus, in three Brigades he marched ſlowly towards the Enemy. As ſoon as they came in ſight one of another, the *Scots* had ſo divided their Men into three Batallions upon an Hill, that the Rocks and Precipices

belonging to it ſecured them on the Right and Left, from whence they might hurl down Stones upon the Heads of the Enemy, if they endeavoured to come up to them. At the Foot of the Hill the *Engliſh* had a rapid Torrent to paſs, ſo full of great and round Stones, that they could not ford over to their Enemy; or, if they had ſo done, they could not retreat without certain Ruin. The *Engliſh*, perceiving that they could not come at the Enemy, but with great Diſadvantage, pitched their Tents; and ſent an Herald at Arms to the *Scots*, adviſing them to *come down into the Champion Country, to fight for Glory and Empire by true Valour, in an open Plain:* The *Scots* anſwered, *That they would fight for no body's Pleaſure, but their own; That they marched into* England *to revenge the Injuries they had received; if they had done any thing which offended them, they had free Liberty to take their own Revenge. As for themſelves, they reſolved to abide there, as long as they pleaſed; and if their Enemy attacked them, it ſhould be at their Peril.* The next three Days, their Camps being near, and Parties placed at the Fords, ſome ſlight Skirmiſhes paſſed betwixt them; the fourth Day, as ſoon as it was light, the Watch brought Word, that the *Scots* had forſaken the Hill on which they were; whereupon, Scouts were ſent out to bring certain News, and to follow them, if they had retreated; who brought Word, that the *Scots* had pitched their Tents on another Hill by the ſame River, much more convenient for them than the firſt, where they had a Wood which ſecured their ingreſs and egreſs. The *Engliſh*, who hoped that they ſhould famiſh the *Scots*, (who avoided fighting) in a foreign Soil, being fruſtrated in their Expectation, followed them, and pitched their Tents on an oppoſite Hill. After they had remained there ſome Days, it was obſerved, that they grew more negligent than formerly in their Night-Watches; either becauſe they undervalued the *Scots*, by reaſon of their ſmall Numbers, or elſe, becauſe they meditated nothing but Flight. *Douglas* took hold of the Opportunity to attempt ſomething, and paſſing over the River with 200 choſen Horſe, he entred the Enemy's Camp, where he ſaw it was but ſlenderly guarded. He had almoſt pierced to the King's own Tent, where, cutting off the Cords, the Alarm being taken, he killed near 300 *Engliſh* in his Retreat, and brought his Men ſafely off; After this, no memorable Action happened, ſave that the *Engliſh*, inſtructed by their own Loſs, placed more careful Watches in convenient Places. At laſt, it was told them by a *Scot*, whom they had

had taken Priſoner, that there was a Proclamation in their Camp, that at the third Watch all ſhould be ready to follow *Douglas*, whereſoever he ſhould lead them. This Relation ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the *Engliſh*, that, dividing their Army into three Batallions, at a moderate Diſtance one from another, they ſtood all that Night to their Arms; and their Servants held their Horſes, bridled, ſadled, and ready prepared, for whatever ſhould happen in their Camp. And moreover, they placed ſtrong Guards at all the Fords of the River. At laſt, towards break of Day, Two *Scots* Trumpeters were brought to the King, who told him, *That the* Scots *were commanded to return home; and if the* Engliſh *had a mind to revenge the Loſs they had ſuſtained, they muſt follow them.* Upon that the *Engliſh* called a Council of War, where it was reſolved, That it was better to march back with the Army at preſent, than to follow ſuch flying Stragglers, to the immenſe Fatigue both of Horſe and Man; conſidering, they had loſt more Men in this Expedition by Famine and Sickneſs, than might have fallen in a Set-Battel. When their Retreat was reſolved upon, many of the *Engliſh*, either in hopes of Booty, which might be left behind in their haſty Retreat; or elſe, deſirous to underſtand ſomething of their Enemy's Affairs, went into their Camp, where they found about five hundred Deer, and eſpecially Stags, already killed, (of which ſort the *Engliſh* keep a great Stock, not only their Kings, but even many private Perſons alſo) and great Budgets, made of raw Skins, in which they boiled their Meat, and about ten thouſand Snapſacks. Moreover, there were two *Engliſhmen*, whoſe Legs were broken, but they were yet alive. All theſe things being Evidences of great Hardineſs and Poverty, confirm'd the Goodneſs of the Advice, given by thoſe who were for marching the Army back.

THIS Year *Walter Stuart* and Queen *Elizabeth* dy'd, one the Son-in-Law, the other Wife to the King: Beſides, the Caſtles of *Alnwick* and *Norham* were beſieged by the *Scots*, but without Succeſs: Preys were alſo driven out of *Northumberland*. In *March* Ambaſſadors came from *England* to treat of a perpetual Peace, and a Truce was made for three Years. The next Year, which was 1328, the *Engliſh* held a Parliament at *Northampton* on the twenty [illegible] *June*, where all the Orders of Eſtates agreed to a Peace with the *Scots* upon theſe Terms; *That the* Engliſh *ſhould renounce all Right which they or their Anceſtors pretended to have to the Crown of* Scotland; *and that they ſhould*

ſhould leave that Kingdom as free as it was at the Death of Alexander *the Third; and that they ſhould be ſubject to no external Servitude, or foreign Yoke; and, on the other ſide, the* Scots *were to ſurrender up all the Lands they held in* England *as Feudataries: That* Cumberland *and* Northumberland, *as far as* Stanmore, *ſhould be Boundaries to the* Scots; *that* David, *the Son of* Robert, *ſhould take to Wife* Joan, *the Siſter of* Henry; *that the* Engliſh *ſhould faithfully return all Pacts, Bonds, and Writings, or any other Monuments, which teſtify'd the Subjection of the* Scots *into their Hands; and ſhould diſannul them for the future; that the* Scots, *for the Damage which they had lately done the* Engliſh *King, and for the Lands which his Father and Grandfather had given to his Favourites in* Scotland, *ſhould pay him thirty thouſand Marks of Silver.*

BOTH Kings had their proper Reaſons why they conſented ſo eaſily to theſe Conditions. The *Engliſh* King, having waſted his Treaſure, and having been put to an ignominious Flight, and thereby leſſened in the Eyes of his own Subjects, as well as of his Enemies, was afraid that ſome domeſtick Sedition might ariſe, and then a warlike Enemy, puffed up with his late Succeſs, ſhould come on his Flank and mightily endamage his Kingdom. And *Robert*, broken with old Age, with Toil, and with Diſeaſes, (for a little before his Death he fell into a Leproſy) and long exerciſed with the Events of both Fortunes, good and bad, reſolved, if he cou'd, to give himſelf up to his Eaſe; and not only ſo, but to provide for the Tranquillity of his Heirs, in regard of their infirm and tender Age. And therefore, having ſettled Peace abroad, he turned himſelf wholly to ſettle Affairs at home. When the Marriage of his Son was magnificently celebrated, he, perceiving the End of his Life to be near at hand, compoſed himſelf for another World, and went almoſt in the Habit of a private Man, (for, ſome Years before, all the grand Affairs of State had been managed by *Thomas Randolph*, and *James Douglas*) and lived in a ſmall Houſe at *Cardroſs*, (a Place divided from *Dumbritton* by the River *Levin*) and kept himſelf from the Concourſe of People, unleſs where ſome caſe of ſingular Neceſſity demanded his Preſence. Thither he called ſome of his Friends a little before his Death, and made his Will. He confirmed thoſe to be his Heirs which were ſo declared by the Convention of Eſtates. Firſt, *David* his Son, being eight Years old; next, *Robert* a Grandſon of his by his Daughter; he commended them to his Nobles, and eſpecially to *Thomas Randolph* his Siſter's Son, and *James Douglas*. Afterward, he ſettled his Houſhold

Houſhold Affairs, and exhorted them all to keep up Concord and Unanimity amongſt themſelves, and to preſerve their Allegiance to their King; and if they did ſo, he would aſſure them to be unconquerable by any foreign Power. Moreover, he is reported to have added three Commands, or, if you will, Counſels; Firſt, *That they ſhould never make any one Man Lord of the* Æbudæ Iſlands; Next, *That they ſhould never fight the* Engliſh, *with all their Force, at one time*; And Thirdly, *That they ſhould never make with them a perpetual League.* In explicating his firſt Advice, he diſcourſed much concerning the Number, Extent, and Power of the Iſlands, and concerning the Multitude, Fierceneſs, and Hardineſs of their Inhabitants: They with Ships, ſuch as they were, yet not inconvenient for thoſe Coaſts, coping with Men unskill'd in maritim Affairs, might do a great deal of Miſchief to others, but receive little Damage themſelves: And therefore, Governors were yearly to be ſent thither, to adminiſter Juſtice amongſt them, by Officers who ſhould not be continued long in their Places neither. His ſecond Advice concerning the *Engliſh* ſtood upon this Foot, becauſe the *Engliſh*, as inhabiting a better Country, exceeded the *Scots* in Number of Men, Money, and all other warlike Preparations; and by reaſon of theſe Conveniences, they were more accuſtomed to their Eaſe, and not ſo patient of Labour or Hardſhip: On the other ſide, the *Scots* were bred in an hardier Soil, and were, by reaſon of their Parſimony and continual Exerciſe, of a more healthy Conſtitution of Body; and by the very manner of their Education, made more capable to endure all military Toil, and therefore that they were fitter for ſuddain and occaſional Aſſaults, ſo to weaken and weary out their Enemy by degrees, than to venture all at once in a pitch'd Battel. His third Advice was grounded upon this Reaſon, becauſe, if the *Scots* ſhould have a long Peace with the *Engliſh*, (having no other Enemy beſides them to exerciſe their Arms upon) they would grow lazy, luxurious, and ſo eaſily become ſlothful, voluptuous, effeminate and weak. As for the *Engliſh*, tho' they had Peace with the *Scots*, yet *France* was near them, which kept their Arms in ure: If then, thoſe who are skillful in warlike Affairs ſhould cope with the *Scots*, thus grown unskilful and ſluggiſh, they might promiſe to themſelves an aſſured Victory. Moreover, he commended to [illegible] *Douglas* the Performance of the Vow which he had made, which was, to go over into *Syria*, and to undertake the ſacred Cauſe in the *Holy War*, againſt the common Enemy of Chriſtianity. And becauſe he himſelf, by reaſon of his

homebred Seditions, or elſe being broken with Age and Diſeaſes, could not perform the Vow himſelf, he earneſtly deſired, *That* Douglas *would carry his Heart, after he was deceaſed, to* Jeruſalem, *that it might be interr'd there. Douglas* looked upon this as an honourable Imployment, and as an eminent Teſtimony of the King's Favour towards him; and therefore the next Year after the King's Death, with a brave and fine Brigade of young Noblemen, he prepared for his Voyage. But when he was upon the Coaſts of *Spain*, he heard that the King of *Arragon* was ingaged in a very fierce War againſt the ſame Enemy, with which he was to fight in *Syria*; and thinking with himſelf, that it mattered not in what Place he aſſiſted in the Cauſe of Chriſtianity, he landed his Men, and joined himſelf with the *Spaniard*, where, after many proſperous Fights, at laſt deſpiſing the Enemy as a weak and fugitive one, he thought to attempt ſomething againſt him with his own Men, and ſo ruſhing unadviſedly on the Army of the *Sarazens*, he was by them drawn into an Ambuſh, where he and moſt part of his Men were loſt. His chief Friends that periſhed with him, were *William Sinclare*, and *Robert Logan*. This happened the next Year after the King's Death, which was 1330.

To be ſhort, *Robert Bruce* was certainly every Way a great Man, and can hardly be parellel'd for his Virtues and Valour, even in the moſt heroick Times; for as he was very valiant in War, ſo was he moſt juſt and temperate in Peace; and tho' his unhoped for Succeſſes, and (after Fortune was once ſatiated, or rather wearied with his Miſeries) a continued Courſe of Victory rendred him remarkably illuſtrious; yet to me he ſeemed to have been much more glorious in his Adverſities. For, What a great Spirit was that which was not broken, nor even weakened by ſo many Miſeries as ruſhed in upon him all at once? Whoſe Conſtancy would it not have tried to have his Wife a Priſoner, his four valiant Brothers cruelly put to Death, and his Friends, at the ſame time, cruſhed with all imaginable Calamities; and they who eſcaped with their Lives were exiled, and loſt all their Eſtates? As for himſelf, he was outed not only of a large Patrimony but of a Kingdom too, by the powerfulleſt King of thoſe Times, and one who had the greateſt Preſence of Mind both in Advice and Action. Tho' he was thus ſurrounded with all theſe Evils at one time, and even brought into the extreameſt Exigency, yet he never doubted of recovering the Kingdom. Nor did he ever do, or ſay any thing, which was unbecoming a Royal Soul. He did not do as *Cato* the younger, and *Marcus Brutus*, who laid violent Hands

Hands on themſelves; neither like *Marius*, who, incenſed by his Sufferings, let looſe the Reins of Hate and Paſſion againſt his Enemies; but when he had recovered his ancient State and Kingdom, he ſo carried it to thoſe who had put him to ſo much Hardſhip and Trouble, that he ſeemed rather to remember that he was now their King, than that he had been ſometimes their Enemy. And even, a little before his Death, tho' a terrible Diſtemper made an Addition to the Troubles of his old Age, yet was he ſo much himſelf, as to confirm the preſent State of the Kingdom, and even to conſult the Peace and Quiet of his Poſterity. So that when he dy'd, all Men bewail'd him as being depriv'd, not only of a juſt King, but of a loving Father. He departed this Life the ninth of *July*, in the Year of *Chriſt* 1329, and the twenty fourth of his Reign.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK IX.

THE Nobles of *Scotland* having performed the Funeral Obſequies for the late King, as ſoon as they could conveniently indicted a Convention of the Eſtates for the electing of a Regent, where the Inclinations of the Publick ſoon pitched upon *Thomas Randolf*, Earl of *Murray*; and the rather, becauſe even in the King's Life time he had, for ſome Years managed that Office, and the King at his Death had likewiſe recommended him to the People, by his laſt Will and Teſtament.

DAVID

DAVID II. *The ninety eighth King.*

THE Coronation of the King was deferr'd till *November* the 24th the next Year following; that ſo, by the Permiſſion of the Pope, he might be anointed, and that new Ceremony be performed with great Pomp and Splendor amongſt the *Scots*. As ſoon as the Regent was choſen, he firſt of all ratify'd the Peace made with the *Engliſh*; afterward, he apply'd himſelf to ſettle Peace at home, and ſuppreſs publick Robberies. In order to which, he kept a ſtrong Guard about him which was ready on all Occaſions; ſo that when News was brought him as he was going to *Wigton*, (which is a Town in *Galway*) that there was a powerful Gang of Thieves who infeſted the Highways, and robbed Travellers in that Country; he ſent out his Guard againſt them, even as he was in his Progreſs, who took them every Man, whom he cauſed to be put to Death. He was Inexorable againſt all Murderers, ſo that he cauſed a certain Man to be apprehended, who had obtained the *Pope's Bull* of Pardon for his Offence, and thereupon thought himſelf ſecure to be apprehended, alledging, *That the Pope might pardon the Soul-Guilt, but the Body-Puniſhment belonged to the King.*

TO prevent Robberies, which were yet too frequently committed, by reaſon of the remaining Contagion of the Wars, he made a Law, *That the Countrymen ſhould leave their Iron Tools, and Plough-Gear, in the Field, all Night, and that they ſhould not ſhut their Houſes, nor Stalls. If any thing was ſtollen, the Loſs was to be repaired by the Sheriff of the County; and the Sheriff was to be reimburſed by the King; and the King was to be ſatisfied out of the Eſtates of the Robbers, when they were taken.* There was one Countryman, either over-greedy of Gain; or elſe, judging that Caution to be vain and frivolous, who hid his Plough Irons in the Field, and came to the Sheriff to demand Satisfaction, as if they had been ſtollen; the Sheriff paid him preſently, but inquiring farther into the Matter, and finding that he was the Author of the Theft himſelf, he cauſed him to be hang'd, and his Goods to be forfeited: He reſtrained the Strollers from wandring up and down the Country under ſevere Penalties. If any one aſſaulted a Traveller, or any publick Officer in performing his Office, he made it lawful for any body to kill him. So that when thirty Aſſailants had been ſlain by the Companions of a certain publick Miniſter at a Village call'd *Halydon*, he pronounced the Fact juſt, and indemnified the Actors. This

domeſtick Severity made him as formidable to Villains at home, as his Valour did to his Enemies abroad. And therefore the *Engliſh*, who, upon *Robert*'s Death, watched all Occaſions to revenge themſelves, perceiving that they could attempt nothing by open Force as long as *Randolph* was living, turn'd their Thoughts to ſecret Fraud and Stratagem.

THE ſpeedieſt Way to be rid of their Enemy, ſeemed to be by Poiſon; nor wanted there a proper Wretch to attempt it; and this was a certain Monk of that Claſs, who are eaſily brought up, and for Want of fit Maſters to teach them better, do too often pervert a good Genius to wicked Arts and Practices: There were two Profeſſions joined in this Man, *viz. Monkery* and *Phyſick*; the *Firſt* ſeemed proper to gain him Admittance; the *Second* rendred him fit to perpetrate his Villainy. Hereupon he comes into *Scotland*, giving out in all Places, that as he had Skill in all other Parts of *Phyſick*, ſo eſpecially in curing the *Stone*; by which means he obtained an eaſy Acceſs to the Regent, and being employ'd to cure him, he mixed a ſlow-working Poiſon with his Medicines; and then taking a few Days Proviſion with him, he returned again into *England*, as if he had gone only to get and prepare more Drugs and Medicines. There he makes a ſolemn Aſſeveration before *Edward*, *That* Randolf *would die by ſuch a certain Day*. In Hopes of this, *Edward* levies a great Army, and marching to the Borders, found there as great an Army of *Scots* ready to receive him not far from his Camp; upon which, he ſent a Trumpet to them on Pretence of demanding Reparation for Damages, but he was injoined to inquire, who commanded the *Scots* Forces? *Randolph*'s Diſeaſe encreaſing, and the *Monk* not returning at the Day appointed, ſuſpected all things for the worſe, and therefore diſſembling his Grief as much as he cou'd, he ſate in a Chair before his Tent royally apparell'd, and gave Anſwer to the Demands of the Herald of Arms, as if he had been a Man in perfect Health. The Herald, at his Return, acquainted the King with what he had ſeen and heard, ſo that the Monk was puniſhed as a lying Cheat; and *Edward* marched back his Army, only leaving a Guard on the Borders to prevent Incurſions. *Randolph* alſo was hindred from marching forward by the Violence of his Diſeaſe, but returning home he disbanded his Army, and at *Muſſelborough*, about four Miles from *Edinburgh*, departed this Life, in the Year of our Lord 1331, and the twentieth of *July*, having been Regent two Years after *Robert*'s Death. He was a Man nothing inferior to any o

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our *Scotiſh* Kings in Valour and Skill in military Affairs, but far ſuperior to them in the Arts of Peace. He left two Sons behind him, *Thomas* and *John*, both worthy ſo great a Father.

WHEN *Randolf*, Guardian of the Kingdom (for ſo they *then* called him) was dead, *Duncan*, Earl of *Mar*, was choſen in his Place the ſecond of *Auguſt*. The King being then ten Years old, on which very Day a ſad Meſſage was brought to Court, that the thirty firſt of *July* then laſt paſt, *Edward Baliol* was ſeen in the *Firth* of *Forth*, with a Navy very numerous. To make all things more plain concerning his coming, I muſt go a little back. When King *Robert* dy'd, there was one *Lawrence Twine*, an *Engliſhman*, of the Number of thoſe who having received Lands in *Scotland*, as a Reward of their military Service, dwelt there. He was of a good Family, but of a very wicked Life: He conceiving Hopes of greater Liberty, upon the Death of *one* King, and the immature Age of *another*, gave himſelf up more licentiouſly to unlawful Pleaſures; ſo that being often taken in Adultery, and admoniſhed by the Judge of the eccleſiaſtical Court, yet not deſiſting, he was at laſt excommunicated by the Official (as they call him) of the Biſhop of *Glaſgow*. Upon which, as if he had received a great deal of Wrong, he way-laid the Judge as he was going to *Air*, and kept him ſo long a Priſoner, till, upon the Payment of a Sum of Money, he had abſolved him. *Twine* being informed, that *James Douglas* was extremely angry with him for this Fact, and that he ſought for him to have him puniſhed; for Fear of his Power he fled into *France*, and there addreſſed himſelf to *Edward Baliol*, Son to *John*, (who had been King of *Scotland* ſome few Years) informing him of the State of Affairs in *Scotland*, and withal, adviſing him, by no means, to omit ſo fair an Opportunity of recovering his Father's Kingdom. *For* (ſaid he) *their King was now but a Child, and he had many Enemies about him, and readier to revenge the Injuries done them by his Father, than by his Friends; The Fathers of ſome were ſlain in a publick Convention at Perth, others were baniſhed, and loſt their Eſtates; others were puniſhed with the Loſs of a great part of their Lands, and beſides a great many of* Engliſh *Extraction, who were deprived of the Lands given them by his Father, would be his Companions in the Expedition; nay, there were Men enough needy and criminal, who, either for Hope of Gain, or to avoid the Puniſhment of the Laws, being deſirous of Change and Innovation, wanted nothing but a Leader to begin a Diſturbance. And moreover,* James Douglas *being kill'd in* Spain,

and Randolf *by reaſon of his Sickneſs, being unfit for the Government, there was not a Man beſides, to whoſe Authority the giddy and diſagreeing Multitude would as ſoon ſubmit as to his.*

BALIOL knew, that what he had ſpoken was, for the moſt part, true, and hearing alſo that *Edward* of *England* was ſending great Forces into *Scotland*: Thereupon the crafty Impoſtor eaſily perſuaded him, who of himſelf was deſirous of Empire and Glory, to get what Ships he could together, and ſo to bear a Part in that Expedition. But before the coming of *Baliol* into *England*, *Edward* had disbanded his Army. Nevertheleſs the exiled *Scots*, and thoſe *Engliſh*, who had been diſpoſſeſſed of their Lands in *Scotland*, flocked in to him, and ſo he made up no inconſiderable Army. Some ſay, that he had but ſix hundred Men accompanying him in ſo great an Enterprize, which ſeems not very probable. I rather think, their Opinion more agreeable to Truth, who ſay, that the *Engliſh* aſſiſted him with ſix thouſand Foot. And they were all more encouraged in their deſigned Expedition, when they heard that *Randolf* was dead, whilſt they were making their Preparations; for that gave them great Encouragement, as a good *Omen* of their future Succeſs. With this Navy he came to *Kinghorn*, and there landed his Naval Forces on the firſt Day of *Auguſt*. The Land Forces were commanded by *David Cumins*, formerly Earl of *Athol*, as alſo by *Mowbray* and *Beaumont*; and the Forces of the *Engliſh* by *Talbot*. At the News of the Arrival of this Fleet, *Alexander Seaton*, a Nobleman, who happened to be in thoſe Parts at that time, ſtrove to oppoſe them, thinking that, upon their diſorderly Landing, ſome Opportunity of Service might be offered; but, in regard, few of the Country came in to him, he and moſt of his Men were cut off. *Baliol* allowed ſome few Days to his Soldiers to refreſh themſelves after their troubleſome Voyage; and then marched directly towards *Perth*, and pitched his Tents by the Water-Mills, not far from the Water of *Earn*. The Regent was beyond, and *Patrick Dunbar* on this ſide the River, each of them with great Forces, their Camps being five Miles diſtant one from another. *Baliol*, tho', upon the coming in of many to him on the Report of his good Succeſs, he made up an Army of above ten thouſand Men; yet being between two Armies of his Enemies, and fearing to be cruſhed between them, he thought it beſt to attack them ſeverally, and on a ſudden, when they leaſt expected it, and reſolved to attack *Mar*, the Regent, firſt; becauſe, it was likely, that he being moſt remote from his

his Enemy, would be leſs vigilant, and ſo more liable to a Surprize. He got *Andrew Murray* of *Tullibardin* to be his Guide, who not daring to join himſelf openly with the *Engliſh* in the Night, faſtned and ſtuck up a Pole, or Stake in the River where it was fordable, to ſhew *Baliol*'s Men the way over: They being covered with the Woods, which grew on the other ſide the River, came near the Enemy before they were aware; where they underſtood that they kept but a thin Watch and ſlender Guard, and paſſed the Night as in no expectation of an Enemy at all; upon the account of this their negligence, they marched by their Camp in great ſilence, thinking to make an aſſault on the adverſe part of it, where they ſuppoſed they ſhould find them more ſecure. But it happened, that in that part where they preſumed the greateſt negligence was, that *Thomas Randolf*, Earl of *Murray*; *Robert Bruce*, Earl of *Carrick*; *Murdo*, Earl of *Monteith*; and *Alexander Frazer* kept Guard. Theſe getting a ſtrong Company of their Friends together, received the firſt charge and onſet of the Enemy very valiantly upon the edge of a Ditch, ſo made by the falling down of the Rain-Water. In the mean time, a great noiſe and tumult was made in the Camp, each one haſtening to his Arms, and running into the Battel, but ruſhing in raſhly in no Order, and without their Colours, they firſt broke the Ranks of their own Men, who bore the brunt of the *Baliolans*, and ſo the laſt puſhing on the firſt, fell both miſerably into the Ditch; many were there killed by the Enemy, but more both of Horſe and Men preſſed to Death by their fall; and the moſt part were ſo weakened, that they had hardly Strength enough left either to fight or fly. There fell of the *Scots* 3000, ſeveral of thoſe that eſcaped fled to *Perth*, but they being few, and generally without Arms or Guides, were eaſily taken by the purſuing *Engliſh*, together with the City it ſelf.

The next Day *Dumbar*, hearing of the Overthrow of the other Army, and that *Perth* was taken, and being informed alſo of the ſmall Number of the *Engliſh* Forces, marched directly towards the Town, with intent to beſiege it, and deſtroy the Enemy whilſt they were yet in great want of all things; but the Matter being debated amongſt his chief Officers, each one excuſed himſelf, and ſo they departed, without effecting any thing. *Baliol*, having done ſuch great Things in ſo ſhort a time, even beyond his Expectation, was encouraged to gain the reſt of the *Scots*, either by Favour, or Force. And there being ſuch a mighty concourſe of People continually attending him,

him, he now thought it a proper Opportunity to declare himſelf *King*. This Deſign was the more advantagious to him, in as much as the greateſt part of the Slaughter had fallen upon the Families adjoyning to *Perth*. For there were killed in the Field beſides the Regent, *Robert Keith*, with a great number of his Tenants and Relations. There fell eighty of the Family of the *Lindſeys*, and amongſt them, *Alexander* their Chief. The Name of the *Hays* would have been quite extinct by this Battel, had not *William*, the Chief of the Family, left his Wife big with Child behind him. And beſides, *Thomas Randolfe*, *Robert Bruce* and *Murdo*, Earl of *Monteath*, *William Sinclare*, Biſhop of the *Caledonians*, and *Duncan Macduff*, Earl of *Fife*, were taken Priſoners, who being thus in ſuch a deſperate Condition, were forced to take an Oath of Allegiance to him.

BALIOL, *The eighty ninth King.*

UPON this *Baliol*, truſting to his preſent Fortune, went to the neighbouring Abby of *Scone*, and there entred upon the Kingdom the 25th of *Auguſt* in the Year of our Lord 1332. By this Wound and Loſs, the Power of *David Bruce* was much weakened in *Scotland*; yet his Friends, not broken in their Spirits by this Calamity, took care to ſecure him from the Dangers of War, he not being yet fit to undertake the Government; for which Reaſon they ſent him and his Wife to his Father's Friend, *Philip* King of *France*, to be there out of Harms way; in the mean time, they prepare themſelves for all Events, being reſolved to dye honourably, or elſe reſtore their Country to its former State. In purſuance of which they firſt of all ſet up *Andrew Murray*, a Perſon of excellent Quality, Son of the Siſter of *Robert Bruce*, as Regent, in the place of *Duncan*; then they ſent Meſſengers into all Parts of the Kingdom, partly to confirm and fix their old Friends, and partly to ſpur up the more remiſs to thoughts of revenging their Wrongs. The firſt who took Arms, being excited by their Grief for the loſs of their Parents and Relations at *Duplin*, were *Robert Keith*, *James* and *Simon Fraſer*, who, about the middle of *September*, beſieged *Perth*; the Siege laſted longer than they expected, however in three Months time they took it. *Macduff*, Earl of *Fife*, who held the Town for *Baliol*, was ſent Priſoner with his Wife and Children to *Kildrum*, a Caſtle in *Marr*; *Andrew Murray*, of *Tullibardin*, who diſcovered the Ford over the River *Earn* to the *Engliſh*, was put to Death. The *black Book of Paſley* ſays, that the Walls of the Town were demo-

demoliſhed, which ſeems more probable to me, than that it ſhould be made a Garriſon, as others write, eſpecially in ſo great a want of faithful Friends, and Soldiers.

AT the mean time *Baliol* was at *Annandale*, very buſie in receiving the Homage of the Nobility, who were ſo much ſurprized and aſtoniſhed at the ſuddain change of Things, that even *Alexander Bruce*, Lord of *Carrick* and *Galway*, deſpairing of retrieving his Kinſman *David*'s Affairs, came in to him. After this proſperous Succeſs, he deſpiſed his Enemy, and grew more negligent and regardleſs of him. When the Regent heard of this by his Spies, he ſent *Archibald Douglas*, Brother to *James*, who was loſt in *Spain*, that if there were any Opportunity for Action, he ſhould lay hold of it. He took with him *William Douglas*, Earl of *Liddiſdale*; *John Randolfe*, the Son of *Thomas*, and *Simon Frazer*, with a thouſand Horſe, and ſo came to *Manfet*; where having ſent out Scouts, to ſee that the Coaſt was clear, he marched in the Night, and attackt *Baliol* as he was aſleep, and put his Army into ſo great a Fright and Conſternation, that *Baliol* himſelf, half naked, was fain to get upon an Horſe, neither bridled nor ſadled, and ſo fled away; many of his intimate Friends were kill'd: *Alexander Bruce* was taken Priſoner, and obtained his Pardon, by the means of his Kinſman, *John Randolfe*. *Henry Baliol* got great Credit that Day, by his Valour, amongſt both Parties, who, in ſo confuſed a Flight, defended ſome of his Men, whom their Purſuers preſſed cloſe upon; he wounded a great many, and killed ſome of his Enemies, and was afterwards killed, fighting bravely to the laſt Gaſp. There fell alſo the chief of the *Engliſh* Faction, *John Mowbray*, *Walter Cumins*, and *Richard Kirke*. This Action was on the 25th day of *December*, in the Year 1332.

THE *Brucian* Party were ſomewhat relieved by theſe Succeſſes, ſo that they came in great Numbers to *Andrew Murray*, the Regent, to conſult about the great Affair. They [illegible] but that *Baliol* ſought the Kingdom, not for him[illegible], but for the *Engliſh*; by whom he was guided [illegible] in every thing. For which reaſon they reſolved to declare the King of *England* their Enemy; and accordingly prepared all things neceſſary for War, with great Diligence, as againſt a very powerful Foe. They ſtrongly fortified the Garriſon of *Berwick*, for they thought the *Engliſh* would attack that place firſt. They made *Alexander Seton* a very worthy Knight, Governor of the Town, and *Patrick Dunbar* of the Caſtle, and the adjoyning Precincts, *William Douglas*, Earl of *Liddiſdale*, whoſe Valour

lour and Prudence was highly commended in thoſe Times, was ſent into *Annandale*, to defend the Weſtern Coaſts: *Andrew Murray* went to *Roxburgh*, where *Baliol* kept himſelf. Thus their ſeveral Governments being diſtributed at home, *John Randolfe* was ſent into *France* to viſit *David*, and to make an Addreſs to *Philip* of *France*, informing him of the State of *Scotland*, and deſiring of him ſome Aid againſt the common Enemy. *Murray*, at his coming to *Roxburgh*, had a ſharp Encounter with *Baliol*, at a Bridge without the City; and whilſt he preſſed too eagerly after the *Engliſh*, who were retreating over the Bridge into the Town, he was intercepted from his Men and taken Priſoner; by which means he loſt entirely a Victory, which he was almoſt ſure of.

AT the ſame time in another Country, *William Douglas* of *Liddiſdale*, in a Battel with the *Engliſh*, was wounded and made Priſoner, which Diſaſter ſo troubled his Men, that they were ſoon put to flight. This Inconſtancy of Fortune divided *Scotland* again into two Factions, as Love, Hatred, Hope, Fear, or each Man's private Concern, inclined him. The King of *England* preſuming, that by reaſon of theſe Diſſenſions, he had a fit Opportunity to ſeize upon *Scotland*, received *Baliol* into his Protection, (for he was too weak to ſupport himſelf by his own Strength) and took an Oath of Obedience from him; and nothing regarding his right of Affinity with *Bruce*, nor reverencing the Sanctity of Leagues, nor the Religion of an Oath, ſo that he might ſatisfy his boundleſs Ambition; he at once denounced and waged War with the *Scots*, at that time deſtitute of a King, and at variance amongſt themſelves. And to give a colourable pretence of Juſtice to this War, he ſent Embaſſadors to demand *Berwick*, which Town his Father and Grandfather had held many Years, and he preſently followed with an Army. The *Scots* anſwered the Ambaſſadors, 'That *Berwick* always belonged to *Scot-*
'*land*, till his Grandfather *Edward* had [illegible]ſly ſeized
'upon it. At length, when *Robert Bruce* th[illegible] laſt King
'had recovered the reſt of *Scotland*, he t[illegible] that
'Town from *Edward*, (his Father) and reduced it to its
'ancient rightful Poſſeſſor and Form of Government; and
'that not long ago, *Edward* himſelf, by the Advice of his
'Parliament, had renounced all Right, which he or his
'Anceſtors might pretend to have over all *Scotland* in ge-
'neral, or any of its Towns and Places in particular.
'From that time, they were not conſcious to themſelves,
'that they had acted any thing againſt the League ſo ſo-
lemnly

'lemnly ſworn to, and confirmed by Alliance of a Mar-
'riage; why then within the compaſs of a few Years,
'were they aſſaulted by ſecret Fraud and open War? Theſe
'things being ſo, they deſired the Embaſſadors to incline
'the Mind of their King to Equity, and that he would
'not watch his Opportunity to injure and prejudice a young
'King in his abſence, who was both innocent, and alſo
'his own Siſter's Husband; as for themſelves they would
'refuſe no Conditions of Peace, provided they were ho-
'nourable; but if he threatned them with an unjuſt Force,
'then, according to the Tutelage of the King committed
'to them, they reſolved rather to dye a noble Death, than
'conſent to a Peace prejudicial to themſelves or the
'Kingdom.' This was the Anſwer of the Council of *Scotland*.

BUT the King of *England* ſought not Peace but Conqueſt; and therefore having likewiſe encreaſed his great Army with foreign Troops, he beſieged *Berwick* by Sea and Land, omitting nothing which might contribute to the taking of it; for having a vaſt number of Forces, he gave his Enemy no reſt Night nor Day: Nor were the beſieged behind hand with them, who ſallied out upon them every Day with Boldneſs and Intrepidity. They threw Fire into their Ships that lay in the River, and burnt a great many of them. In which Skirmiſh, *William Seaton* the Governor's Baſtard-Son was loſt, much lamented by all for his ſingular Valour. For whilſt he endeavoured to leap into an *Engliſh* Ship, his own being driven too far off by the Waves, he fell into the Sea, it being impoſſible in that Exigency that any Relief could come to him. Another Son of *Alexander*'s, but lawfully begotten, who out of too great an eagerneſs proceeded too far in a Sally, was taken by the *Engliſh*. But the Siege which was begun the 13th Day of *April*, had now laſted three Months; and the Defendants, beſides their Toil and continual Watchings, were in great want of Proviſions [illegible] that the Town unable longer to hold out, made an Agreement with the *Engliſh*, *that unleſs they were relieved by the* 30th *of* July, *they would ſurrender it up*; for performance of which, *Thomas*, *Alexander*'s eldeſt Son, was given in Hoſtage.

WHILST theſe things were acting at *Berwick*, the *Scots* indicted an Aſſembly to conſult about their Affairs; and ſince the Regent was Priſoner at *Roxburgh*, that they might not be without a General, they choſe *Archibald Douglas* Captain-General; they alſo voted, that he ſhould have an Army to march into *England*, that by foraging the neigh-

neighbouring Countries, he might draw off the King of *England* from the Siege. *Douglas*, according to this Order and Decree, marched towards *England*; but hearing of the Agreement which *Alexander* had made, he changed his Mind; and, though againſt the Advice of his wiſeſt Officers, he marched directly towards the *Engliſh*, and on *Mary Magdalen*'s Eve came in ſight of them; and was ſeen both by Friends and Enemies. The King of *England*, tho' the Day was not come wherein it was agreed that the Town ſhould be ſurrendred, yet when he ſaw the *Scots* Forces ſo near, he ſent a Herald into the Town, to acquaint the Governor, *that unleſs he preſently ſurrendred up his Garriſon, he would put his Son* Thomas *to Death*; the Governor alledging, that the Day appointed for the Surrender was not yet come, and that he had given his Faith to ſtay till the time allowed by their Agreement was expired, but all was in vain. Hereupon Love, Piety, Fear, and Duty towards his Country variouſly exerciſed his paternal and afflicted Soul; and the *Engliſh*, to drive the Terror more home, had ſet up a Gallows in a Place, eaſily viſible to the beſieged, whither the King cauſed the Governor's two Sons, one an Hoſtage, the other a Priſoner of War, to be brought forth to Execution. At this miſerable Spectacle the Governor was in the greateſt Perplexity in the World; but in this Fluctuation of his Mind, his Wife, the Mother of the young Gentlemen, a Woman of a maſculine Soul, came to him, and put him in mind of his Fidelity towards his King, his Love to his Country, and the Dignity of his noble Family; upon all which Grounds ſhe endeavoured to ſettle his wavering Mind. *If theſe Children be put to Death*, (ſaid ſhe) *you have others remaining alive; and beſides, we are neither of us ſo old but we may have more. If they eſcape Death, yet it will not be long, but that by ſome ſudden Caſualty, or elſe through Age they muſt yield to Fate; but if any blot of Infamy ſhould ſtick upon the Family of the* Seatons, *it would remain to all Poſterity; and be an indelible Blemiſh even to their innocent Offſpring*; ſhe farther told him, *That ſhe had often heard thoſe Men much commended, in the Diſcourſes of the Wiſe, who had given up themſelves and their Children, as a Sacrifice for the Safety of their Country; but if he ſhould give up the Town committed to his Truſt, he would betray his Country, and yet be never the more certain of his Childrens lives neither; for how could he hope, that a Tyrant who violated his Faith now, would ſtand to his Word for the future? And therefore ſhe entreated him not to prefer an Uncertainty, and (if it ſhould be obtained) a Momentary Advantage, to a certain*

and

and perpetual Ignominy. By this Diſcourſe ſhe ſomewhat ſettled his Mind, and that he might not be ſhocked by ſo diſmal a Spectacle, ſhe carried him to another Place, from whence it could not poſſibly be ſeen. The *Engliſh* King after this Puniſhment inflicted, which was not very acceptable neither to ſome of his own People, removed his Camp to *Halidon*-Hill, near *Berwick*, and there waits his Enemy's coming.

DOUGLAS, who before would not hearken to the Advice of his grave Counſellors, as to the foraging of the *Engliſh* Counties, and ſo averting the Siege, now was inflamed with an implacable Rage; and withal preſuming, that if after the Perpetration of ſo horrible a Wickedneſs almoſt before his Eyes, he ſhould draw off without fighting, it might be ſaid that he was afraid of his Enemy, and therefore was reſolved to fight at any rate, and ſo marched directly towards the Enemy; and becauſe the *Engliſh* kept their Ground and would not come down into the Plain, he placed all the *Scots* Army on a contrary part of the Hill. This his raſh Counſel and Project had the like Event, for as with great Difficulty they were getting up the Hill, the Enemy with their Darts, and hurling down of Stones, wounded them terribly before they came to Blows; and when they came near them, they ruſhed upon them in ſuch cloſe Bodies, that they tumbled them headlong down over the ſteep Precipices. There fell that Day about ten, ſome ſay fourteen thouſand of the *Scots*; almoſt all ſuch, who eſcaped out of the unhappy Battel of *Duplin* were loſt here. The chief of them, whoſe Names are recorded, were *Archibald* himſelf, the General, *James*, *John* and *Allan Stuarts*, Uncles to *Robert*, who reigned next after the *Brucians*. *Hugh Kenneth*, and *Alexander Bruce*; the ſeveral and reſpective Earls of *Roſs*, *Sutherland*, and *Carrick*; *Andrew*, *John*, and *Simon*, three Brothers of the *Frazers*. This Overthrow of the *Scots* happened on St. *Mary Magdalen*'s Day in the Year 1333.

AFTER this Fight all Relief was deſpaired of; ſo that *Alexander Seaton* ſurrendred up the Town to the *Engliſh*, and *Patrick Dunbar* the Caſtle, upon Condition to march out with all their Goods; both of them were forced to ſwear Fealty to the *Engliſh*; and *Patrick Dunbar* was farther enjoined to rebuild the Caſtle of *Dunbar* at his own Charge, which he had demoliſhed, that it might not be a Receptacle to the *Engliſh*. *Edward* having ſtaid there a few Days, committed the Town and the reſt of the War to *Baliol*'s Care, and he himſelf retired into his own Kingdom, leaving

leaving *Edward Talbot* in *Scotland*, a Man of great Quality and Prudence, with a few *Engliſh* Forces, to aſſiſt *Baliol* in ſubduing the reſt of *Scotland:* And indeed it ſeemed no great matter ſo to do, ſince almoſt all the Nobility were extinct; and of thoſe few that remained, ſome came into the Conqueror, others retired either into deſert, or elſe fortified Places. The Garriſons which remained faithful to *David* were very few; as on this ſide the *Forth*, an Iſland in a Lough, whence the River *Down* flows ſcarce big enough to bear a moderate Caſtle; and *Dumbritton* beyond the *Forth*, a Caſtle ſcituate in *Lough Levin*; and alſo *Kildrummy* and *Urchart.*

THE next Year Ambaſſadors came from the Pope, and from *Philip* King of *France*, to end the Diſputes between the Kings of *Britain.* The *Engliſh* were ſo puft up with the proſperous courſe of their Affairs, that the King would not ſo much as admit the Ambaſſadors into his Preſence; for he thought that the Hearts of the *Scots* were ſo cowed, and their Strength ſo broken, that for the future they durſt not, neither were they able again to rebel. But this great Tranquillity was ſoon changed into a moſt dreadful War, and that upon a very light Occaſion, where it was leaſt expected, *viz.* Upon a Difference ariſing amongſt the *Engliſh* themſelves at *Perth.* *James Mowbray* had Lands given to his Anceſtors in *Scotland*, by *Edward* the Firſt; but they being loſt by the various Changes of the Times, he recovered them again when *Edward Baliol* was King. He dying without Iſſue Male, *Alexander* their Uncle, commenced a Suit againſt his Daughters for thoſe Lands: Thoſe of the *Engliſh* Faction that maintained the Cauſe of the Females, were *Henry Beaumont*, who had married one of them; and *Richard Talbot*, and *David Cumins*, Earl of *Athol.* *Baliol* took *Alexander*'s part, and decided or adjudged the Lands to him, which ſo offended his Adverſaries, that they openly complained of the Injuſtice of the Decree; and ſeeing that Complaints availed nothing, they left the Court, and went every one to his own home. *Talbot* was going for *England*; but being apprehended, was carried to *Dunbarton.* *Beaumont* garriſoned *Dundury*, a ſtrong Caſtle of *Buchan*, and took Poſſeſſion not only of the Lands which were in Controverſie, but alſo of all the neighbouring Country. *Cumins* went into *Athol*, where he fortified ſome convenient Places, and prepared to defend himſelf by force if he were attacked. *Baliol* being afraid of this Conſpiracy of ſuch potent Perſons, altered his Decree, and gave the Lands in Queſtion to *Beaumont*;

he

he alſo reconciled *Cumins* by giving him many fertile Lands, which belonged to *Robert Stuart* the next King. *Alexander* being concerned at this injurious Affront, joyns himſelf with *Andrew Murray* Regent of the *Scots*, who had lately ranſomed himſelf from the *Engliſh* for a great Sum of Money. Theſe things were acted at ſeveral times, yet I have put them together, that the whole courſe of my Hiſtory might not be interrupted.

IN the mean time, *Baliol* in another part of the Country, attacked all the Forts about *Renfrew*; ſome he took, others he battered down and demoliſhed. Having ſettled Matters there according to his own Mind, he ſailed over into the Iſland *Bote*, and there fortified the Caſtle of *Rothſay*, of which he made *Alan Liſle* Governor, whom he had before made *Chief-Juſtice* in the Law. He made diligent Search after *Robert Stuart* his Grandchild to put him to Death; but he by the help of *William Heriot*, and *John Gilbert*, was rowed over in a ſmall Veſſel into the Continent on the other ſide, where Horſes ſtood ready for him, which carried him to *Dunbarton*, to *Malcolm Fleming*, Governor of that Caſtle. *Baliol* having ſettled things at *Bote*, at his return took *Dunnoon*, a Caſtle ſeated in *Coval*, the neighbouring Continent; whereupon the neighbouring Nobility were ſtruck with ſo great a Terror, that they almoſt all ſubmitted to him. Marching from thence the next Spring, he bent all his Care to beſiege the Caſtle of *Lough Levin*; but this Project ſeeming too ſlow, he left *John Sterlin* a powerful Knight of his Party to beſiege the Caſtle, to whom he joyned *Michael Arnold*, *David Weemes*, and *Richard Melvin* with part of his Army. They built a Fort over againſt it where the Paſſage was narroweſt, and having in vain tried all ways to ſubdue it by force, *Alan Wepont*, and *James Lambin*, Inhabitants of St. *Andrews*, making ſuch a vigorous Reſiſtance, at laſt they endeavoured to drown it, by ſtopping up the Paſſage of the River; for the River *Levin* goes out from the Lake, or Loch, with a narrow Gut or Neck, and an open Rock. This Place they endeavoured to ſtop up by making a Wall, or Bank of Stones and Turfs, heaped up upon one another; but the Work proceeded on very ſlowly, becauſe as the Heat did incommode the Labourers, ſo the Brooks which flowed into the Lake were then almoſt dry; and the Water being far ſpread abroad, received an increaſe by moderate Additions. By this means the Siege was lengthned out to the Month of *July*, when there was an *Holy Day* kept in remembrance of St. *Margaret*, heretofore Queen of *Scotland*; on which

Day there uſed to be a great Concourſe of Merchants at *Dumferling*, where the Body of that Saint is reported to be buried. Thither went *John Sterlin* with a great part of his Men; ſome for Merchandizing, ſome for Religion, leaving his Camp, and the Wall but ſlenderly guarded, for they thought themſelves ſecure from the Enemy; for they knew that none of the oppoſite Faction were in all the neighbouring Parts, except thoſe few which were ſhut up in the Caſtle; but the beſieged being made acquainted with the Abſence of *Sterlin*, and the Weakneſs of his Camp, as ſoon as the Evening came, ſhip'd thoſe battering Engines which they had before prepared to pierce through the Wall; and whilſt the Watch was aſleep, made many Holes in it in ſeveral Places.

THE Water having gotten ſome ſmall Paſſages, widen'd the Orifices of them by degrees, and at laſt broke forth with ſuch a Violence, that it tumbled down all that was before it; it overflow'd all the Plains, and carried away with it Tents, Huts, Men half aſleep, and Horſes, with a terrible Noiſe into the Sea. And they which were in the Ships, running in with a great Shout upon the affrighted Soldiers, added a ſecond Terror to the firſt; ſo that upon ſuch a double Surprize, every Man minded nothing but how to ſave himſelf: Thus ſhifting, away they fled, as every Man could, and left all to their Enemy. *Alan*, at his Leiſure, carried into the Caſtle, not only the Spoils of their Camp, but Proviſions alſo, prepared for a long Siege. And in another Sally, made againſt the Guards, which were at *Kinroſs*, there was as happy Succeſs; the Guards were routed and taken, and the Siege raiſed.

ABOUT the ſame time that theſe things were acting in *Fife*, the *Engliſh* entred *Scotland* with great Forces both by Sea and Land. When the Ships came into the *Forth*, their Admiral ſtruck upon the Rocks, and the reſt were in great Diſtreſs; ſo that they returned home with greater Loſs than Booty. But the Land Forces pierced as far as *Glaſgow*, where *Edward* called a Council of his own Faction, and finding that there was neither General nor Army on Foot of the contrary Party, he thought his Preſence was no longer neceſſary; ſo that he returned into *England*, taking *Baliol* with him, whom he ſomewhat diſtruſted, leaving *David Cumins*, Earl of *Athol*, to command in *Scotland*: He firſt of all ſeizes upon the large Eſtates of all the *Stuarts*, which contained *Bote*, *Arran*, the Lands of *Renfrow*, and a great part of *Kyle* and *Cuningham*: He confirms *Alan Liſle*, Chief-Juſtice of *Bote*, which ſome call *Sheriff*, others *Seneſchal*; and commanded the neighbouring Countries to obey him.

Then

Then he himſelf marched into another Part of the Country, where he reduced the Counties of *Buchan* and *Murray*; and tho' he were now grown almoſt beyond the Rate of a private Man, yet put out all his Proclamations and publick Edicts in the Name of both Kings, *Edward* and *Baliol*.

AT that time there was not a Man in *Scotland* that durſt profeſs that *Bruce* was King, only a few waggiſh Boys would ſometimes do it, as it were in Sport and Paſtime; yet *Robert Stuart*, who then lay private in *Dunbarton*, judging that ſomething might be attempted in the Abſence of *Cumins*, made the *Cambels*, a powerful Family in *Argyle*, acquainted with his Propoſal. *Calen*, the Chief of them, met him at *Dunnoon*, a Caſtle in *Coval*, with about four thouſand Men, and preſently ſurprizes it: At the Noiſe of which, the Iſlanders of *Bote*, who were divided but by a narrow Sea, generally riſe, and haſten to their old Maſters. *Alan* gathered what united Force he could to ſtop their March; whereupon, the poor People, being for the moſt part unarmed, and who had aſſembled rather in a Fit of Paſſion than by any ſolid Advice, being ſtruck with a panick Fear, ran to the next Hill, where they found a great Company of Stones, which they threw down like Showers of Hail-ſtones upon their Enemies, who, in Contempt of their ſmall Numbers, raſhly adventured to attack them; the greateſt Part of them were thus rudely treated before they came to Blows, but as they retired, they ſo preſſed upon them, that the valianteſt of their Enemies, with *Alan Liſle* himſelf, were kill'd, and *John Gilbert*, Governor of the Caſtle of *Bote*, taken Priſoner; ſo that they armed many of their own Men with the Spoils of the ſlain. This, not unbloody Victory, was followed with the Surrender of the Caſtle of *Bote*. When the Rumour of theſe Things was ſpread abroad, *Thomas Bruce*, Earl of *Carrack*, with his Neighbours and Allies, out of *Kyle* and *Cuningham*; as alſo *William Carruder* of *Annandale*, who always had withſtood the Government of the *Engliſh*, with his Friends and Kinſmen, crept out of his Hole, and came in to *Stuart*. *John Randal*, Earl of *Murray*, at this time being returned from *France*, gave ſome Hopes of foreign Aſſiſtance; whereupon, being encouraged to greater Enterprizes, they made up an Army by the Aſſiſtance of *Godfrey Roſs*, Sheriff of *Air*, and in a ſhort time drew all *Carrick*, *Kyle*, and *Cuningham* to their Party. The *Renfroans* likewiſe came to their old Maſters, the *Stuarts*, uninvited. The Vaſſals of *Andrew Murray* following their Example, drew in the reſt of *Clydſdale* into their Cauſe. Their Confidence being increaſed by theſe happy Begin-

nings, that there might be ſome Reſemblance of a publick State among them, they called together the Chief of their Party, and made two Regents, *viz. Robert Stuart*, tho' a young Man, yet one, who, in theſe leſſer Expeditions, had given ſignal Marks of his Love to his Country; and *John Randolfe*, a Perſon worthy of his Father and Brother, both eminent Patriots. *Randolfe* being ſent with a ſtrong Party into the northern Countries, there flocked in to him all thoſe who were weary of the heavy Yoke of the *Engliſh*; inſomuch that *David Cumins*, being amazed at this Inclination and Change of Mens Minds, fled into *Loch-Abyr*, whither he followed him, and pent him up into a Nook, who being alſo in great Want of Proviſions, was forced to yield; but upon his ſwearing Fealty to *Bruce*, he diſmiſſed him, and withal gave ſo much Credit to his Promiſes, that, at his Departure, he made him his Deputy; and indeed afterwards he was not backward in *Bruce*'s Cauſe. In the mean time, *Randolfe* returning into *Lothian*, joined his old Friend *William Douglas*, who being releaſed, and newly come out of *England*, ſufficiently revenged his long Impriſonment with a great Slaughter of his Enemies. *Andrew Murray* returned alſo, who was taken Priſoner at *Roxburgh*; ſo that being Officers enough, the Regent indicted an Aſſembly at *Perth*, to be held on the firſt Day of *April*; where, when Abundance of the Nobility met together, they were not able to effect any thing by reaſon of the great Feud betwixt *William Douglas* and *David Cumins*. The Cauſe of which was pretended to be, that *Cumins* was the Occaſion why *Douglas* was not ſooner releaſed by the *Engliſh*. *Stuart* favoured *Cumins*; but almoſt all the reſt ſtood up for *Douglas*. *Cumins* alledged, that he came with a more than ordinary Train unto the Aſſembly by reaſon of that Feud, for he had brought ſo many of his Friends and Tenants along with him, that he became formidable to all the reſt; and beſides his Diſpoſition, which was various and mutable, his vaſt Mind, and the Noiſe of the coming of the *Engliſh*, with whom every one knew that *Athol* would join, increaſed their Suſpicions of him. And indeed, not long after, *Edward* invaded *Scotland*, with great Forces both by Sea and Land, bringing *Baliol* along with him, his Navy, conſiſting of one hundred and ſixty Sail, entred the *Forth*: He himſelf marched by Land as far as *Perth*, ſpoiling the Country as he went along, and there waited for *Cumins*. In the mean time *Randolfe* went to *John*, who challenged the *Æbudæ* as his own, and not being able to draw him to his Party, he was content in ſo troubleſome a Poſture of Affairs, to make a Truce

with

with him for ſome Months; and after that returning to *Robert*, the other Regent, he found him dangerouſly ſick: So that it was as bad a Time as could be for all the Burden to be caſt upon his own Shoulders, and therefore he durſt not fight the *Engliſh* in a ſet Battel, but divided his Force, that ſo he might attack them by Parties. And hearing that a ſtrong Army of *Gueldrians* were coming through *England* to join the *Engliſh* in *Scotland*; he waited for their coming on the Borders: Where alſo *Patrick*, Earl of *Merch*, and *William Douglas* of *Liddiſdale*, met him, together with *Alexander Ramſay*, one of the moſt experienced Soldiers of that Age; all theſe waited for the ſaid *Gueldrians* in the Fields near *Edinburgh*. As ſoon as ever they came in Sight one of another, they fell to it immediately; and after a ſharp Conflict the *Gueldrians* were overcome, and fled to the next Hill, where there was an old ruinous Caſtle: The next Day, having no Proviſion, they ſurrendred themſelves only upon Quarter for Life. *Randolfe*, out of reſpect to *Philip Valois*, who was their ſingular good Friend, (as was then ſaid) did not only freely releaſe them, but accommodated them with Proviſions for their March; nay, he himſelf undertook to be their Convoy; in his March he was taken by an Ambuſh of the *Engliſh* Party, and ſo brought to the King, who was then beſieging *Perth* with a powerful Army.

AT the ſame time *David Cumins*, who ſteered all his Counſels according to the Inclinations of Fortune, being glad of the Diſtreſs of his Enemy, comes to the King of *England*, and promiſes him, in a very ſhort time, to drive all the *Brucians* out of the Kingdom; and the Truth is, he was as active in performing his Promiſe. For *Perth* being ſurrendred, and its Walls demoliſhed, the King prepared to return to *England*, becauſe Proviſion for his Army came but ſlowly in; for all the *Scots*, upon Notice of his coming, were adviſed to drive their Cattle to the Mountains: As for their other Proviſions, they ſhould either convey them to ſome fortify'd Places far remote; or if they could not do ſo, they ſhould ſpoil them altogether. Nor did his Fleet, on which he moſt relied for Bread for his Army, much relieve him. For as ſoon as it arrived at the *Forth*, and had deſtroyed a Monaſtery of Monks in the Iſle *Inch-colm*, as it rode at Anchor in the open Sea, it was very much diſtreſſed by a tempeſtuous Storm; ſo that part of the Ships could hardly get to *Inch-Keith*, a deſolate Iſland near adjoining. Others were carried farther by the Winds, but as ſoon as they could recover themſelves, they imputed the Cauſe of the Tempeſt to the Anger of St. *Columb*, becauſe they had thro'

Avarice cruelly deſtroyed a Monaſtery of his; and therefore whatever Plunder they had got, they carried it thither as an Expiation for their Offence; neither was any memorable Act performed by that Fleet the whole Year.

THO' theſe Cauſes did much incline the King of *England* to return, yet that which did moſt haſten it, was, his Inclination to a War with *France*, which was then moſt in his Thoughts. And therefore he marched back his Army, and took *Baliol* with him, as if the *Scotiſh* War had been almoſt at an End, and left *Cumins*, as Regent, to put an End to it. He, to ingratiate himſelf with both Kings, and to revenge himſelf on his Enemy, was extraordinary cruel in his Proceedings; which Severity of his was the more reſented, becauſe very lately he himſelf obtained his Pardon ſo eaſily, when he was reduced to the loweſt Ebb not many Months before. There were ſcarce above three of all the *Scotiſh* Nobility, whom neither Promiſes could entice, nor Dangers enforce to ſubmit to the *Engliſh* Yoke; and thoſe were *Patrick*, Earl of *Merch*, *Andrew Murray*, and *William Douglas*. Theſe joined their Forces, and marched to *Kilblane* Foreſt againſt *Cumins*, who was beſieging *Kildrummy* Caſtle; with him they had a ſharp Fight. *Cumins* was more in Number, and a few might eaſily be conquered by a great Number; but the coming in of *John Craig*, Governor of the Caſtle, with three hundred freſh Men, decided the Buſineſs, and gave an undiſputed Victory to the *Brucians*. All the valianteſt of *Cumins*'s Army were kill'd, either in the Action, or the Purſuit. Many were ſaved in a neighbour Caſtle called *Cameron*, belonging to *Robert Meinze*: But ſeeing there were not Proviſions for ſo great a Number, pent up in ſo narrow a Room, the next Day it was ſurrendred, and the Defendants, upon their Submiſſion, confirmed by an Oath, pardoned. There fell in this Action, beſides the General himſelf, *Robert Brady* and *Walter Cumins*, two of his intimate Friends; *Thomas*, his Brother, being taken Priſoner, was the next Day put to Death.

UPON this Victory, *Randolfe* being a Priſoner, and *Stuart* ſick, the Name and Power of Regent was confirmed on *Andrew Murray* by military Suffrage. For when Letters came from the King of *France* concerning a Truce, the Nobles of the *Brucian* Party being forced to receive them, did, by unanimous Conſent, reſtore that former Honour to *Murray*, which his calamitous Misfortunes had deprived him of. He, after the Truce, for a few Months, was ended, laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Lochindores*, which was held by the Wife of *David Cumins*: She foreſeeing what would happen,

happen, had implored Succour of the *Engliſh*, who ſhortly after landed ſome Forces in *Murray*, and raiſed the Siege. They alſo pierced as far as *Elgin*, (a Town ſituate by the River *Loſſy*) waſting all as they went with Fire and Sword. As they were marching to *Perth*, they burnt *Aberdene*, and garriſon'd the Caſtles in all *Merſs*, *Dunoter*, *Kinneff*, and *Dunreſton*. They laid a Command on the ſix adjoining Monaſteries, to repair the Walls of *Perth*, which were demoliſhed; and then committing the Affairs of *Scotland* to *Edward Baliol*, who was returned thither, they went back for *England*. Upon the Departure of the *Engliſh*, and the low Condition of the *Scots*, *Henry Beaumont* thought it a fit Opportunity for him to ſtir, to revenge the Death of his Son-in-Law, the Earl of *Athol*, and therefore he kill'd all that he could take without any Diſtinction, who had been in the Fight of *Kilblane*, in a very cruel Manner. *Andrew Murray* beſieged him in *Dungarg*, and enforced him to a Surrender, and upon taking his Oath, that he would return no more into *Scotland* in an hoſtile Manner, he was diſmiſſed: Thus, by one continued Courſe of Victory, he took all the ſtrong Holds on the farther ſide of the *Forth* (beſides the Caſtle of *Cowper*, and the Town of *Perth*) and caſting out their Garriſons, he wholly demoliſhed them. Afterwards he entred *England*, where he got great Booty, and ſomewhat reliev'd the Spirits of his Soldiers, who had ſuffered much by reaſon of Want in their own Country. For *Scotland* having been haraſſed that Year by the Injuries of War, and waſted by the daily Incurſions of both Parties, the Fields lay untill'd, and there was ſuch a Famine, that the *Engliſh* were forced to deſert the ſtrong Caſtle of *Cowper* for Want of Proviſions: And a *Scotiſh* Seaman, who had been abuſed by them, being employed to tranſport the Garriſon Soldiers by Night to *Lothian*, landed them upon a Bank of Sand, which was bare when the Tide was out; they thinking it had been the Continent went a little Way, and then met with Sea again, which made them call again for the Veſſel, but in vain, for they all periſhed there to a Man.

The next Year, which was 1537, the *Engliſh* beſieged the Caſtle of *Dunbar*; it was defended by *Agnes*, the Wife of the Earl of *Merch*, who was commonly ſirnamed the *Black*, a Woman of a maſculine Spirit. The Beſiegers were the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Arundel*; the Siege laſted longer than any body thought it would, ſo that two Supplies were ſent into *Scotland* to relieve *Baliol*; the one convoyed by *Monfort*, the other by *Richard Talbot*; *Lawrence Preſton* under-

undertook *Monfort*, kill'd him in Battel, and routed his Army, but he himſelf dy'd ſoon after, of the Wounds he there received, which cauſed his Soldiers to wreck their Fury, for the Loſs of their General, on the Priſoners, whom they inhumanly put to Death. *Talbot* was taken Priſoner by *William Keith*, and his Army routed; yet the Siege of *Dunbar* continued ſtill. And the Sea being ſtopped by the *Engliſh*, the Beſieged were driven to ſo great a Want of Proviſion, that, without doubt, it muſt have been ſurrendred, if *Alexander Ramſay*, by a ſeaſonable, tho' bold Attempt, had not reliev'd it. He, in the dead time of the Night, ſlipp'd by the Watch, which in Gallies of *Genoa* kept the Sea-Coaſt ſide, and came up to the Caſtle, where he landed forty Men, and a great Quantity of Proviſions. And then joining part of the Garriſon with his own Men in the Covert of the Night, he ruſhed in with ſuch a Noiſe on the *Engliſh* Guard, that he made a great Slaughter amongſt them; for they little expected a Sally from an Enemy, whom they looked upon as almoſt conquered; and the next Night he returned back as ſecurely as he came. Thus, after ſix Months, the Siege of *Dunbar* was raiſed: For *Edward* called back his Forces to the *French* War, after they had ſufficiently fatigued themſelves, and try'd all ways to become Maſters of the Place.

ANDREW MURRAY, his Country being then almoſt freed from foreign Soldiers, attempted to reduce firſt *Sterling*, then *Edinburgh*, but was fain to depart from both without taking either; however, he ſubdued all *Lothian*, and brought it under the King's Subjection. In the mean time, to give his wearied Mind a little Relaxation, he went to ſee his Lands and Poſſeſſions beyond the Mountains, where he fell ſick, and dy'd; he was bury'd at *Roſmark*, much lamented, and reſpected by all good Men. For, in thoſe two Years and an half, whilſt he ſate at the Helm of Affairs, he performed ſuch great Actions, as might ſeem ſufficient for the whole Life of one of the greateſt Generals in the World.

AFTER him, *Stuart* was made Regent, till the Return of *David* out of *France*; he being yet but young, got that Year the better of the *Engliſh* in many light Skirmiſhes, which were managed under the Conduct of *William Douglas*; yet not without the great Hazard and Danger of *Douglas* himſelf, who was often wounded: He drove the *Engliſh* out of *Teviotdale*: He took the Caſtle of *Hermitage* in *Liddiſdale*, and ſurprizing great Store of Proviſion belonging to the Enemy at *Mulroſs*, he fortify'd that Place. He had ſuch a ſharp

and

and obſtinate Encounter with *Berclay*, that he himſelf, with but three in his Company, hardly eſcaped, and that too by the Benefit of the Night. He overthrew the Forces of *John Sterlin* in a bloody Attack, yet he himſelf was a while after like to be taken by him; but recovering himſelf after a fierce Encounter, he put *Sterlin* to flight, ſlew thirty of his Companions, and took forty of them Priſoners; he ſo preſſed upon *William Abernethy*, by whom he had been worſted five times in one Day, that before Night he ſlew all his Men, and brought him Priſoner along with him. Alſo he had as great Succeſs in conquering *Lawrence Vaux*, a powerful Enemy: At laſt, he went over to King *David* in *France*, to acquaint him with the State of the *Scotiſh* Affairs. The next Year, which was 1339, *Stuart* hoping to purſue his good Fortune, levied an Army, and divided it into four Parts, and endeavoured to reduce *Perth*, but the *Engliſh* defended it ſo valiantly, that he was wounded and beaten off: After the Siege had laſted three Months, *Douglas* came to their Aſſiſtance, when they almoſt deſpaired of Succeſs; he brought with him five Pyrate Ships which he hired, in which there were ſome Soldiers, and Engines of War. Part of the Soldiers were landed, but the reſt were ſent in their Ships, to keep the Mouth of the River *Tay*. *Douglas* himſelf went to recover the Caſtle of *Cowper*; which being deſerted by the *Engliſh*, was ſeized on by the *Scots*. And *William Bullock*, an *Engliſh* Prieſt, who was alſo Treaſurer, made Governor. *Douglas* agreed with him, that he ſhould have Lands in *Scotland*, and ſo come over to his Party; he was the more eaſily perſuaded to it, becauſe he could expect no Aid from *England*, and he did not much confide in the *Scots*, who were in Garriſon with him. This Man was afterwards very faithful to the *Scots*, and of great Uſe to them.

THE Siege of *Perth* had now laſted four Months, and would have continued much longer, had not the Earl of *Roſs* drained the Water out of the Trench, by Mines, and ſubterraneous Paſſages; ſo that, by this means, the Beſiegers came to the very Walls, and threw the Defendants off their Works, by their Arrows that came principally from the Engines, ſo that the *Engliſh* were forced to ſurrender upon Terms, to march out Bag and Baggage, whither they pleaſed. In a little time after, *Sterling* being beſieged, was alſo ſurrendred on the ſame Terms; and *Maurice Murray*, the Son of *Andrew*, was made Governor of the Caſtle. *Baliol* was ſo terrified at this ſuddain Change of Affairs, that he left *Galway*, where he uſually reſided, and went for *England*. Some time after, the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* was taken, not by Force,

Force, but Stratagem. *Walter Curry* a Merchant, who then chanced to have a Ship laden with Proviſions in the *Bay* or *Firth* of the River *Tay*, at *Dundee*, was ſent for by *William Douglas* into the *Forth*: Where he and *Bullock* agreed, that *Curry* ſhould fain himſelf to be an *Engliſhman*, and ſhould carry two Bottles of his beſt Wine and ſome other Preſents to the Governor of the Caſtle; deſiring his leave to ſell the reſt of his Proviſions in the Garriſon; as alſo to inform him, that if he or the Garriſon ſtood in any need of his Service, he would gratify them as far as ever he was able. Upon which the Governor commanded him to bring ſome Hogſheads of Wine, and a certain number of Biskets, and promiſed him free Admittance whenever he came. He, truly for fear of the *Scots*, who often made Incurſions into the neighbouring Parts, promiſes whatever might happen to come betimes the next Morning.

THAT Night *Douglas* with twelve ſelect Men accompanying him, clothed themſelves in Mariners habit, under which they had their Arms, and thus carried Proviſions into the Caſtle; as for his Soldiers, he laid them in Ambuſh, commanding them to wait for the Signal; *Douglas* and *Simon Frazer* went before, and commanded the reſt to follow at a moderate diſtance; when they were let into the Fort by the Porter, which was made of Beams before the Gate of the Caſtle, they obſerved, that the Keys of the Doors hung on his Arms, they therefore diſpatched him and opened the Caſtle-Gate; and then (as they had before agreed) they gave the Signal to their Companions, by blowing an Horn; the Noiſe of which was a Sign to the one that their Friends had entred the Caſtle; and to the other, that it was ſurprized by their Enemies. Both Parties made all the haſte they could, the *Scots* caſt down their Burdens in the very Paſſage of the Gate leſt the Doors might be ſhut, and they kept out from their Friends who could march but ſlowly up on ſo ſteep an Aſcent: Here there happened a ſharp Diſpute with Loſs of both ſides, at laſt the Garriſon-Soldiers had the worſt, who were all killed except the Governor and ſix more.

IT was this ſelf ſame Year, or (as ſome ſay) the next that *Ramſay* (the moſt experienced Soldier of all the *Scots*) made his Expedition into *England*. Men had ſo great an Opinion of his Skill in Military Affairs, that every one was accounted but a *Freſh-Water* Soldier, who had not been diſciplin'd under him. And therefore all the young People came in to him, as the only School where the Art of War was to be learned. He having before made ſeveral

ral ſucceſsful Expeditions into his Enemy's Country, tho' but with ſmall Forces, their Affairs being now at a low Ebb in *Scotland*, took Heart to attempt great Matters; and gathering together an handſom Army of his Tenants and Friends, he ravaged all *Northumberland*; and upon his Retreat the *Engliſh* drew out all their Troops from the Country and Garriſons, and ſo followed him with a very great Army: What was to be done in this Caſe? *Alexander* could not avoid fighting; and yet he perceived, that his Soldiers were ſomewhat Creſt-fallen, by reaſon of the Multitude of the Enemy. In theſe Circumſtances he ſent away his Booty before, and placing his Foot in Ambuſh, commanded his Horſe to ſtraggle abroad, as if they were flying; and when they came to the Place of Ambuſh, then to rally again at Sound of Trumpet; the *Engliſh* imagining that the Horſe had fled in good earneſt, purſued them as diſorderly; and when the Signal was given to come together again, in a Moment they turned back upon them; the Foot alſo came ſuddenly out of their Ambuſhes, which ſtruck ſuch a Conſternation and Terror into the *Engliſh*, that they fled back faſter than they purſued before. Many of them killed, a great Number taken, and the Booty carried home ſafe. Amongſt the Priſoners there was the Governor of *Roxburgh*, who had drawn out almoſt all his Garriſon to follow him; ſo that *Alexander* knowing the Town to be empty, attacked and eaſily took it at the firſt Onſet; and when he had taken the lower part of the Caſtle, the Remainders of the Garriſon-Soldiers fled up into a ſtrong Tower in the Town, but being vigorouſly attacked, and having no hopes of Relief, they ſurrendred. Some ſay that the Earl of *Salisbury* was there taken, and exchanged for *John Randolf*. But moſt Writers, whom I am rather inclined to follow, affirm, that *Salisbury* was taken Priſoner in *France* and by *French* Troops. *Randolf* going into *Annandale* took his Caſtle, which was ſeated by *Loch-Maban*, from the *Engliſh*: And the three Governors of the Borders, *Alexander Ramſay* of the Eaſt, *William Douglas* of the Mid-Border, and *Randolf* of the Weſt, drove the *Engliſh* beyond their old Bounds, which they had in the Reign of *Alexander* the Third, and left them no footing at all in *Scotland* but only *Berwick*. Some ſay that *Roxburgh* was taken by *Ramſay* in the Night, who ſet Ladders to the Walls when the Watch was aſleep, in the Year 1342, the 30th Day of *March*; and the *Black Book of Paſley* ſays the ſame.

The

THE ſame Year, on the ſecond of *July*, *David Bruce* and his Wife arrived at *Ennerbervy*, nine Years after his Departure; his coming was the more acceptable, becauſe the Affairs of *Scotland* were then at ſuch a low Ebb. For *Edward* having made a Truce for three Years with *Philip* King of *France* at *Tournay*, and ſo being freed of the *French* War, determined to invade *Scotland* with all his Force. He had then in his Army forty thouſand Foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe, and he had equipp'd out a gallant Navy of Ships to carry Proviſions for his Foot Soldiers, that there might be no want; they ſet Sail in the Month of *November*, but met with ſo fierce a Tempeſt, that after a long Diſtreſs at Sea, they were caſt upon the *Belgick* and *German* Shores, and ſo were of no uſe to him in the preſent War. In the mean while *Edward* and his Land Forces ſtaid about *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne* in great want of Proviſions; Embaſſadors came thither to him from *Scotland*, deſiring a Pacification for four Months, which they obtained upon Condition, *That if* David *came not to them before the firſt Day of* June, *all the* Scots *would become Subjects to* Edward; but *David* hearing of the Preparation of the *Engliſh*, had ſet Sail before the Arrival of theſe Embaſſadors.

AMONGST thoſe who flocked in to congratulate the King at his Return, (as many did from all Parts of the Kingdom) there came *Alexander Ramſay*, who being eminent both for the glorious Actions of his former Life, but eſpecially for his late and yet reaking Conqueſts, was received with a great deal of Favour, and had the Government of *Roxburgh* beſtowed on him, and the Sheriff-wick of all *Teviotlade*. *William Douglas* took this very heinouſly, that *Ramſay* was preferred before him in that Honour; for as he had drove out the *Engliſh* from almoſt all *Teviotdale*, he had ſometimes preſided over the publick Aſſembly there, tho' without the King's Command; yet relying upon his Merits towards his Country, the Nobility of his Birth, and the Power of his Family, he hoped, that no Man would have been his Competitor for that Office. Upon which being wholly bent on Revenge, he at preſent diſſembled his Reſentment, but in three Months after he met with his Adverſary, holding an Aſſembly in the Church of *Hawick*, and ſuddenly attacked and wounded him, having alſo kill'd three of his Followers, who endeavoured to reſcue him; and then ſet him upon an Horſe, and carried him to the Caſtle of *Hermitage*, where he ſtarved him to Death.

ABOUT

ABOUT the ſame time, *William Bullock*, a Man of ſingular Loyalty to the King, was put to the ſame kind of Death by *David Berclay*. Theſe two ſavage and cruel Facts filled almoſt the whole Kingdom with Seditions, and tore it into ſeveral Parties. Theſe things very much exerciſe the King's Patience, who was yet but young, and not accuſtomed to Men of rough and military Diſpoſitions; however he uſed great Diligence to find out *Douglas*, to bring him to condign Puniſhment; but he, by means of his Friends, (of which he had procured many by his gallant Actions for the Liberty of his Country) and eſpecially of *Robert Stuart*, the King's Son by his Siſter obtained his Pardon; and indeed the magnificent, yet true Report of his glorious Exploits, much facilitated the obtaining of it, together with the preſent Conjuncture of the Time, in which there being but an uncertain Peace abroad, and Seditions at home, military Men were to be reſpected and had in Honour. Upon which Account, he was not only pardoned, but even preferred to the Government of *Roxburgh* and of *Teviotdale* too; a Clemency, which perhaps in the preſent Circumſtances of things might be uſeful, but certainly of very ill Example for the future.

DAVID having thus ſettled Matters at home the beſt he could, declares War againſt *England*, the greateſt Part of the Nobility diſſuading him from that Expedition, by reaſon of the great Scarcity of Proviſions: However, he liſted an handſom Army, and made *Thomas Randolfe* General of it; he himſelf accompanied him, but in Diſguiſe, that he might not be known to be the King. This Army having waſted *Northumberland* for about two Months time, returned home with great Booty. Within a few Days after, he made another Inrode into the Enemy's Country; but then he did not diſguiſe, but openly profeſſed himſelf both King and General. The *Engliſh* being inferior in Strength, would not venture a ſet Battel, whilſt their King was abſent in *France*, but skirmiſhed their Enemies with their Horſe, and ſo kept them from plundering much by a cloſe March. Five of the chief Nobility whom *David* had lately raiſed to that Honour, ſtraggling too far from their Men were taken Priſoners, their Followers killed or put to flight: So that *David*, to waſte no more time there in vain, returned with his Army. He made alſo a third Expedition with what Force he could privately levy, in order to fall upon his Enemy unawares. But entring *England* in a ſtormy *Autumn*, the ſmall Brooks were ſo ſwollen with large Showers, that they made all the Country unpaſſable,

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and hinder'd the Carriage of Proviſion, ſo that he was forced to return home; however, that he might not ſeem to have taken ſo much Pains to no purpoſe, he demoliſhed a few Caſtles.

NOT long after Embaſſadors were ſent backwards and forwards in order to obtain a Truce for two Years, which the *Scots* conſented to, upon Condition, that *Philip* King of *France* gave his Conſent; for that was one Article in the Treaty between the *Scots* and *French*, that neither of them ſhould make Truce or Peace with the *Engliſh*, without the other's Conſent. For thoſe two Years *Scotland* was quiet. About the fourth Year after *David*'s return, the *French* were overcome in a great Battel, and *Calais* a Town of the *Morini* was beſieged by them; ſo that *Philip* preſſed the *Scots* by his Ambaſſadors to invade *England*, and ſo to draw away ſome of their Force from him. Hereupon an Army was commanded to meet at *Perth*. To which place they came in great Numbers, and there *David* Earl of *Roſſe* way-laying *Reginald* Lord of the *Æbudæ*, his old Enemy, fell upon him in the Night, and ſlew him with ſeven Noblemen in his Company. This Murder much weakened the Army, for the Relations and Tenants of both Parties, and the neighbouring Inhabitants fearing a Civil War between two ſuch potent Families, returned to their own homes. This made *William Douglas* of *Liddiſdale* earneſtly deſire the *King* to deſiſt from his preſent Expedition, and to compoſe Matters at home. His Counſel was refuſed; and the King (his Friendſhip to *Philip* overcoming his Love to his Country) marches forward into *England*, and deſtroyed all as he went by Fire and Sword. In ſixteen Days he came into the County of *Durham*, where the *Engliſh* partly levied by *Percy*, and partly ſent back from the Siege of *Calais*, made a great Body, and ſhewed themſelves to the Enemy in order of Battel, ſooner than ever the *Scots* could have imagined. *David*, who feared nothing leſs than the coming of the Enemy, and therefore ſent abroad *Douglas* to forage the neighbouring Country, gave a ſignal of Battel to his Soldiers. *Douglas* fell unawares amongſt his Enemies, and having loſt five hundred of his Men was put to flight, and returned in great Terror to the Camp. The end of the Battel was as unhappy as the beginning: For the Fight being ſharply begun, *John Randolf*'s Men were routed at the firſt Onſet, and he himſelf killed. The main Body, in which the King was, was attacked by two Brigades of the *Engliſh*; *one* that had been before victorious; and *another* that was intire, and had not yet charged, who ſhattered it

and

and cut it off entirely, they being reſolved to die; and in this Action almoſt all the *Scotiſh* Nobility were loſt; and the King himſelf, after his Arms were taken away, was taken Priſoner by *John Copland*, but he ſtruck out two of his Teeth with his Fiſt, though he himſelf was cruelly wounded with two Arrows. The third Wing, commanded by *Robert Stuart* and *Patrick Dunbar*, perceiving the Slaughter of their Fellow-Soldiers, withdrew themſelves with little Loſs. The Nobility were ſo deſtroyed in this Fight, that immediately after it, *Roxburgh*, *Hirmitage*, and many other Caſtles were ſurrendred to the *Engliſh*: And the *Scots* were forced to quit their Claim to all the Lands they held in *England*, and alſo to *Merch*, *Teviotdale*, *Liddiſdale*, and *Lauderdale*; and the Bounds and Borders of the *Engliſh* were inlarged to *Cockburn's-Path*, as they call it, and *Soltra-Hill*.

BALIOL not contented to have recovered the Poſſeſſions of his Anceſtors in *Galway*, marched over *Annandale* and *Liddiſdale*, and all the Country lying near the *Clyd*, and deſtroyed all by Fire and Sword. He alſo, by the Aſſiſtance of *Percy* of *England*, made the like Havock in *Lothian*; nor could there be a ſufficient Army raiſed againſt them in *Scotland* for ſome Years. As an Addition to this Miſery, there happened alſo a terrible Plague, which ſwept away almoſt the third Part of the People. And yet in ſuch an afflicted State of things, Men did not abſtain from domeſtick Broils. *David Berclay*, a noble Knight, who before had killed *Bullock*, was at this time alſo preſent at the Murder of *John Douglas* at *Dalkeith*. *William Douglas* of *Liddiſdale* (who was taken Priſoner by the *Engliſh* at the Battel of *Durham*, and was not yet releaſed) cauſed him to be cut to pieces by his Tenants; however, after he himſelf was releaſed and returned into *Scotland*, he did not long ſurvive him: For as he was a hunting in the Wood of *Attic*, he was killed by *William Douglas*, the Son of *Archibald* lately come from *France*, in Revenge for his Murder of *Alexander Ramſay*. Nor did the Clans of the ancient *Scots*, full as reſtleſs and impatient, abſtain from injuring one another.

IN the midſt of theſe Calamities, which preſſed in on every ſide, *William Douglas* gathered together a Band of his Vaſſals and Tenants, and recovered *Douglas* the Patrimony of his Anceſtors, having driven the *Engliſh* out of it; and afterwards, upon this little Succeſs, Mens Minds being more inclined to him, he reduced a great part of *Teviotdale*. In the mean time *John* King of *France*, Heir

to

to his Father *Philip*, both in his Kingdom and in his Wars, fearing leſt the *Scots* being broken by ſo many Misfortunes, ſhould quite ſink under ſo puiſſant an Enemy, ſent *Eugenius Garanter* to them, with forty gallant Cavaliers in his Train, to deſire of them *to make no Peace with* England *without his Conſent*. He brought with him forty thouſand *French* Crowns to preſs Soldiers; and beſides, by large Promiſes he brought over the Nobility to his Opinion. They received the Money and divided it among themſelves, but levied no Soldiers, only they carried on the War by light Incurſions as they were wont to do. As ſoon as the *Engliſh* heard of this, they almoſt waſted all *Lothian* which had been cruelly haraſſed before. To revenge this Wrong, *Patrick Dunbar* and *William Douglas* gathered a good Body together as privately as they could, and placed themſelves in Ambuſh, but ſent out *David Ramſay* of *Dalhouſe*, a noted and gallant Soldier, with part of the Army to burn *Norham*, a populous Town upon the Banks of *Tweed*. When *Ramſay* had accompliſhed his Deſign, the *Engliſh* were trained on to the Ambuſh, where ſome were ſurprized and killed; at laſt, being not able to reſiſt ſo great Odds, the *Engliſh* ſurrender themſelves. This Succeſs heartned the *Scots*, and for that reaſon the ſame Generals uniting their Forces together, *Thomas Stuart* Earl of *Angus*, reſolves to attack *Berwick*: And to do it privately, he hired Veſſels, Ladders, and other Implements uſed in ſcaling the Walls of Towns, wherever he could procure them; he acquaints *Patrick* with his coming, meets him at the Hour appointed, and made up to the Walls with as little Noiſe as they could; however the Sentinels ſaw them, whom after a ſharp Conflict they repulſed, and became Maſters of the Town, but not without Loſs on their own ſide; the Caſtle was ſtill kept by the *Engliſh*, which they attacked, but in vain.

WHEN the King of *England* heard how Matters went in *Scotland*, he gathered together a powerful Army, and in quick Marches haſtned thither. The *Scots* hearing of his coming, and not being provided with Materials for a long Siege, plundered and burnt the City and ſo returned home; *Edward* employed all kind of Workmen and Artificers, to repair what the Flames had conſumed; in the mean while he himſelf quarter'd at *Roxburgh*. *Baliol* comes to him thither, and *ſurrenders up the Kingdom of* Scotland *to him*, deſiring him earneſtly not to forget the Injuries offered him by the *Scots*. *Edward*, as it were in Obſequiouſneſs to his Deſires, invades *Lothian* by Land and Sea, and makes a farther Devaſtation of what was left after the former Ruin.

Ruin. He determined in that Expedition ſo to quell all *Scotland*, that they ſhould never recover Strength to rebel again. But his purpoſe was diſappointed, on account of a moſt terrible Tempeſt, which ſo ſhattered and tore his Ships, that carried his Proviſions, that very few of them ever met again in one Port; ſo that he was forced to return home for want of Proviſion; only he vented his Spleen upon *Edinburgh*, *Hadington*, and other Towns of *Lothian*. *Edward* and his Army being gone for *England*, *Douglas* drove the *Engliſh* out of *Calway*; *Roger Kirk-Patrick* out of *Nithiſdale*; and *John Stuart*, Son of the Regent, out of *Annandale*, and thus thoſe three Countries were recovered by the *Scots*.

About the ſame time *John* King of *France* was overthrown by the *Engliſh* in a great Battel in *Poictou*, and he himſelf taken Priſoner. *Edward* having two Kings his Priſoners at once, paſſed the Winter merrily amongſt the Congratulations of his Friends; and the *Scots* thinking that his Mind being ſated with Glory, might be more inclined to Equity, they ſent Ambaſſadors to him to treat about the Releaſe of their King. *Bruce*, that the *Scots* might have eaſie Acceſs to him, was ſent to *Berwick*; but inaſmuch as they could not agree about the Conditions, he was carried back to *London*. Not long after the Pope's Legates were ſent, who took great Pains to make a Peace between the *Engliſh* and *French*; they alſo tranſacted the ſame for *Scotland*, upon the Promiſe of the Payment of an hundred (as our Writers ſay, or as *Froſſard)* of five hundred thouſand Marks of *Engliſh* Money to them; part of which was to be paid in Hand, the reſt by Parcels. To make up that Sum the Pope gave the tenths of all Benefices for three Years; in the mean time a Truce was made, and many young Nobles given for Hoſtages, who died almoſt all in *England* of the Plague.

Hereupon *David* returned the eleventh Year after he was taken Priſoner. The firſt thing he did was to puniſh thoſe who had been the forwardeſt to fly in the Battel of *Durham*. From *Patrick Dunbar* he took away a great part of his Lands; he cut off all hopes from *Robert Stuart*, his eldeſt Siſters Son, of ſucceeding in the Kingdom, and ſubſtituted *Alexander*, Son of the Earl of *Sutherland* by his youngeſt Siſter, and made the Nobility ſwear Fealty to him. This young Man's Father diſtributed large and fruitful Lands amongſt the Nobility, to engage them more firmly to his Son. But *Alexander* dying ſoon after, he was reconciled to *Robert Stuart*; and in a full Aſſembly of the

Eſtates, he was by a general Suffrage named Heir Preſumptive of the Crown. But this was done ſome Years after.

THE King paſt the next five Years in appeaſing the Diſcords at home, in which time there happened two great Calamities: One reached but to a few, by an Inundation of Water; for there were ſuch great Rains, that *Lothian* ſeemed to be all in a Flood; and the force of the Water was ſuch, that it carried away Bridges, Water-Mills, Country Houſes, with their Owners and Cattel, into the Sea; it rooted up Trees, and almoſt quite deſtroyed the Towns which ſtood near the Banks of Rivers. This Miſery was ſeconded by another, on a terrible Peſtilence, which conſumed many of all Ranks and Ages.

IN the Year 1363 the ſtate of things grew calmer, and then, in the Aſſembly of the Eſtates, the King propounded to the *Lords of the Articles, that the King of* England, *or elſe his Son, might be ſent for into* Scotland, *to ſucceed him in the Kingdom if he ſhould chance to die.* This he did, either being quite wearied of War, or foreſeeing that it would be for the Good of both Kingdoms; or, (as others think) becauſe of his Oath which the *Engliſh* had made him ſwear; but this Speech was ſo unacceptable and offenſive to them all, that before every one's Vote could be asked in Order, they all confuſedly cried out upon it as an abominable Propoſition; and it was almoſt come to that, that they who had moſt freely ſpoken againſt it, fearing his Diſpleaſure, were meditating a Revolt. But he underſtanding their Fears, abated his Anger, and received them into Favour. When he had quieted all things elſewhere, the *Highlanders* continued ſtill in Arms, and did not only commit Outrages upon one another, but alſo made Havock of the adjacent Countries. The King tried all probable Means to bring them to a mutual Concord; but being not able to do it, his next Deſign was to ſuborn ſome crafty Fellows, to foment and heighten their Diſſenſions; that ſo when the fierceſt of them had deſtroyed one another, the reſt might become more tractable and pliant. The King having performed theſe Exploits, both at home and abroad, departed this Life in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, on the ſeventh Day of *June*, in the forty ſeventh Year of his Age, about the thirty ninth of his Reign, and of our *Lord* 1370.

HE was certainly a Man eminent in all kind of Virtue; but eſpecially in Juſtice and Clemency; and though he had been exerciſed with good and bad Events, alternately; yet

yet ſtill his Fortune ſeemed rather to fail him than his Induſtry.

ROBERT II. *The hundredth King.*

AFTER *David*'s Deceaſe the Nobles met together at *Linlithgo*, to congratulate *Robert*, at the beginning of his Reign, who had before been deſigned King by his Uncle; but here the Ambition of *William Douglas* had almoſt thrown things into a Sedition and Uproar. For he demanded the Kingdom as his Hereditary Right, becauſe he was deſcended from *Baliol* and the *Cumins*'s. But finding that his Suit was unacceptable to them all; and eſpecially to his moſt intimate Friends, as the two Brothers, *George* and *John Dunbars*, of which one was Earl of *Merch*, and the other of *Murray*; as alſo to *Robert Erſkin*, Governor of the three well fortified Caſtles of *Dunbarton*, *Sterling* and *Edinburgh*, he deſiſted and promiſed to obey *Robert* as his Liege King; and the King, to oblige him in a more ſtrict Bond of Friendſhip, eſpouſed his Daughter to Earl *William*'s Son.

THIS Year the Truce made for fourteen Years was broken by the *Engliſh*. There was a great Fair uſually kept the eleventh of *Auguſt*, to which place vaſt Numbers of both Nations, even from the remoteſt Parts, uſed to reſort; thither came the Inhabitants of *Merch*; and it happened that one of *George Dunbar*'s intimate Friends was killed. *George*, according to the Law which was obſerved among the Borderers, ſent Heralds to demand the Murderers to be given up to him; or elſe that they would puniſh them themſelves; but perceiving *that Favour did outvy Equity*, he diſſembles the Affront, and againſt the next Day appointed for the Fair, ſecretly prepared a Band of Men, and ſetting upon the Town unexpectedly, he ſlew all the young People, burnt the Houſes, and returned home with a great Booty. The *Engliſh*, to revenge this Injury, with like Cruelty ravaged all the Lands of *John Gordon* a noble Knight; and not long after *Gordon* entred *England*, and brought away a great Booty both of Men and Cattel; but as he was returning home, *John Lilburn* met him with a far greater Force: A terrible Fight then began between them, and Victory ſeemed a long time to flutter over both Parties with doubtful Wings; but at laſt ſhe inclined to the *Scots*. The Commander of the *Engliſh* Forces was taken Priſoner, with many of his Allies and Tenants.

HENRY PERCY, Earl of *Northumberland*, a Man of a great Spirit, being then Lord Warden, or Governor of the eaſtern Marches or Borders, reſented this Injury to his Countrymen; and immediately gathered together a Body of above ſeven thouſand Men, and encamped at a Village called *Duns*, remarkable for being the Birth Place of *John Scotus*, ſirnamed *Subtilis*, rather than for any thing elſe. There the Countrymen and Shepherds gathered themſelves together, having no other Arms, but ſuch Rattles with which they uſed to frighten the Deers and other Cattel there up and down, without any Keeper; and by Night placed themſelves on ſome Riſings of the *Lamormore* Hills, which were near to the ſaid Village of *Duns*. The Form of the Rattle is this; On the top of a long Spear or Pole, they faſten ſome Staves or Hoops of Wood, made crooked and bent into a Semicircle; all over them they ſtretch a Skin after the ſame Form as the Lanterns, which the common People of *Paris* call *Falots*, are made; into theſe Lanterns, or Concavities, they put ſmall Stones, but very hard ones, which when they are ſtirred, and tumbled up and down, make ſuch a rattling Noiſe, as drives away the Beaſts and Cattel from the Corn. With theſe rattling Inſtruments they made a mighty Noiſe on the Hills, hanging over *Duns*, at which the *Engliſh* Horſe were ſo affrighted, that they broke the Headſtalls they were tied with, and ran up and down the Fields, and ſo were taken by the Countrymen: And in the whole Army, there was ſuch a tumultuous Buſtle, that they cry'd out, *Arm*, *Arm*; and thinking the Enemy had been at their Heels, they paſſed that Night without Sleep. But in the Morning, perceiving their Miſtake, and having loſt many of their Baggage Horſes, as well as thoſe for Service, they retreated ſix Miles (for that Place is ſo far diſtant from *England*) on Foot, leaving their Baggage behind them.

THE ſame Day that *Percy* retired back from *Duns*, *Thomas Muſgrave*, Governor of *Berwick*, came out of his Garriſon with ſome Troops, to join *Percy*; *John Gordon* had Notice of his March, and laid an Ambuſh for him, into which he fell; and imagining his Enemy to be more numerous than he was, endeavoured to fly, but was taken with his Party in the Purſuit, and brought back again. In the weſtern Borders, *John Johnſton* ſo managed it, that he got both Honour and Booty too; for he ſo exerciſed his neighbouring Foes with ſmall, but frequent Incurſions, that he did them as much Miſchief as a great Army would have done.

THUS

THUS all things ſucceeded proſperouſly with *Robert*, for the firſt two Years of his Reign; but in his third Year, *Euſemia*, Daughter to *Hugh* Earl of *Roſs*, dy'd. The King had three Children by her; *Walter*, afterwards made Earl of *Strathearn*; *David*, Earl of *Athol*; and *Euſemia*, whom *Robert Douglas* married, as I ſaid before. *Robert*, not ſo much for the Impatience of his widow'd, and unmarry'd State, as for the Love of his Children, which he had before by *Elizabeth More*, made her his Wife. This Woman was exceeding beautiful, the Daughter of *Adam More*, a noble Knight; the King fell in Love with her when he was young, and had three Sons and two Daughters by her, and gave her in Marriage to one *Gifard*, a Nobleman in *Lothian*. It happened that *Euſemia* the Queen, and *Gifard*, *Elizabeth*'s Husband, dy'd about one and the ſame time. Upon which the King, either induced by the old Familiarity he had with her, or elſe (as many Writers report) to legitimate the Children ſhe had had by him, marry'd her, and preſently advanced her Sons to Riches and Honour. *John*, the eldeſt Son, was made Earl of *Carrick*; *Robert* of *Menteith*; and *Alexander* of *Buchan*, to which *Badenock* was adjoined. Neither was he content with this Munificence, but he prevailed upon the Aſſembly of Eſtates, met at *Scone*, to ſet by the Children of *Euſemia*, and to obſerve the Order of Age, in making his Son King after him; which Matter was, in aftertimes, almoſt the utter Ruin of that numerous Family.

DURING the next two Years, there was neither certain Peace nor open War, but light Incurſions, or rather Plunderings on both ſides: In the mean time, *Edward* III. dy'd, and *Richard* II. his Grandchild by his Son *Edward*, born at *Bourdeaux*, ſucceeded him, being eleven Years of Age; at which time Ambaſſadors were ſent by *Charles* V. King of *France*, into *Scotland*. The Cauſe of their Embaſſy, was, to renew the ancient League with *Robert*, and to deſire him to invade *England* with an Army, and ſo to take off the Streſs of the War from *France*. In the mean time, whilſt they were treating with the Aſſembly, *Alexander Ramſay*, (as the *Engliſh* Writers report out of *Froſſard*) attended with forty young Men, in the middle of the Night, when the Sentinel was aſleep, took the Caſtle of *Berwick*; all that were in it being either kill'd, or made Priſoners. The Townſmen, being amazed at this ſuddain Surprize, ſend for *Percy*, who came and laid Siege to the Caſtle with ten thouſand Men. When the News of this Action was brought to the Aſſembly of the Eſtates at *Scone*, *Archibald Douglas*, being

concerned for the Danger his Kinſman was in, took with him a flying Body of five hundred Horſe only, and haſten'd thither; but all Paſſages to the beſieged were cut off and ſtopp'd, ſo that he was forced to return again, without any Action. And the Caſtle, after a valiant Defence for ſome Days, was at laſt taken by Storm, and all put to the Sword, except *Alexander* alone: Thus the *Engliſh*; but our Writers ſay, that the Caſtle was taken by the Help of ſix Country People of *Merch*, who, not being able to keep it, were obliged to deſert it. Not long after the Aſſembly, *James* I. Earl of *Douglas*, gathered together an Army of twenty thouſand Men, and entred *England*, and coming ſuddenly to a Town called *Penrith*, on a fair Day, he took, plundered, and burnt it, and then ſecurely marched his Army back again laden with much Spoil and Booty; but withal, he brought the Peſtilence home with him, which was greater than any before, ſo that it raged over all *Scotland* for the ſpace of two Years.

THE *Engliſh*, to be even with the *Scots*, paſſed over the *Solway*, and entred *Scotland*: *Talbot*, a fierce General, commanded them, being fifteen thouſand Men, with which Number he made a terrible Havock and Devaſtation far and near; and as his Army was returning back laden with Spoil, he pitch'd his Tents in a narrow Valley, not far from the Borders of *England*; about five hundred *Scots* came upon them in thoſe Streights, thinking themſelves ſecure, being unprovided, and moſt of them without their Arms; and at the firſt Aſſault they kill'd all who were in their Way; ſo that the Tumult and Fear diffuſing it ſelf, they were entirely put to flight; many were kill'd upon the Spot, two hundred and fifty taken Priſoners, and a great Number, in ſuch a ſudden Conſternation, taking the River, were drowned; the reſt left their Prey behind them, and ran home the neareſt Way they could.

IN the mean time, the *Engliſh* carried on a cruel War, both by Sea and Land, againſt the *French*; but as part of their Forces were ſent into *Portugal*, it was reſolv'd by the Parliament, that *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, the King's Uncle, ſhould be ſent Embaſſador into *Scotland*, to treat about a Peace; to the End, that being engaged in ſo many Wars, they might have Quiet on that ſide at leaſt, which lay moſt expoſed and open. The *Scots* being made acquainted with his coming by an Herald, appointed *James*, Earl of *Douglas*, and *John Dunbar*, Earl of *Murray*, to treat with him; a Truce was made for three Years. But whilſt they were treating about a Peace there, a dreadful civil War broke out

out in *England*. The firſt Author of it is ſaid to be one *John Ball*, a Prieſt: He, perceiving that the Commonalty was enraged, becauſe Poll-Money of four *Engliſh* Pence a Head was laid on them, firſt of all ſecretly, and in private Confeſſions, Diſcourſes, and Meetings, inflamed the Minds of the Commons againſt the Nobility; and perceiving that his Diſcourſe was well accepted, he talked more openly; beſides this new Occaſion, there was alſo another of older date, *viz.* that the greateſt part of the Commons were made little better than Slaves to the Lords. A great many Tradeſmen and Day-Labourers came in to them, and others alſo, who, in Eſtate or Credit, had nothing to loſe; inſomuch that they raiſed ſo great a Tumult and Combuſtion, that the whole Frame of the Government ſeemed to be very much in Danger. Theſe things were known at the Meeting of the Embaſſadors; yet both of them diſſembled the Matter till they had treated, and concluded what they came about. Then *Douglas* told *John* of *Lancaſter* that he knew, from the Beginning, in what State the Affairs of *England* ſtood, but they were ſo far from laying hold on the Opportunity, either to make War, or to hinder a good Peace, that they offered him, even then, to ſtay ſecurely in *Scotland* till the Tumults in *England* were appeaſed; or, if he would return, that he ſhould have five hundred *Scots* Horſes for his Convoy. *Lancaſter* gave them great Thanks, yet he hoped at preſent, that he had no Need to accept of either of the Conditions. But, as he was returning home, the Governor of *Berwick* ſhut him out of the Town, ſo that he, upon the publick Faith given, returned into *Scotland*, and there kept himſelf, till the Sedition of the Commons was quell'd in *England*. When the three Years Truce was ended, in the Year 1384, *June* the 4th, *Archibald Douglas* of *Galway*, with the Aſſiſtance of *James*, Earl of *Douglas*, and *George*, Earl of *Merch*, laid ſiege to the Caſtle of *Loch-Maban*, ſituate near a Lake of the ſame Name, and from whence daily Inroads were made upon the neighbouring Country. The Governor of the Caſtle, being affected at this ſudden Misfortune, articled with the Enemy, *That unleſs he were relieved in eight Days, he would ſurrender the Caſtle*; whereupon, after the *Scots* had endured great Trouble, by reaſon of the Winter-Storms, and continual Showers, even from the 4th Day of *February*, the Caſtle was ſurrendred according to Covenant, on the ninth Day. They who lived near *Roxburgh*, fearing leſt that Caſtle might be alſo taken, took care that one *Graſtock*, a noble and wealthy Perſon, and much famed for his warlike Skill, ſhould be made Governor of it; where-

upon, as he was ſending in great Proviſions thither, and alſo all his own Houſhold Goods, imagining, that they could no where be better kept from his Enemy's uſe, or ſecured for his own; *Dunbar* being informed by his Spies of the Day of his March, and the Way he was to go, laid his Ambuſhes in convenient Places, and ſo ſuddenly attacked a long confuſed Train, made up of Soldiers, Waggoners, and a promiſcuous Multitude, that without any fighting he took the Booty, and the Owner of it too, and preſently retreated back. The *Engliſh* in revenge of their Loſſes, and to prevent future Incurſions, by ſome memorable Exploits, ſend *Lancaſter* into *Scotland* with great Forces, both by Sea and Land. *Lancaſter* himſelf came through *Merch* and *Lothian* as far as *Edinburgh*: His Fleet was ſent to lay waſte the maritim Parts of *Fife*.

THE Soldiers were deſirous to burn down *Edinburgh*; but he, remembring that, but a few Years before, he had been nobly entertained there, when he was excluded by his own People, abſolutely forbad them. But his Fleet ſhewed not the ſame Civility, for entring into the Iſle of *Inch-colm*, they plundered a Monaſtery of Monks, and burnt it; uſing the like Cruelty in all Places where they landed, till *Nicholas* and *Thomas Erskins*, *Alexander Lindſay*, and *William Cuningham* met them, kill'd many, took ſome, and forced the reſt to fly in ſuch Fear to their Ships, that, beſides the other Loſs received by their haſty Flight, they ſuffered forty of their own Men, who, being upon one of the Ships Ropes, after the Rope was cut, to be drowned before their Eyes. *Lancaſter* was ſcarce returned home, before *William Douglas* trode almoſt on his Heels, partly ſacking, partly demoliſhing all the Caſtles, which the *Engliſh* held in *Scotland* after the Battel of *Durham*. He reduced all *Teviotdale*, except *Roxburg*, to the *Scots* Obedience; and reſtrained Robberies, which the Licentiouſneſs of the Wars had multiplied and encouraged; and he himſelf did not long outlive theſe noble Actions, but dy'd of a Fever in the Caſtle of *Douglas*. His Son *William Douglas* ſucceeded him; one every way worthy of ſo great and virtuous a Father.

IN the mean time, when an annual Truce was made between the *French*, *Engliſh*, and *Scots* near *Bologne*, in the low Countries, and the *French*, who were commanded to give the *Scots* Notice of it, had neglected ſo to do; the *Engliſh* Nobility, who bordered upon *Scotland*, thinking now they had a fit Opportunity to give their Enemy ſome notable and unexpected Overthrow, and not leave them any time for Revenge: They, before the Truce was publiſhed, gathered together ten thouſand Horſe, and ſix thouſand Archers;

chers; and entring *Scotland*, under the Command of the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Nottingham*, made a terrible Havock of the Country, eſpecially on the Lands of the *Douglaſſes* and *Lindſays*. The *Scots*, who upon the Rumour of a Truce, had laid aſide all Thoughts of War, were exceedingly offended, both at their own Negligence, and at the Perfidiouſneſs of the Enemy, and reſolved upon Revenge, as ſoon as they could. In the mean time, the Noiſe of the *Engliſh* Invaſion of *Scotland*, alarmed the *French*, who were to give Notice of the Truce, and put them in Mind of their Non-performance. They, endeavouring by a late Forwardneſs, to make Amends for their former Omiſſion, came to *London*, even in the very Height of the Invaſion, where they were nobly treated, and detained ſo long by kind and friendly Invitations, till it was known that the *Engliſh* were returned out of the Enemy's Country: Then they were diſmiſſed, and came into *Scotland*, where they declared their Meſſage, as they were commanded. Whereupon, almoſt all the Nobility, eſpecially thoſe who had felt the Loſs ſuſtained by the late Inrode, murmured, and cry'd out, *That this ſcornful Uſage of the* Engliſh *was not to be endured.* The King in vain endeavoured to pacify them, for he was willing to obſerve the Truce; but they ſo long debated on, and delayed the Matter, till their Friends had privately levied almoſt fifteen thouſand Horſe, and then, on a Day appointed, *Douglas*, *Lindſay* and *Dunbar*, went privately from Court, and joining their Countrymen, invaded *England* with a powerful Army: They waſted *Northumberland* as far as *Newcaſtle*, and returning thro' the Lands of the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the *Mowbrays*, they deſtroyed all by Fire and Sword that they could not carry away. Then, and not before, they returned home with a great Booty, and many Priſoners, and preſently cauſed the Truce to be proclaimed.

ABOUT the end of the Truce, in the Year 1385, Monſieur *John de Vienne*, Admiral of the *French* Navy, was ſent over by the King of *France*, with about two thouſand Auxiliaries, of which an hundred were Cuaſſiers armed *Cap-a-pee*, and two hundred which flung Darts out of Engines called *Croſs bows*, in after Ages; the reſt were Foot of a promiſcuous kind: They brought with them Money for ſix Months Pay, beſides many Gifts and Preſents; and amongſt the reſt, four hundred Suits of compleat Armour, to be divided between the braveſt Generals: Having firſt waited on the King, he, and *James Douglas* entred *Northumberland*; and having demoliſhed three Caſtles, they would

would have proceeded farther, but there ſo much Rain fell that Autumn, that they were forced to return. Beſides, they heard a Report that *Richard* II. of *England* was coming againſt them, which haſtened their Retreat. His Anger was more enflamed *now* againſt the *Scots* than ever; becauſe they had not only made a dreadful War upon his Kingdom themſelves, but had alſo ſent for Foreigners to their Aid; and that in ſuch a Conjuncture of Time, when the *French* themſelves deſigned alſo to land a vaſt Army in *England*; whereupon, he gathered a very powerful Army together, conſiſting, as the *Engliſh* Writers ſay, of ſixty thouſand Foot, and eight thouſand Horſe; with this Force he reſolved ſo to humble the *Scots*, that they ſhould not, in many Years after, be able to levy any conſiderable Army: Beſides this, he fitted out a great Navy, which were to bring Proviſions into the *Forth*. For he knew, that part of *Scotland*, where he was to make his Deſcent, had been haraſſed for many Years by continual Wars: And if any Proviſions were left in it, that the Inhabitants would convey them away into the neighbouring, or other remote Places. He was ſecure of the *French*, for he knew that they would not put to Sea in a ſtormy Winter. With thoſe Forces he entred *Scotland*, ſpared no Place neither ſacred nor profane; nor any Age, nor degrees of Men, if they were capable to bear Arms. In the mean time, Monſieur *Vien*, being more mindful of his King's Commands to him at his parting from him, than of the preſent Poſture of Affairs in *Scotland*, was earneſt with *Douglas* to come to a Battel. He ſtill anſwered him, that the *Scots* forbore to engage, not out of any different Opinions from the *French*, but only as being conſcious of their own Weakneſs; and thereupon he took him up into an high Place, from whence he might ſafely take a View of the Enemy: He then perceiving the long Train of the *Engliſh* in their March, ſoon altered his Sentiments. Upon which they both concluded, that, in the preſent Circumſtances, the beſt and only Way for them to incommode the Enemy, was to gather together what Force they could, and ſo to invade *England*. Thereupon they entred far from the King's Army into *Cumberland*, and made a great Havock, both there and in the neighbouring Counties. The *Engliſh*, Winter being now at hand, and the Country of *Lothian* being ſpoiled by the War (for they durſt not go far from their Ships, leſt Proviſions ſhould fail them) conſulted about their Return: Some were of Opinion, that it was beſt to follow after the *Scots* in the Rear, and, in their Return, to compel them to fight, whether they would or no. But thoſe, who knew

knew the Ways better, through which they were to march, reply'd on the contrary, that there would be great Difficulty in paſſing over ſuch Marſhes and Mountains, and ſometimes narrow Places, wherein there was alſo ſo much Want of every thing, that a very few Men, and thoſe nimble ones too, could carry Proviſions enough with them, tho' but for a few Days, to finiſh the March; and beſides, if they ſhould overcome thoſe Difficulties, yet the next Country, which was to receive them, was not over-fruitful of it ſelf; and that it had likewiſe been waſted by the War. Again, if they ſhould wade thro' all thoſe Inconveniencies, yet they had to do with a nimble and ſhifting Enemy, whom it would be more difficult to find, and to bring to a Battel, than to *overcome*; and if they could find him out, yet he would not be compelled to fight but in his own places of Advantage: That *Edward* III. his Grandfather, had Experience of this, to the great Detriment of his *own*, and little Inconvenience of the *Scots* Army. Upon hearing of this, as reflecting on what Miſeries they might ſuffer in an Enemy's Country, in a cold Winter; and in the mean time, leave their Wives, Children, and what elſe was dear to them, comfortleſs at home; they changed their Minds, and marched back directly the ſame way they came. Thus both Armies had a free Time of plundering in their Enemy's Country; and each of them returned home again, without ſeeing any Enemy.

THE *Scots* well knowing that the *Engliſh* could not attempt another Expedition till the next Summer, reſolved to attack *Roxburgh*, a neighbour Town, and the Garriſon there, which very much annoy'd the Country thereabout. When they were come thither, a Diſſenſion aroſe between the *Scots* and the *French*, about the Town, even before it was taken. The *French* alledging, that, ſeeing by a large Experience in Wars at home, they were more skill'd in the Methods of taking Towns, than the *Scots*; and beſides, that they had expended a great deal of Money in the War: They therefore thought it but juſt, that if the Town, were taken, it ſhould be theirs, and remain under the Juriſdiction of *France*. On the contrary, the *Scots* urged, that it was very unjuſt that Auxiliaries ſhould reap the Reward and Benefit of the whole War; and for what Expences they had been at, it had been laid out rather on themſelves than the *Scots*, it being in order to diſtract and divide the Forces of *England*, and ſo to avert part of the War from *France*; and if the friendly Offices on both ſides were put in the Balance, the *Scots* might, upon juſter Grounds, demand the Charge of the whole War of the *French*, than the *French* could challenge any

any Reward for their Aſſiſtance, eſpecially ſuch a Reward, as no Hiſtory in the Memory of Man doth relate, either to have been demanded, or given by Allies one to another: Nay the Unjuſtneſs of their Demand appeared by this, that the *Scots* might have ſate ſtill in Peace, without being prejudiced by the *Engliſh*; and ſo might have been Spectators only of the Wars betwixt two potent Kings; but the *French* could not have obtained the ſame Quiet, unleſs they would have yielded up a good part of their Country. Neither could they ſee of what uſe that Town would be to the *French* if they had it, except only to be as a Bridle; that ſo the Arbitrement of War or Peace might be at their Diſpoſe; and if that were their Intent it were more for the Profit, and for the Credit too of the Kings of *Scotland*, to be without the Town, than on a trivial Occaſion to give up themſelves to a voluntary Servitude: But if by ſo unjuſt a Requeſt, they thought to excuſe their Return home, which they ſometime before attempted, there was no need at all of ſuch a *Blind*, for as they freely came, ſo they had Liberty always at their Pleaſure freely to depart; neither was it adviſeable in the *Scots* to ſlay them, in regard they might eaſily foreſee, their Service would be but ſmall, if they were detained againſt their Wills.

HEREUPON they retreated from *Roxburgh* without attacking it; and whereas there had ſevere Complaints been made between both Parties before; ſo (if Matters ſhould ſtill continue at that Paſs) open Enmity ſeemed likely to ariſe. The Original of the Diſſenſion grew from the different Cuſtom and Carriage of either Nation, in the Management of War. For the *Scots* and *Engliſh* Soldiers pay honeſtly for what they take at their Quarters, and carry it amongſt their Countrymen as moderately and regularly in War as in Peace. But the *French* quite otherwiſe; wherever they march, *all's their own*, as if they had publick Permiſſion to rob and ſpoil; for they having been accuſtomed to this kind of Life, think they might lawfully do that which Cuſtom hath inured them always to do heretofore: And therefore before that time, there had often Quarrels, and ſometimes Blows, happened between the *Scots* and *French*; *theſe* endeavouring to practiſe their wonted Rapacity; and the *other* not ſubmitting to ſuch an unaccuſtomed Servility; ſo that as *one* ſnatcht away what was none of his; the *other* laboured to defend his own. After this Diſguſt and Alienation of Minds at *Roxburgh*, the *French* Commiſſaries uſed greater Licentiouſneſs than ever before, in gathering in Proviſions, as intending ſhortly to depart; and the Country-

men

men diſdaining to be made a Prey to a few Men, and thoſe Strangers too, many times took away their Baggage and their Horſes; and the Officers and ſtraggling Soldiers ſent out to forage, were ſometimes wounded, ſometimes killed outright. When Complaints hereof were brought to the Council, the Countrymen anſwered with one Conſent, *That they were treated more courſly, and robbed by the* French, *who called themſelves Friends, than by the* Engliſh *their profeſſed Enemies; and therefore they reſolved, that they ſhould not depart the Land, till they had made them Recompence for their Loſſes*; neither could this obſtinate Humour of theirs be ſtopt by the *Douglaſſes*, tho' they were the moſt popular Men of that Age. Hereupon the Army was ſent back, but the General was detained till full Payment was made. The *French* fet ſail the firſt of *November*; the *Scots*, either tired with the military Toil of the laſt Year, or ſatiated with the Spoils of ſo many proſperous Expeditions, ſate ſtill all that Winter. But the next Spring *William Douglas* the Son of *Archibald* Earl of *Galway* ſailed over into *Ireland*, both to revenge at preſent the often Deſcents of the *Iriſh* upon the Coaſts of *Galway*, and alſo to reſtrain them for the future.

THIS *William* was a young Man of the greateſt Qualifications, both in Mind and Body amongſt all the *Scots*. He was of great Stature, and had Strength accordingly; and his Beauty was accompanied with ſuch a manly and graceful Dignity of Preſence (which ſeldom happens in Bodies of that bulk) and his Succeſs in War very much recommended him; for very often with a ſmall number he would attack a greater Body of his Enemies, and come off a Conqueror; neither was he ever employed in any Expedition, but he gave evident Proofs of his Valour. Theſe Excellencies, which in ſome are matter of Envy; yet in him, by reaſon of his Affability, Complaiſance and courteous Modeſty, were acceptable to all. And upon the Account of thoſe Virtues, tho' the King knew him to be baſe born, yet he beſtowed his Daughter *Ægidia* upon him in Marriage, a Woman of the greateſt Beauty in thoſe Times; and one who had been courted by many of the young Nobility of the Court. With her he gave *Nithiſdale*, the next Country to *Galway*, as a Dowry.

HE landed his Men at *Carlingford*, a rich Town in that County, and the Suddenneſs of the Thing ſtruck ſuch Terror into the Townſmen, that they preſently ſent out to him to treat about Conditions of Surrender. *Douglas* entertained them courteouſly, and in the mean time, as ſecure of

of the Enemy, he ſent out *Robert Stuart*, Laird of *Diſdeir*, with 200 Soldiers to bring in Proviſions into his Ships. The Townſmen having gotten this time for Conſultation, ſend for Aid from *Dundalk*. Five hundred Horſe were ſent, with whoſe help they divided themſelves into two Bodies, and ſo drew forth againſt their Enemy; for becauſe they were ſo much ſuperior to them in Number, they thought preſently to put them all to the Sword, and ſo to become Maſters of their Ships too. But both their Bodies were routed, the Town taken, plundered and burnt; fifteen Ships which rode in the Harbour, were laden with the Spoils of the City; and in his return home, he plundered the *Iſle* of *Man* by the way, and ſo arrived at *Lough-Rian*, which divides part of *Galway* from *Carrick*. In this place *Douglas* heard, that his Father was gone in an Expedition againſt *England*; whereupon he haſtned after him as faſt as he could. That Expedition was undertaken chiefly upon this Ground; *Richard* of *England* having entred *Scotland* the Year before, and ſpared nothing, either Sacred or Prophane, at his return home met with a domeſtick Sedition, which had changed the State of his whole Kingdom. To heal this Miſchief he transfer'd the Government of the Counties, and the Management of leſſer Moment (as is uſually done in ſuch Caſes) from one to another; and by this means the Fire of Hatred was not ſo much quenched as covered in the Aſhes, and likely ſoon after to break out again: But on the contrary, *Scotland* enjoyed a great, but yet uncertain Tranquillity. For it was full of young Soldiers fit for War, and as fruitful and well ſtored with good Officers as ever before. So that the Nobility were deſirous of a War, and in all their Aſſemblies and Meetings, they ſtill muttered, that ſo gallant an Opportunity to be revenged upon the *Engliſh* for their old Injuries was not to be neglected, and that the *Engliſh* would never have omitted it in reference to *Scotland*, if the Affairs there had been in the like Confuſion.

BUT King *Robert* being a Man of a quiet Diſpoſition; and beſides, by reaſon of his growing and unwieldly Age, not ſo forward for War, ſeemed not to be ſufficiently concerned at the Publick Injuries: And his eldeſt Son *John* was naturally ſlow, and beſides, lame with the ſtroke of an Horſe, ſo that he was not well able to endure the Hardſhips of a Camp. And therefore the Nobles made their Addreſſes to *Robert* the next Son, Earl of *Fife*; to whom they complained of the deplorable State of the Publick, and they all preſently concluded, that the Wrong lately received

ved was to be revenged, and therein every one promiſed his chearful Aſſiſtance; ſo that it was agreed, that a Levy of Soldiers ſhould be made againſt the fifth Day of *Auguſt* next, but ſo ſecret, that neither King, either *Scots* or *Engliſh*, ſhould know of it.

But the *Engliſh* were quickly advertiſed by their Spies, of the Time and Place of Meeting; ſo that they reſolved to prevent their Enemy with the ſame Surprize. For they adviſed the reſt of the Nobility with all their Followers to be in a readineſs, not at any one Day, but whenever there was need, that they might draw to their Colours. Matters being thus reſolved on, when they heard that the *Scots*, to the Number of 30000, or as *Froſſard* will have it, of 40000, were met together in *Teviotdale*, not far from the Borders; they reſolved farther, that (ſeeing they were not able to encounter ſuch great Numbers) they would attempt nothing before the coming of the Enemy upon them. And in the mean time, to conceal their Project the better, every Man was to ſtay at his own home, till they ſaw upon what Country ſo great a Storm would fall; and then according to the Enemy's Motion they would ſteer their Courſe, and (as the *Scots* had done the Autumn before in reference to *England*) ſo now they would enter into *Scotland* another way, and repay Loſs for Loſs.

In the mean time they ſent a Spy to inform themſelves fully of the Enemy's Advance, who was now ſo near them; for they counted it highly conduceable to their Affairs, to know not only the Deſign, but even the very laſt Words, Reſolves, and Actions of their Enemies. He that was ſent differed nothing in Speech, Habit or Armour from the reſt, and ſo was eaſily taken for a *Scots Man*. So that having found out every thing which he deſired to know, he was going to a Tree, where he had tied his Horſe to fetch him, and ſo to be gone; but he found that ſome Body had ſtolen and carried him away before; ſo that he was forced in his Boots, Spurs and Riding-Suit to undertake his Journey on Foot. Hereupon the Matter began to be ſuſpected, and when he was gone a great way, ſome Horſemen were ſent after to bring him back as a Deſerter; when they came up to him, and demanded who or what he was, and why he went from his Colours in that manner; he not being able to give a ready Anſwer, they brought him back to the chief Officers of the Army, to whom for fear of a greater Puniſhment, he diſcovered all the Deſigns of the *Engliſh*. When the *Scots* heard this, they alſo changed the Order of their Deſigns, they divided their Army ſo, that the greateſt Part

of

of it ſhould march towards *Carliſle*, and that the King's two Sons, the Earls of *Fife* and *Strathern*, ſhould command them; to whom were joyned *Archibald Douglas* of *Galway*, and the Earls of *Mar* and *Sutherland*. The other Part was to enter *Northumberland* under the Command of *James Douglas*, and the two Brethren, *Dunbars*, *George* and *John*; the one Earl of *Murray*, the other of *Merch*. Their Party conſiſted of 300 Horſe and 2000 Foot, beſides Servants and Attendants on the Horſe; for every Horſeman hath at leaſt one Servant, who being lightly armed, can run almoſt as faſt as an Horſe, and when Occaſion is offered, can, with his Companions, encounter an Enemy.

WHEN their Forces were thus divided, they who marched towards *Cumberland* and *Carliſle* carried all before them, by reaſon of their numerous Army, and met with no Enemy at all. But *Douglas*, in the Devaſtation which he made in the other Circuit, had not the ſame Fortune; for he had ſo ordered the courſe of his Expedition, as to take great, and yet ſecret Marches; and ſo paſſing over *Tyne* to pierce as far as *Durham*, before he gave his Army leave to ſpoil and plunder. This he did with ſuch Secrecy and Speed, that the *Engliſh* did not know where the Enemies were, but by the Smoke of the Fires they had made. *Percy* the elder was the greateſt Man in *Northumberland* and the adjacent Countries, both for Wealth and Power. When the News was brought to him, he ſends two of his Sons, *Henry* and *Ralph*, very active young Men both, before to *Newcaſtle*, commanding the reſt to follow them thither. His Intent was to ſtop the *Scots* in their Retreat, and to keep them from returning. But they having ſpoiled the wealthy County of *Durham*, returned home with a great Prey, and repaſs'd the *Tyne* about three Miles above *Newcaſtle*. There the Commanders, being nobly deſcended in their own Country, as alſo deſirous of Glory; and beſides, elevated with their preſent Succeſs, ſuch as it was, thought it an inglorious thing in them, to ſtrike Terror only into Ruſticks and Plebeians, if they did not alſo affright Cities; whereupon they marched to *Newcaſtle*, and threatning to beſiege it, they endeavoured by Contumelies and big Words to draw out the Enemy.

WHEN they had ſtaid there two Days, and ſome light Skirmiſhes, with various Succeſs, had paſſed between them; there was one Combat, which towards the Evening of the laſt Day, attracted the Eyes of all the Spectators: And that was a Duel between the two Generals; for they being in a manner equally matched in reſpect of Deneal, Power, Age,

Age and Courage, had a mind to encounter each other in the Sight of both Armies. Hereupon a Challenge was ſent, and they, both *James Douglas* and *Henry Piercy*, entred the Liſts, and ran at one another with their Spears. *Piercy* was unhorſed at the firſt Encounter, and *Douglas* got his Spear, but he could not touch his Perſon, becauſe the *Engliſh* came in to his Aſſiſtance; he ſhook the Spear, and cryed out aloud, ſo as he might be eaſily heard, *That he would carry that as a Trophy into* Scotland. The Combat being ended, the *Scots* kept very diligent Watch, in regard they were near a City well peopled, and full of Enemies. The Day after they retired towards *Scotland*, but very ſlowly, as being laden with Booty. As their Prey moved leiſurely on, they themſelves attacked a neighbouring Caſtle of the Enemy's, took and demoliſhed it; and from thence they marched to *Otterborn*, about three Miles diſtant from *Newcaſtle*. There they took Counſel concerning the reſt of their March. The major Part were of Opinion to march towards *Carliſle* to meet the other Army, and ſo not to fight ſingly, (as was at firſt agreed) but to wait the Conjunction of both Armies. But *Douglas* had a mind to ſtay two or three Days in that Place, that he might make a real Confutation of the Vaunts of *Piercy*, who had boaſted, *that they ſhould never carry his Lance into* Scotland. In the mean time, that they might not be idle, they would attack the neighbouring Caſtle. This Opinion, though it was judged by many none of the beſt, yet for *Douglas*'s ſake they all ſubmitted to it. And therefore they fortified their Camp for the preſent Occaſion, which on one Side was ſufficiently guarded by Marſhes, and then proceeded to take the Caſtle. But *Piercy* being of a fierce Nature, that he might blot out the Ignominy he had received, would have followed him preſently upon their Retreat, with thoſe Forces which he had about him; but the graver ſort detained him, for fear of an Ambuſh; for they did not think it probable, that ſo ſmall a Number of *Scots* would have appeared before ſo ſtrong a Town, unleſs they had more Forces near at hand, hid in ſome ſecret Place. That Day and the next, they were buſie in making Diſcoveries; but finding that there was no Danger of the greater Army, as being far diſtant from *Douglas*'s Party, *Piercy* immediately, with ten thouſand fighting Men, put himſelf upon the March, without ſtaying for the Biſhop of *Durham*, who that very Night was expected with ſome Forces; for he thought he had Force enough to overcome his Enemies, who were not half ſo numerous. When the *Engliſh* came in ſight,

ſome of the *Scots* were at Supper; others being wearied at the taking of the Caſtle, had compoſed themſelves to Reſt; but preſently an Alarm Word was given, *To your Arms.* Whilſt the reſt were arming themſelves, the major Part of the Foot, and many of the Horſe Mens Servants, making uſe of that ſlender Fortification they had, bore the Brunt of the *Engliſh* Aſſault. But the Horſe had a great Advantage, in that they were ſenſible of the thing before; for diſputing among themſelves how they ſhould entertain the Enemy when he aſſaulted them, (for an Aſſault they expected) they ſaw that a neighbouring Hill would be of great Conveniency to them. Thither therefore they trooped about, and whilſt the *Engliſh* were attacking the Paſſage into the Camp, they fell upon their left Flank, and made a great Slaughter, but a greater Noiſe: Yet the *Engliſh* having Men enough brought up their Reſerves, and quickly made good their Ranks again; however, that Diſorder did this good to the *Scots*, that the Fight before the Camp was managed more remiſly, ſo that they had Liberty to draw out, and range their Army in order of Battel.

WHILST theſe things were doing, the Night drew on, but it was a ſhort one, as it uſeth to be in *July*, in the *Northern* Countries eſpecially, and the Weather alſo chanced to be fair; ſo that the Moon ſhining all Night, it was as bright as Day. The Fight was maintained gallantly, as between two noble Champions, who were more ſolicitous for their Honour than for their Lives. *Piercy* endeavoured to redeem his Credit, and *Douglas* to maintain his by a new Atchievement; ſo that there was as much Eagerneſs on the one ſide as on the other, though their Numbers were unequal, and ſo the Fight continued till it was late at Night. And then the Moon began to be clouded, that *Friend* could not be diſcerned from *Foe*; whereupon they reſted a while to take a little Breath; and as ſoon as the Moon brake forth from the Clouds, the *Engliſh* preſſed hard upon the *Scots*, ſo that they gave Ground, and *Douglas*'s Standard was like to be loſt. When the two *Patrick Hepburns*, Father and Son, ſaw this, they haſtned from the other Wing, and brake through the Ranks of their own Soldiers, and ſo pierced to the Front, where the main Danger was; and there they began ſo fierce an Aſſault, that they gave and received many Wounds; and in fine, brought back their Men to their former Ground, from whence they had been driven. Neither was *Douglas* content therewith, but with his two Friends and Followers, *Robert Hart*, and *Simon Glenduning* his Kinſman, he ruſhed in amongſt

the midſt of his Enemies, and being of a ſtout Spirit, as well as ſtrong Body, made a great Slaughter wherever he came. His Friends ſtrove earneſtly to come up to him; yet before they could do ſo, he was mortally wounded in three Places, and lay upon the Ground; *Hart* lay dead by him, having a great many Wounds about him; and the Prieſt who had accompanied him in all his Dangers, when he fainted, defended his Body from Injury. In this Condition *John Lindſay*, and the two *Sinclares*, *John* and *Walter*, found him, and aſked him, *How he did?* *Very well*, ſaid he, *for I am a dying, yet I do not die like a Sluggard upon my Bed, but as almoſt all my Anceſtors have done; and I have three (my laſt) Requeſts to make to you:* Firſt, *That you will conceal my Death both from Friends and Foes.* Secondly, *That you would not ſuffer my Standard to be taken down. Thirdly, That you would revenge my Death:* And if you will do this, I ſhall bear the reſt more contentedly. Whereupon they in the firſt place covered his Body with a Cloak, that it might not be known, and then they ſet up his Standard, and cried out, (as the Cuſtom is) *a Douglas, a Douglas.* At that Cry, there was ſuch a Concourſe made, and they ran in upon the Enemy with ſuch Alacrity and Courage, that they drove him far away from the place of Battel: For at the Name of *Douglas*, not the common Soldiers only, but *John* Earl of *Murray* came in, as thinking things to be there in the greateſt Danger. For they had before routed that part of the Enemy's Army they fought with, and taken *Piercy* the younger, who was much wounded, and ſent by them into the Camp, to be dreſſed of his Wounds; ſo that the Service being not ſo hot in other parts of the Army, the *Duglaſſians* which had run in to the Standard, routed the *Engliſh* who were wearied with their Day-toil and Night-Fight; and in the heat of Action, *Henry Piercy* their General was taken Priſoner. When he was loſt, the reſt betook themſelves to a confuſed Flight. There were ſlain of the *Engliſh* in that Battel 1840, about 1000 wounded, and 1040 taken Priſoners. Of the *Scots* there were 100 ſlain, and 200 taken Priſoners, in regard a few in Purſuit followed a greater number of their Enemies. *James Lindſay* perceiving *Matthew Redman*, Governor of *Berwick*, to be one of the ſtraggling Flyers, judging him by the Goodneſs of his Armour to be one of the principal Commanders, made preſently after him; when he had fled three Miles, his Horſe being weary, he thought he could not eſcape by riding, and ſo he diſmounted, and ran away on Foot. *Lindſey* did the ſame; at laſt, after ſome Skirmiſh betwixt

them, the *Engliſhman* not being ſo good at that kind of Weapon, yieldeth himſelf to *Lindſay*, who ſent him home, having firſt taken his Oath, *that he would return in twenty Days*. This was then the Courteſy of the neighbouring Nations towards their Priſoners, which to this Day is punctually obſerved amongſt the Borderers. And if a Man do not return at the Day appointed, this is his Puniſhment. In the Meetings which are made for Reparation of mutual Damages, he that complains how he was deceived, holds up the Shape of an Hand or Glove on a long Spear, that it may be ſeen of all; that is counted the higheſt Brand of Infamy upon any Man; ſo that he who hath thus violated his Faith, becomes thereby deteſtable to his own Friends and Relations to ſuch a Degree, that no Man of any Quality will eat, or drink, or talk with him, or ſo much as harbour him in his Houſe. *Lindſay* having diſmiſſed his Priſoner on the forementioned Terms, perceived a great Body of Men before him, and marched up to them; he knew them not to be Enemies till he was ſo near that he could not retreat, but was taken Priſoner. Theſe were the Forces of the Biſhop of *Durham*, who coming late to *Newcaſtle*, and not being able to overtake *Piercy*, not thinking that he would engage till the next Day, made an Halt to refreſh his Men, and after they had ſupped he renewed his March. But he had not gone far from the Town, before thoſe that run away, informed him of the Loſs of the Day. Whereupon he returned into the Town, and adviſed with his Tenants concerning his following of the *Scots*. The Reſolution was, that before Day-break they ſhould all be in Arms; and conſequently in the Morning there were ten thouſand Horſe and Foot from the neighbouring Places, a promiſcuous Multitude, which came in. They encouraged the Biſhop to march the neareſt way to the Enemy, and to give him Battel, alledging, that he was ſo wearied with his Yeſterday's Fight, and ſo many were wounded, and the reſt ſecure by reaſon of their late Victory, that he might obtain an eaſie Conqueſt over them. The Earl of *Murray*, upon whom the Eyes of all were fixed, when *Douglas* was gone, was advertiſed of his coming by his Scouts, whereupon he conſulted with his chief Commanders about the Priſoners; to kill them in cold Blood, after they had given them Quarter, ſeemed cruel; and to ſave alive a number of Enemies, almoſt equal with their own, ſeemed dangerous. The Reſolution was, that they ſhould all ſwear not to ſtir whilſt the Battel was fought and though their Friends might relieve them, yet they ſhould

continue

continue and own themſelves as Priſoners ſtill; upon theſe Terms they were left in the Camp with a ſmall Guard, who were commanded to fall upon them all, if any one ſtirred. This Matter thus ſettled, the *Scots* being full of Courage, by reaſon of their former Victory, marched out with their Army, being fortified and ſecured in the Rear with Marſhes, and, on the Right and Left, with Trees which they cut down; and beſides, the Word of Command was given, that as ſoon as the Enemy drew near, every Man ſhould blow his Horn, which he carried behind him at his Back, which would make ſuch a mighty Noiſe and Din, as was terrible of it ſelf; but being multiplied by the Repercuſſion and Echo of the neighbouring Hills, gave forth the Repreſentation of a greater Force than indeed they were. The *Engliſh* had marched very faſt, and were to fight amongſt the dead Bodies of their own Men; being aſtoniſhed at that horrible Noiſe, and alſo at the Alacrity of their Enemies, who ſtood in good Order over againſt them; and beſides, having no skilful Commander over ſo tumultuary a Body, and alſo the Commander not much confiding on ſuch a raw Soldiery, they preſently turned their Colours, and marched back as they came. In the mean time *Lindſay*, who, as I have ſaid, was taken Priſoner, and left at *Newcaſtle*, being ſeen and known by *Redman*, was courteouſly treated by him, and ſet at Liberty without Ranſom. The *Scots* having paſſed over this ſudden Brunt ſo eaſily, reſolved to return home; but before they diſmiſſed *Ralph Piercy*, who was much wounded, ſo that he could not endure the jogging of a Horſe, and ſent him to *Newcaſtle* to be healed of his Wounds; upon his Promiſe, that as ſoon as ever he was able to ride, he would wait on the Earl of *Murray* where he pleaſed to appoint; and engaging his Faith thereto as the manner is, he departed; ſeven hundred other Priſoners followed his Example, and were releaſed on their Parole upon the ſame Terms. Many of the common Soldiers, who were like to be more burdenſom than beneficial, were diſmiſſed *gratis*. Of the Nobler ſort *Henry Piercy*, and almoſt 400 more, were detained and carried into *Scotland*; and ſhortly after, upon Payment of a Ranſom ſet upon their Heads, they were all ſet at Liberty; ſo that in that Age, as *Ennius* ſays, Men did not huckſter out a War, but fought it out, as contending mainly for Liberty and Glory. Three Days after, the Bodies of *Douglas* and the other great Commanders that fell, were carried to *Mulroſs*, and there magnificently interred. When the News of theſe Matters were brought to the other Army, which was waſting

Cumberland, it disturbed all their Mirth, so that the Joy conceived for their good Success, was turned into bitter Mourning. The Loss of *Douglas* did so affect all the Soldiers, that not only that Army which followed him, but this other also returned home in Silence and Sadness, as if they had not been Conquerors but Conquered. The publick Sorrow was also farther increased, that he died without Children, and in the Flower of his Age; and that almost he alone was deprived of the Fruit of the Victory which he had gotten. His Estate fell to *Archibald* Earl of *Galloway*, sirnamed the *Austere*, who also was a brave Cavalier in his Days. This is that memorable Fight of *Otterborn*, remarkable not only for the Magnanimity and Hardiness of the Commanders and Soldiers therein, and their Modesty in Victory; but also for the various and changeable Event of it: That the Conqueror in the highest Expectation of his Glory, was taken off by Death, and could not enjoy the Fruit of his own Labour; and the conquered General, though then discomfited and made a Prisoner, yet outlived this Battel many Years, in great Glory and Splendor. It was fought the 21st of *July*, in the Year of our Lord 1388.

By this Victory, Matters were more composed and quiet both at home and abroad; but in regard the King, by reason of his Age, was not fit to manage Business, and withal, understanding of the Reflection that was made upon him by reason of the late Expedition, which was undertaken without him; and his eldest Son *John* was of a slow Nature, and addicted more to Ease, than to difficult Enterprizes; he therefore indicted an Assembly of the Estates, and made *Robert*, Earl of *Fife*, Deputy of the Kingdom, by the name of *Governor*; yet they who managed that Office before him, were usually called *Custodes*, *i.e.* Keepers. When *Henry Piercy*, eminent for noble Pitch and Proweſs, was Prisoner in *Scotland*, the Earl of *Merch*, commonly called Earl *Mareschal*, a Man fiercer in his Words than Actions, was put in his Place: He undervaluing the *Scots* Valour in the Fight of *Otterborn*, and also severely blaming the Cowardise of the *English*, incurred thereby the Hatred of both Nations. And indeed, *Robert*, Vice-King of *Scotland*, was so offended at his boasting Insolence, that he thought it a just Cause to make an Expedition against him. Hereupon he entred the Enemy's Country, and with *Archibald Douglas*, then Earl of *Douglas*, marches directly towards the Enemy, who was reported to stay for him with a great Army; when he came near him, he gave him Opportunity to engage,

gage, which he declining, he ſent a Trumpeter to him, to deſire him to try it out in a plain Field; but the *Mareſchal* kept himſelf in his Faſtneſſes and Places inacceſſible; ſo that *Robert*, after he had ſhewed his Army ſome Hours to the Enemy, ſent them forth to pillage in the Neighbourhood; and he ranſacked thoſe Places eſpecially, which the *Mareſchal* was wont to have his Reſidence in; and afterwards he marched them back laden with Booty, without any Fight at all. This Expedition, though undertaken upon ſlight Grounds, yet was very pleaſing, both to the *Engliſh* and the *Scots*, who both rejoiced to ſee the proud Vanity of the Man to be thus humbled; but he, to excuſe the Matter, as often as mention was made of it, alledged, that he did it for the Love of his Countrymen, as being unwilling to expoſe them to needleſs Danger. At this very time a Truce was made, and Hopes of Peace between *France* and *England* by the Mediation of the Pope and the neighbouring Princes, on this Condition, that the Allies of both might be comprehended by Name, *viz.* The *Portugueze* of the *Engliſh* ſide; the *Scots* and *Spaniſh Caſtilians*, of the *French*. King *Robert*, againſt the Advice of his Counſel, gave his ſingle Aſſent thereto, but upon no ſolid Ground, for *he was able to make neither Peace nor War, but by the publick Advice of the Eſtates: neither could he promiſe any firm Truce, without their Decree in the Caſe.* Nor could the Nobility conceal any longer that hidden Grief and Diſguſt, which they had conceived againſt the *French*, who had only done them this Courteſy (the backward way) that when they were to do Service againſt an Enemy, they would ſtrike the Weapons out of their Hands; and ſo take away the Fruit of a former Victory, and alſo the Hopes of a *New*. At laſt, after much Diſpute and Quarrelling, the *French* Ambaſſador gained this Point, but with much ado, that the *Scots* ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors into *France* about the Matter, that ſo the hopes of a Peace ſo near at hand, might not be hindred by their Obſtinacy. *Robert* the King lived not long after, but departed this Life in his Caſtle called *Dundonald*, in the Year of *Chriſt* 1390, the 19th of *April*. He lived 74 Years, and reigned 19 Years and 24 Days. This King carried on his Wars by his Deputies, and uſually with good Succeſs; he was preſent in few Battels himſelf, which ſome impute to his Age, others to his Cowardiſe; but all ſay, that he was a very good Man, and in the Arts of Peace, comparable with the beſt of Kings. He adminiſtred Juſtice diligently and impartially to all; he ſeverely puniſhed Robberies. In his Actions he was conſtant;

ſtant; in his Words faithful. He came to the Government in troubleſome Times, yet he ſettled Things at home, appeaſed Diſcords, and governed with great Equity and Juſtice; and he obtained ſuch Conqueſts over his Enemy, that he reduced all the Caſtles they had but three.

AFTER his Death Tumults aroſe, where they were leaſt expected. *Alexander*, Earl of *Buchan*, the youngeſt of the King's Sons by *Elizabeth More*, fell into a mortal Feud with the Biſhop of *Murray* upon a light Occaſion; and when he could not come at him to kill him, he wreaked his Fury upon the Church of *Elgin*, (which was then one of the faireſt in all *Scotland*) and burnt it down to the Ground. The ſame Year *William Douglas*, Earl of *Nithiſdale*, (who, as I ſaid before, for his Valour was made the King's Son-in-Law) was ſlain at *Dantzick*, on the *Viſtula*, by ſome Ruffians, who were ſent to perpetrate the Murder, by *Clifford* of *England*. For *Douglas*, when Matters were quieted at home, that he might not lye lazy and idle, intended for the *Holy War*; and in *Pruſſia* gave ſuch Proof of his Valour, that he was made Admiral of the whole Fleet, which was very great and magnificent, and withal well accommodated. But a Quarrel ariſing between him and *Clifford*, grounded upon old Emulations, becauſe he grudged him that Honour, he ſent him a Challenge to fight with him hand to hand. But the Challenger perceiving into what an hazardous Adventure he had run himſelf by that Challenge, before the ſet time came, cauſed him to be murdered by Aſſaſſins, which he had hired for that purpoſe.

THE

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK X.

ROBERT III. *The hundred and first King.*

ROBERT the Second, was ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son *John*, on the 13th of *Auguſt*, and in the Year of our *Lord* 1390. He was called *John* till that time; but then, by the Decree of the *Eſtates*, his Name was changed to *Robert*; whether this Change of Names was occaſioned by the Misfortunes and Calamities of two Kings, called *Johns*, one of *France*, the other of *England*: Or, whether it was for the eminent Virtues and Felicity of two *Roberts*, both in Peace and War, who lately reigned in *Scotland*, Authors remain ſilent

ſilent in that Point, and therefore I ſhall not take upon me to determine.

THE Excellence of this *Robert* conſiſted in this, that he was rather unſpotted and unblemiſhed by Vice, than that he was ſignalized for any illuſtrious Virtues; ſo that the Name of King was veſted in him, but the Management of all publick Affairs reſted on *Robert* his Brother. In the beginning of his Reign, there was Peace abroad, by reaſon of the three Years Truce made with the *Engliſh*; which, a while after, was prolonged for four Years more. But a Sedition was begun at home by *Duncan*, or *Dunach*, *Stuart*. He was the Son of *Alexander* Earl of *Buchan*, the King's Brother; and was every jot as fierce as his Father; who, upon the Death of his Grandfather, imagining now that he had a fit Opportunity for Rapine and Pillage, gathered a Band of vapouring Rioters at his Heels, and deſcending into *Angus* ſpoiled all, as if it had been an Enemy's Country. *Walter Ogilby*, and *Walter Lichton* his Brother, endeavouring to oppoſe him, were kill'd together, with ſixty of their Followers. They, elated with this Succeſs, afflicted the Country more grievouſly than ever; but hearing of the Approach of the Earl of *Crawford*, whom the King had ſent to reſtrain their Inſolence, the nimbleſt of them fled ſpeedily, and hid their Heads in Holes and Corners; of thoſe who made not ſo much haſte, ſome were ſlain, ſome taken, and afterwards put to Death. Thus the Wickedneſs of theſe unquiet and turbulent ſet of Mortals, being hindred from ſpreading over the Champion Countries, they fell out amongſt themſelves at their own homes: And eſpecially two Families of them exerciſed great Cruelties upon one another. They refuſed to end their Feuds by courſe of Law; or to refer them to indifferent Arbitrators. So that the King ſent two Earls to ſuppreſs them, *Thomas* Earl of *Dunbar*, and *James Lindſay*, his Father being dead, now Earl of *Crawford*: Theſe Commanders, conſidering they were to engage a fierce and reſolute People, who valued not their Lives, nor the Pleaſure of Life; ſo that they were not likely to ſubdue them by Force, without great Slaughter of their own Men; they therefore reſolved to try what they could do by Policy. And accordingly they diſcourſed the *Clans* of both Families apart, and repreſented to them, what Danger would accrue to both by their mutual Slaughters of one another; and if one Family ſhould extirpate the other; yet that was not likely to be effected, without great Damage, even of the conquering Side; and if either Party ſhould prevail, yet the Conteſt would not end ſo; for then they

they were to engage the King's Forces, (tho' they were weakned before by their mutual Conflicts) of whoſe Anger againſt them both, they might be juſtly ſenſible, becauſe he had ſent them with Forces to deſtroy them both, even before they had ſeverely and irrecoverably engaged againſt one another. But in regard they were more deſirous of their Preſervation than their Ruin, if they would hearken to them, they would ſhew them a Way, how they might be reconciled, with the King's good liking, and that on no diſhonourable Terms neither; no, nor unrevenged one upon another. To this Motion they ſeemed inclinable, ſo that the Condition was propoſed; that 300 of each Side ſhould try it out in Fight before the King, armed only with their Swords. They that were Conquered, ſhould have an Amnesty for all paſt Offences, and the Conquerors ſhould be honoured with the King's Favour, and the Nobles too. Both Sides were well pleaſed with the Terms; ſo that a Day was fixed for the Combat, and at the time appointed the Heads of the Families, with their Parties, came to Court, and part of a Field on the North Side of the Town of *Perth*, which was ſevered from the reſt by a deep Trench, was appointed for the place of Combat; and Galleries built round for Spectators. Hereupon an huge Multitude was aſſembled together, and ſate ready to ſee the Diſpute; but the Fight was delayed a while, becauſe one of the 300 of the one Party, had hid himſelf for Fear, and their Fellows were not willing to engage without having juſt an equal number with their Adverſaries; neither was any one found to ſupply the Place of him who was abſent; and of the other Party, not a Man would be drawn out, or exempted from the Fight, leſt he might ſeem leſs valued, and not ſo couragious as the reſt. After a little Pauſe, an ordinary Tradeſman comes forth, and offers to ſupply the Place of him that was abſent, provided, that if his Side conquered, they would pay him half a *Gold Dollar* of *France*; and alſo provide for him afterward as long as he lived. Thus the Number being again equalled, the Fight began, and it was carried on with ſuch great Contention, both of Body and Mind, as old Grudges, inflamed by new Loſſes, could raiſe up in Men of ſuch fierce Diſpoſitions, as were accuſtomed to Blood and Cruelty; eſpecially, ſeeing Honour and Eſtate was propounded to the Conqueror; Death and Ignominy to the Conquered: The Spectators were poſſeſſed with as much Horror, as the Combatants were with Fury, as deteſting to behold the ugly and deformed Mutilations and Butcheries of one another's Bodies; the Detruncation of their

their Limbs; and, in a Word, the Rage of wild Beaſts under the Shapes of Men. But all took notice, that none carried himſelf more valiantly than that mercenary and ſuppoſititious Hireling, to whoſe Valour a great Part of the Victory was to be aſcribed: Of that ſide that he was of there were ten left alive, beſides himſelf, but all of them deadly wounded: Of the contrary Faction, there remained only one, who was not wounded at all; but as there was ſo much odds, that he would be forced ſingly to encounter with ſo many, he threw himſelf into the River *Tay*, which was near at hand; and his Adverſaries not being able to follow him, by reaſon of their Wounds, he eſcaped to the other ſide. By this means, the forwardeſt of both Parties being ſlain, the promiſcuous Multitude, being left without Leaders, gave over their Trade of Sedition for many Years after, and betook themſelves to their Husbandry again. This Fight or Combat happened in the Year 1396.

ABOUT two Years after, in an Aſſembly of the States at *Perth*, the King made *David* his Son, being eighteen Years old and *Robert* his Brother, Earl of *Menteith* and *Fife*, Dukes of *Albany*. This vain Title of Honour then was firſt celebrated in *Scotland*, a great Increaſe to Ambition, but none at all to Virtue; neither did it afterwards thrive with any who enjoyed it. The King would have beſtowed the ſame Title of Honour upon the Earl of *Douglas* alſo; but he being a grave and ſolid Perſon, abſolutely refuſed that nominal Shadow of empty Honour; and if any Man told him that he ſhould be a Duke, he rebuked him ſharply for it: Some ſay, that the Name of Governor, which was given by his Father to *Robert* the King's Brother, was this Year confirmed by the King; as alſo that the Family of the *Lindſays* had the Earldom of *Crawford* added to their former Honours: But they do not fully clear, whether the Name of the firſt Earl of that Family were, *Thomas* or *David*.

THE next Year after, *Richard* II. King of *England*, was forced to reſign the Crown; and *Henry* IV. ſucceeded him. In the Beginning of his Reign, before Truce was quite ended, new Seeds of War with the *Scots* were ſown. *George Dunbar*, Earl of *Merch*, had betrothed his Daughter *Elizabeth* to *David*, the King's Son, and had already paid a good part of her Dowry. *Archibald*, Earl of *Douglas*, ſtorming, that ſo powerful a Man, and his Corrival, ſhould be preferr'd before him, alledging, that the Conſent of the Eſtates was not obtained in the Caſe, (which no Man ever remembred, but was asked in any of the King's Marriages before offered

offered his Daughter *Mary*, with a larger Dowry; and by means of *Robert* the King's Brother, who could do all at Court, he brought it about, that the Condition was accepted, and the Marriage was conſummated by the Decree of the Eſtates. *George* was much affected at this Injury, as well as Reproach, and made great Complaint to the King; but ſeeing what was once done, could not be undone, he deſired, at leaſt, the Repayment of the Dowry. This his juſt Demand being denied, and perceiving, that he was not like to obtain any Right, for that the Minds and Ears of all the Court were prepoſſeſſed by his Rival, he departed upon very angry, nay, threatning Terms; and ſo giving up the Caſtle of *Dunbar* to *Robert Maitland*, his Siſter's Son, he went for *England*. *Robert* preſently yielded up the Caſtle to an Herald, ſent by the King to demand it, and *Douglas* was admitted into it with a Garriſon, ſo that when *George* returned home, he was denied Entrance. Upon that, he took his Wife, Children, and ſome intimate Friends, and returned into *England*. Being there, as he was a Man powerful at home, and famous abroad, he joined Counſels with *Piercy*, a mortal Enemy to the Name of the *Douglaſſes*; and, in regard, he was well beloved by the bordering *Scots*, of which many were either his Tenants, Allies, or otherwiſe obliged to him, he made an Inrode into the whole Province of *Merch*, and drove great Preys from the Country, eſpecially from the Lands of the *Douglaſſes*. The King of *Scots* firſt proclaimed *George* a publick Enemy, and confiſcated all his Eſtate; next he ſent an Herald to *England*, to demand that he might be given up as a Fugitive, according to the League made betwixt them, and alſo to complain of the Violation of the Truce. *Henry* of *England* gave a peremptory Anſwer to his Demands, that he had given the publick Faith to *George* for his Protection, and that he would not break his Royal Word; as if a private Pact with a Renegado was more religiouſly to be obſerved, than that which had been publickly confirmed by Embaſſadors and Heralds; for the Days of the Truce made with *Richard* were not yet expired. In the mean time, *Henry Piercy* the younger, call'd *Hot-Spur*, and *George Dunbar*, ceaſed not to infeſt the neighbouring Lands of the *Scots* with their Incurſions. Which when they had often and ſucceſsfully done, their Boldneſs encreaſed with their Succeſs; ſo that gathering two thouſand Men together, they entred *Lothian*, and made great Havock about *Haddington*. They beſieged *Hales-Caſtle*, but in vain. When they came to *Linton*, (a Village ſituate on the *Tyne*, a River of *Lothian*) they were ſo diſturbed at the ſudden coming of *Douglas* againſt

them, that they left their Booty, and all their Baggage behind them; and ran away in such Fear, that they never stopp'd till they came to *Berwick*. This was done about the beginning of *February*, in the Year 1400.

THE same Year, upon the Return of the Herald, War was denounced against *England*; and then also *Archibald Douglas*, sirnamed the *Austere*, a Man inferior to none of his Ancestors in all kind of Praise, fell sick and dy'd, in a very bad time for his Country, which had lately lost by divers Misfortunes, so many brave Generals before. His Son, of the same Name, succeeded him. On the 13th of *August*, the *English* King, with great Forces, entred *Scotland*. When he came to *Haddington*, he stay'd there three Days, and then marched to *Leith*; and staying there as many Days, he laid Siege to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. The Governor led an Army against them, but very slowly; so that it easily appeared, that he did not much care if the Castle of *Edinburgh* were taken by the *English*; and in it *David*, the King's Son. For, by this time, his wicked Ambition began to shew it self: For he undervalued his Brother, as an effeminate Person, and sought the Destruction of his Children as much as he could, that he might enjoy the Kingdom himself: So that their Loss he counted his Gain. But the King of *England*, and his Army, on the contrary, acted the Enemy with a great deal of Moderation, as if, by an Ostentation of War, they had only sought for Peace; for having made some slight Onset on the Caste, he raised the Siege, and returned home, without doing any considerable Damage to the Places thro' which he marched; insomuch, that in his Marches both backward and forward, he got the Praise and Commendation of being a mild, clement, and moderate Enemy; he was courteous to those that surrendred themselves; he offered no Violence to consecrated Places; and he even rewarded those bountifully, who had formerly entertained his Father. All these Practices ingratiated him more, and render'd the Governor more odious; in regard, he did not prosecute the War with any Eagerness, as against an Enemy, nor yet endeavour to make so easy and beneficent a King his Friend. After *Henry* was returned for *England*, *George Dunbar* continu'd still to invade the Borders, but the Inrodes he made were more frequent than they were considerable. To suppress him, there was more Need of a diligent, than numerous Force, and therefore *Douglas* divided the Forces of each County into small Bands, and appointed Commanders over them; who, by turns, were to stop the Enemy, or if they saw Cause, to fight him. The first Lot fell upon *Thomas*

mas Halyburton of *Birlington*, who took a great Booty from the Enemy out of the Lands near *Bamburgh*. But *Patrick Hepburne*, who wandred farther abroad with a greater Band of Men, had not the like Succeſs; for truſting too much to the Numbers of his Men, and not being very wary in his Retreat with his Prey, he was cut off by the *Engliſh*, and with him all the Flower of the *Lothian* Soldiery. *Archibald Douglas*, to revenge the Slaughter of his Friend, by the Conſent of the Governor gathered above ten thouſand Men together; abundance of the Nobles accompanied him in his March, and amongſt them, *Murdo*, the Governor's Son; when they came to *Northumberland*, at *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*, they paſſed the River, and put the Country to Fire and Sword; but there encountring with *Henry Piercy* the younger, and *George Dunbar* in a pitch'd Battel, they were overcome, many of the Nobles were ſlain, *Douglas* was taken Priſoner, having loſt one of his Eyes; ſo were alſo *Murdo*, Earl of *Fife*, *Thomas*, Earl of *Murray*, and *George*, Earl of *Angus*, with many other noble and illuſtrious Perſons. And indeed the Strength of *Scotland* was not ſo much weakned in any one Fight for many Years before, as it was in this. It was fought at *Homeldon*, a Town in *Northumberland*, on the 7th Day of *May*, and Year of *Chriſt* 1401.

PIERCY, having obtained ſo ſignal a Victory, reſolved to ſubject all the Country, which lay betwixt *Northumberland* and the *Forth*, to the *Engliſh* Scepter; and he thought it would be a Work of no great Difficulty to compaſs, in regard moſt of the Nobility of thoſe Countries were either ſlain in the Fight, or elſe his Priſoners. Purſuant to this Reſolution, beginning with *Cocklaw*, a Caſtle in *Teviotdale*, the Governor agreed, *That unleſs the Caſtle was relieved by the* Scots *in forty Days, he would ſurrender it up.* When theſe Conditions were brought to the King, and then to the Governor, ſome were of Opinion, that the Caſtle ſhould be ſurrendred, in regard it was not of that Conſequence, as for the ſake of it, to hazard the Strength of the Kingdom, a ſecond time, which had been ſo dreadfully ſhaken and weakned in the late Fight. This Dejection of Spirit proceeded not ſo much from any Fear of the Enemy, as from the Perfidiouſneſs of the Governor, whoſe Mouth water'd after the Kingdom. He, on the other ſide, to avert all Suſpicion from himſelf, in high and confident Words affirmed, that this Cow-heartedneſs and Confeſſion of publick Fear, would more encourage the Enemy, than the Loſs of a Battel. And if any one thought, that the *Engliſh* would be contented with the taking of one Caſtle, they were very much

much miſtaken; for as Fire is more encreaſed by a light Aſperſion of Water, ſo the Deſire of the *Engliſh*, upon Surrender of *ſome* Places, would not be extinguiſhed, but rather inflamed to the taking of *more*; ſo that what was given up at firſt, would be but a Step to a farther Progreſs: But *(ſays he)* if all of you refuſe to march out, for the Relief of the Caſtle, I my ſelf will go alone; for as long as I live, and am in Health, I will never ſuffer ſuch a Mark of Diſgrace to be branded on the *Scotiſh* Name. Upon this gallant Speech of the Governor's, the reſt, either extinguiſhing or diſſembling their Suſpicion, cry'd out, "*That they would follow him.*" But Fortune decided the Controverſy, and blew off that Danger: For *Piercy* was called back to the Civil War in *England*, and ſo the Siege was raiſed without Blows.

WHILST theſe things were acted abroad againſt the Enemy, Matters ſtood leſs proſperouſly at home: For ſhortly after the Death of *Archibald Douglas*, the Year before, there immediately followed the Deceaſe of the Queen *Annabella*, and of *Walter Trayle*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, inſomuch, that all Mens Minds did preſage a great Change of Affairs. For the Splendor of military Matters was upheld by *Douglas*; the Eccleſiaſtical Authority and Reſemblance (ſuch as it was) of ancient Diſcipline, by *Trayle*; and the Dignity of the Court, by the *Queen*, as did ſoon appear by what happened after her Death. For *David*, the King's Son, was a young Man of a fierce Diſpoſition, and enclined to Wantonneſs and Luſt. The Indulgence of his Father encreaſed thoſe Vices; for tho' he had not Authority enough to maintain the Reverence due from him to his Father, yet by the diligent Admonition of thoſe, who were appointed to be his Tutors in his Youth, but much more by the Counſel and Advice of his Mother, his youthful Heats of Temper were ſomewhat allay'd and reſtrained; but when ſhe was dead, he, as now freed from this Curb, returned to his own Manners and luſtful Courſes; for laying aſide all Shame and Fear, he took away other Mens Wives by Force, nay, and Virgins too, tho' well deſcended; and thoſe that he could not perſuade by fair Means, he raviſhed by Compulſion; and if any one endeavoured to abridge him in his debauched Courſes, he was ſure never to come off without Puniſhment. Many Complaints were brought to his Father about theſe his Exorbitancies; ſo that he wrote to his Brother, the Governor, to keep him with him, and to have a ſtrict Eye over his Converſation, till that Spirit of Lewdneſs ſhould abate: And till he gave ſome Hopes of his Amendment of Life. The Governor had now an Oppor-

tunity

tunity put into his Hands, to effect what he moſt deſired, and that was, to deſtroy his Brother's Iſſue; ſo that he met *David* three Miles from St. *Andrews*, and carried him into the Caſtle there, which he kept in the Nature of a Garriſon, after the Archbiſhop's Death: After a while, he took him out from thence, and carried him to his own Caſtle of *Falcoland*; and there ſhut him up cloſe Priſoner, intending to ſtarve him. But that miſerable Death, which his Uncle's Cruelty had deſigned him to, was prorogued and ſtaved off for a few Days, by the Compaſſion of two of the Female Sex: one was a Maid and Virgin, whoſe Father was Governor of the Caſtle and Garriſon. She gave him Oat-Cakes made ſo thin, that they would be folded up together, (as 'tis uſual in *Scotland*, ſo to make them) and as often as ſhe went into the Garden near the *Priſon*, ſhe put them under a Linen Vail or Hood, which ſhe did, as it were, careleſly caſt over her Head, to keep her from the Sun, and thruſt them into the Priſon to him thro' a ſmall Crany, rather than a Window. The other was a Country Nurſe, who milked her Breaſt, and, by a little Canale, conveigh'd it into his Mouth. By this mean Fare, which ſerved rather to encreaſe, than kill, his Hunger, his wretched Life and Puniſhment was protracted and lengthned out for a little while; till at length, by the Vigilance of the Guards, they were diſcovered and put to Death: The Father mightily abhorring the Perfidiouſneſs of his own Daughter, whilſt he endeavoured to manifeſt his Fidelity to an unfaithful Regent. The young Man being thus left deſtitute of all human Support, having, by Force of Hunger, gnaw'd and torn his own Fleſh, dy'd at length more than a ſingle kind of Death. His End was conceal'd from his Father, though it was commonly known abroad, becauſe no Man durſt be the Meſſenger of ſuch ſad Tidings to him.

BUT to return to the Affairs of *England*, as far as they lie intermingled with our own. When *Piercy*, and a great Number beſides of the Nobility, had conſpired to make War upon their own King, he agrees with *Douglas*, whom he ſtill held Priſoner ſince the Battel of *Homeldon*, that if he would improve his Intereſt, by aſſiſting him againſt the King, as ſtrenuouſly and as faithfully as he had before done againſt him, he would ſet him at Liberty without Ranſom; which *Douglas* frankly promiſed him to do, as being willing to omit no Opportunity of Service againſt the *Engliſh* King. Hereupon, he gathered ſome of his Friends and Tenants about him, and prepared himſelf for the Fight, wherein he behaved himſelf as ſtoutly, as he promiſed to *Piercy*; ſo that, without

regard to the common Soldiers, his Mind and Eye was wholly intent upon the King only; and, in regard there were ſeveral Commanders cloathed in Royal Attire, which was done on Purpoſe by the *Engliſh*, either to deceive the Enemy, if they ſhould preſs hard upon him; or elſe that the Soldiers, in more Places than one, might find him a preſent Witneſs of their Courage or Cowardiſe: *Douglas* took Notice of one of theſe, who had fine Armour, and ruſhed in upon him with all his Might, and ſo unhorſed him. But he being relieved by thoſe who were next, he did the ſame to a ſecond, and to a third, who were all attired as Kings, (and this *Edward Hall*, the *Engliſh* Writer, affirms, as well as ours) ſo that he was not taken up ſo much with the Apprehenſion of his own Danger, as by being ſtruck into a ſudden Aſtoniſhment, from whence ſo many Kings ſhould ſtart up at once. At length, after a terrible and bloody Fight, Fortune turned about, and the King won the Day; *Douglas* was ſadly wounded, and found amongſt the Priſoners; and whereas many urged to put him to Death, the King ſaved him, and did not only commend his Fidelity to his Friend, but alſo rewarded him for his Valour; and when his Wounds were cured, after he had ſtaid ſome Months with him, upon the Payment of a great Sum of Money he was releaſed.

IN the mean time, the *Scotiſh* King heard of the Death of *David* his eldeſt Son, by the unnatural Cruelty of his Uncle. The Author was ſufficiently pointed at by private Whiſperings, tho' no Man dared publickly to accuſe ſo potent a Man. Whereupon, the King ſends for his Brother, and makes an Expoſtulation with him concerning the Matter: He had prepared his Tale beforehand, and charges others with the Guilt of the young Man's Death; as for him and his they were ready, forſooth, whenever the King pleaſed, to plead and aſſert their Innocency, in a due Courſe of Law; as for the Murderers, ſome of them he had taken already, and the others he would make diligent Search after. Thus the Matter being brought to Examination in the Law, the Author of the Wickedneſs ſummons a Council, ſets up an Accuſer, and he who was impleaded as guilty, was by them acquitted as innocent of the Murder. The King imprecated a moſt dreadful Puniſhment from the God of Heaven above, to be poured down on him and his Poſterity, who had committed that horrid Wickedneſs: And thus being overpreſſed with Grief and bodily Weakneſs, he returned to *Bote* whence he came. The Suſpicion was encreaſed in him, that his Brother had committed the Parricide, tho' he was too powerful to be brought by him to Juſtice and Puniſhment.

ment for the ſame. But he, like a ſtrong Diſſembler, brings the ſuppoſititious Authors of the Wickedneſs out of Priſon, and put them to cruel Deaths; 'tis true, they were lewd Perſons, yet Innocent of that particular Fact for which they ſuffered.

IN the interim, the King adviſed with his Friends, how he might preſerve *James* his youngeſt Son, for whoſe Safety he was very ſolicitous, and whom he had left in the Cuſtody of *Walter Wardiloe*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, an honeſt Man and faithful to him: They gave their Opinion in the caſe, that he could not be ſafe in any Part of *Scotland*, and that therefore it was beſt to ſend him over to *Charles* IV. King of *France*, the old Ally, and only Friend of the *Scotiſh* Nation; for he could be educated no where more ſafely and honourably than there: The freſh Example of *David Bruce* ſtuck yet in their Minds, who, in dubious and troubleſome Times at home, had there, for ſome Years, an honourable Retreat and Entertainment. Hereupon a Veſſel was prepared, and he put on board at the *Baſs*, a Rock rather than an Iſland. *Henry Sinclare*, Earl of the *Orcades*, was ſent with him as his Guide or Rector; whilſt they were compaſſing the Shore, he landed at the Promontory of *Flamburgh*, either driven in by Tempeſt, or elſe to refreſh himſelf on Shore, after having been very Sea-ſick: There he was detained by the *Engliſh*, till they ſent to their King, who commanded that he ſhould be brought up to Court: So that neither the Law of the Truce, which was made a little before, for eight Years, nor the ſupplicating Letters of his Father prevail'd, but he was kept as a lawful Priſoner. For his Father, at his Departure, had ſent Letters by him to the King of *England*, (if poſſibly he ſhould be neceſſitated to land there) wherein he made complaining, and lamentable Diſcourſes, both of his own, and alſo of the common Fortune of all Mankind. But tho' the King of *England* were not ignorant of the Inconſtancy of human Affairs, yet the old Grudge againſt the Nation of the *Scots* more prevailed with him, than either the Reſpect of the Youth's innocent Age, or the Tears of his grieved Father, or the Dignity of the kingly Name, or the Faith of the Pacification and Truce. For having referred the Matter to his Council, how he ſhould treat the Son of the King of *Scots*, being arrived in his Dominons, thoſe, who had any Regard to Equity, and were weary of the preſent War, inclined to the milder Opinion, *viz.* that the Royal Youth, who fled from the Cruelty of his own Countrymen, and was now their Suppliant, ſhould be hoſpitably and friendly entertained, that ſo a fierce Na-

tion, and unconquer'd by the War of ſo many Ages, might be won and wrought over to a Reconciliation by Courteſy. For this, they thought, *The moſt ſolid and firm Victory, not when Liberty is taken away by Force, but when Minds are united by the indiſſoluble Bond of Amity.* Others were of a contrary Opinion, that he might be lawfully detained as a Priſoner, either becauſe many of the *Scots* Nobility had perſonally aſſiſted *Piercy* in the Inſurrection, which he made againſt the King, or becauſe his Father had entertained and relieved *Piercy* the elder, when he was baniſh'd and condemn'd as a Traytor in *England*.

THIS Opinion (as commonly the worſt things do) prevailed, tho' they that were preſent at the Conſultation knew well enough, that thoſe *Scots* who fought againſt the *Engliſh* King in *Piercy*'s Inſurrection, were not ſent by any publick Commiſſion from the King, but came out of their private Affection to *Douglas*, who was then alſo in *Piercy*'s Power. They might alſo have remembred, what *Henry* himſelf had anſwered to the *Scots*, a few Years before, when they demanded *George Dunbar* to be given up; yet notwithſtanding, they ſtuck to this laſt Opinion, as *commonly in the Courts of Princes, a falſe Pretence of Advantage weighs down honeſt and righteous Counſels:* Yet in one thing *Henry* dealt nobly and royally with his Captive, that he cauſed him to be educated in Learning, and good Diſcipline: This Calamity of the Son was brought to his Father's Ears, whilſt he was at Supper, and did ſo overwhelm him with Grief, that he was almoſt ready to give up the Ghoſt in the Hands of his Servants, that attended him; but being carried to his Bedchamber, he abſtained from all Food, and in three Days dy'd of Hunger and Grief at *Rotheſay*, which is a Town in the Iſland *Bote*, in the ſixteenth Year of his Reign, on the 1st of *April*, and Year of *Chriſt* 1406. He was buried at the Abby of *Paſly*. This *Robert*, for Tallneſs of Stature, and for the Beauty and Compoſition of his whole Body, was inferior to none of his Contemporaries. His Life was very harmleſs, and there was no virtuous Accompliſhment, fit for a private Man, wanting in him, ſo that it may be truly ſaid of him, that he was a better Man than a King.

AFTER the King's Death, the Government of the Kingdom was ſetled upon *Robert* his Brother, by the Decree of all the Eſtates; who had many things in him worthy of that Office and Dignity, if, out of a blind Ambition to rule, he had not uſed unjuſt Courſes to haſten to the Throne. He was valiant in War, prudent in Counſel, juſt in Judgment, liberal to the Nobles, and tender in levying Taxes on the Commons. The ſame Year, *Piercy* the elder again entred into

into a Conſpiracy againſt the King, to revenge upon him the Deaths of his Brother and two Sons, who had been ſlain; but his Deſign was diſcovered, many of his Accomplices taken and put to Death, and he himſelf for fear fled into *Scotland*, that from thence he might go over into *Flanders* and *France* to procure Auxiliaries, and renew the War. In the mean time, *Henry* the King of *England*'s Son, made great Incurſions into *Scotland*, both by Land and Sea: when he was returned home with a great Booty, the Caſtle of *Jedburgh* which the Enemy had kept from the Fight in *Durham* to that Day, was taken by the Commons of *Teviotdale*, pillaged, and then, by the Governor's Order, wholly demoliſhed. And *George* Earl of *Merch*, who had done much Damage to his Countrymen, in behalf of the *Engliſh*, being not able to procure from them Aid to recover his own, nor an honeſt Maintenance amongſt them neither, pacified the Governor by his Friends, and ſo returned home; yet he loſt part of his Patrimony, *viz.* his Caſtles in the *Loch-Maban* and *Annandale*, which were given to *Douglas*, for the Loſſes he had ſuſtained: And thus all Offences were forgiven on both Sides, and he paſſed the reſt of his Life, in great Concord with his Neighbours, and faithful Subjection to his King.

THE next Year *Piercy*, after he had made a vain and fruitleſs Tour over *France* and *Flanders*, returned into *Scotland* to his old Friend the Earl of *Merch*; by whom he was courteouſly entertained and accommodated according to his Eſtate: There he tranſacted by private Meſſengers, about returning into his own Country, and amongſt the reſt, he wrote to *Ralph Rokesby*, his ancient and faithful Friend, as he thought, that he did not want Force, both of *Scots* and *Engliſh*, who were ready to aſſiſt him to recover his ancient Patrimony; provided, that he would join in his Aſſiſtance with them. This *Ralph* was at that time Sheriff of *Yorkſhire*, ſo they there call the Officer which preſides in chief over juridical Aſſemblies. He enticed *Piercy* to him upon pretence of giving him Aid, and then diſcovered the Conſpiracy to the King. Thus his Friend was betrayed by him, his Head cut off, and ſent to the King at *London*.

THERE was alſo at that time a certain *Engliſhman* in *Scotland*, who called himſelf *Richard* the Second, but I judge falſly. For when *Piercy* the elder did often and earneſtly deſire to ſpeak with him, he would not by any Perſuaſion be induced thereunto, fearing, as may be gueſſed, leſt

his Impoſture might be detected by a Man, who ſo well knew his King. Yet he was for ſome Years treated as one of the Blood-Royal: And that he might live more ſecurely, he feigned himſelf moſt averſe from any Deſire of enjoying the Kingdom. But at laſt he was buried in the Church of the *Franciſcan Fryars* at *Sterling*; the Title of the King of *England* being inſerted in his Epitaph. Not long after, *Faſtcaſtle*, a very ſtrong Caſtle (as the Name intimates) in *Merch*, was taken from the *Engliſh* by *Patrick Dunbar*, Son to *George*, and therein *Thomas Holden* Governor thereof, who had infeſted all the neighbouring Places of *Lothian*, with continual Robberies. And moreover in *Teviotdale*, *William Douglas* and *Gawin Dunbar*, youngeſt Son to the Earl of *Merch*, had broken down the Bridge of *Roxburgh* and burnt the Town; but they attempted not the Caſtle becauſe they were deſtitute and unprovided of all things neceſſary for a Siege: But the next Year after, which was 1411. *Donald* the *Iſlander*, Lord of the *Æbudæ*, claiming *Roſs* as the next Heir (for ſo indeed he was) as unjuſtly taken away from him by the Governor, when he could get no Right, he levied 1000 *Iſlanders*, and made a Deſcent on the Continent, and ſo eaſily ſeized on *Roſs*, the whole Country being willing to return to the Subjection of their own juſt Maſter: But this Facility of the *Roſſians* in ſubmitting to him, gave him (whoſe Mind was greedy of Prey) Encouragement to attempt greater Matters. For he paſſed over into *Murray*, and there being no Force to defend it, he reduced it to his Obedience, and then paſſed farther in his Depredations into *Strath-Bogy*, and threatened *Aberdeen*: Againſt this ſuddain and unexpected Enemy the Governor gathered Forces, but in regard the Greatneſs and the near Approach of the Danger did not admit the Expectancy of ſlow-paced Aid, *Alexander* Earl of *Mar*, the Son of *Alexander* the Governor's Brother, and almoſt all the Nobility beyond the *Tay*, at a Village called *Harlaw*, ſet themſelves and their Men in Battel-array againſt him. The Fight was cruel and bloody; for the Valour of many Nobles did then contend for Eſtate and Glory againſt the Savage Cruelty of the oppoſite Party; at laſt the Night parted them, and it may be rather ſaid, that they were both weary with fighting, than that either Party had the better; ſo that the event of the Fight was ſo uncertain, that when both Sides had reckoned up how many they had loſt, each counted himſelf the Conqueror. In this Fight there fell ſo many eminent and noble Perſonages, as ſcarce ever periſhed in one

Battel

Battel againſt a foreign Enemy for many Years before: And therefore the Village which was obſcure before, grew famous from it, even to Poſterity.

THIS Year alſo publick Schools began firſt to be opened at St. *Andrews*, which was effected, rather by the Conſent of learned Men, who made an Overture at the Profeſſion of Science, than occaſion'd by any private or publick Aſſiſtance. The next ten Years there was hardly any memorable thing acted betwixt the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, either becauſe there was a Truce made, which yet Authors are ſilent in; or becauſe *Henry* the Fourth dying on the 21st Day of *March*, and his Son *Henry* the Fifth preſently ſucceeding him, being all the reſt of his Life intent on the Affairs of *France*, the *Engliſh* abſtained from offering any Injury to the *Scots*. And beſides the Governor of *Scotland* did not dare to ſtir on his Side, for fear leſt the *Engliſh* ſhould bring back upon them the true Heir of the Crown, whom he knew many of the *Scots* would cloſe with, out of Neceſſity to his Misfortunes. Therefore what Inroads were made at that time, were rather like Robberies than Wars. For both *Penrith* in *England* was burnt by *Archibald Douglas*, and *Dunfrize* in *Scotland* by the *Engliſh*: And likewiſe there was an Exchange of Priſoners made, *Murdo* the Governor's Son taken at *Homildon* Fight, was exchanged for *Piercy*, who when his Grandfather's Party was ſubdued in *England*, was brought into *Scotland* and left with the Governor; but upon the new King's coming to the Crown, he was reſtored to the Dignity of his Anceſtors. He, though he was not properly a Priſoner by the Law of Arms; yet the unjuſt Detention of *James*, Son to the King of *Scots*, ſtopt the Mouths of the *Engliſh*, that they could not juſtly complain of any Injury in the Caſe: As for *Piercy* himſelf, he was ſo far from reſenting it, that as long as he lived, he acknowledged the Civility and great Friendſhip of the *Scots* to him, in all kind of mutual Service.

MOREOVER the ſame Year another Embaſſy came from the Council of *Conſtance*, the Head whereof was the Abbat of *Pontiniack*; and another from *Peter Lune* who had ſeized on the Papacy, and as obſtinately kept it. He by *Henry Harding* an *Engliſh Franciſcan*, had wrought over the Governor to his Party, but in vain, for the whole Body of the Prieſthood was againſt him; for they having aſſented to the Council of *Conſtance*, had ſubſcribed to the Election of *Martin* the Fifth. In the mean time the King of *France*, by means of a violent Diſeaſe, fell beſides himſelf, and his Diſtemper was encreaſed by the Monks, who pretended to

cure him. By this means *France* was divided into two Factions. The Head of the one was the Duke of *Burgundy*, who having ſlain the King's Brother, drew him to the *Engliſh* Party. The Head of the other was the King's Son, who being diſinherited by his diſtracted Father, was called by his Enemies in a Jeer the King of *Berry*, becauſe he uſually kept himſelf at *Burges* in *Berry*, a Town of the *Bernois*. He being forſaken by a great Part of his own Countrymen, and deſtitute alſo of foreign Aid, in the Year 1419 ſent the Earl of *Vendoſme* his Ambaſſador to the *Scots*, to demand Aid of them, according to the League made betwixt the two Nations: The Aſſembly of the Eſtates ordered him ſeven thouſand Men, and indeed at that time, in regard the Soldiers were increaſed by reaſon of the long Peace with *England*; it was no hard matter to make up ſuch a number of Men, being only Voluntiers. *John* Earl of *Buchan*, the Governor's Son, was made General of the Forces, and many eminent Perſons followed him; but *Archibald* Earl of *Wigton*, the Son of *Archibald* the ſecond Earl of *Douglas*, was far more eminent than all the reſt: When they came into *France*, they were ſent by the Dauphin, (ſo they call the eldeſt Son of the King of *France*) into *Turein*, a Country very plentiful in all ſorts of Proviſion, and near to the Enemy: For the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to the King of *England*, was then in *France*, inſtead of the King himſelf, and made great Havock of the Country of *Anjou*, whoſe Inhabitants remained in their Obedience to the *French* King. And it was thought, he would have come as far as the Town of *Beujeu*. This was done two Days before *Eaſter*; whereupon the *Scots* thinking, that the General would ceaſe from any Military Action thoſe few Days of that Feaſt, (as the Cuſtom is) and apply himſelf to Eccleſiaſtical Duties; or (as others ſay) preſuming upon an eight Days Truce which was made, carried themſelves more ſecurely, than otherwiſe they were wont to do. The Duke of *Clarence* was informed of this, either by *Andrew Fregoſe* an *Italian*; or elſe by ſome *Scots* Foragers, whom his Horſe had taken Priſoners; and having got a fair Opportunity for Action (as he thought) he roſe up preſently from Dinner, and with his Horſe only marched toward the Enemy; he himſelf, beſides his other gallant Furniture and Armour, wore on his Head a Royal Diadem ſet with many Jewels. Some few *French* who were quartered neareſt the Enemy, in a Village called *Little Beaujou*, being terrified with his ſudden Approach, fled into the Tower of a Church adjoyning; whilſt he was aſſaulting of theſe,

the

the Alarm was given to the reſt of the Army, and preſently in great Diſmay they all cryed out, *To your Arms.* The Earl of *Buchan*, whilſt the reſt were fitting themſelves, ſent out 30 Archers to take Poſſeſſion of a Bridge, which was the only Paſſage over a neighbouring River. There a Skirmiſh begun, and *Hugh Kennedy*, who quartered in a Church hard by, came in to them, with one hundred Men, who in ſo ſudden a Fright were but half-armed. This Party with their Arrows hindred the Horſe from paſſing over; whereupon *Clarence*, with the forwardeſt of his Men, leapt from his Horſe, and maintained the Combat on Foot; ſo that in a luſty Charge they repelled the *Scots*, who were ſome unarmed, and ſome but half-armed from the Bridge, and this opened the Paſſage for his Men. In the mean time, whilſt *Clarence* was mounting his Horſe, and his Men were paſſing the narrow Bridge a few at a time, the Earl of *Buchan* was at hand with 200 Horſe; who being very earneſt to ſhew themſelves on both Sides, a ſharp Fight began with equal Courage and Hatred: For the *Scots* were glad, that they had got an Opportunity to give the firſt Proof of their Valour, and ſo to refute the Reproaches of the *French*, who were wont to upbraid them, as *Men given more to eating and drinking than to fighting.* The like Reproach the *French* are wont to caſt upon the *Britains*; the *Spaniards* on the *French*; and the *Africans* on the *Spaniards*: On the other Side, the *Engliſh* took it in great Diſdain, that they ſhould be attack'd by ſuch an implacable Enemy, not only at home, but even beyond the Seas; and ſo they fought ſtoutly, but none more fiercely than *Clarence* himſelf; he was known by his Armour, *John Swinton* ran at him, and with his Lance grievouſly wounded him in the Face; and the Count of *Buchan* alſo ſmote him with a *Truncheon*, and ſtruck him from his Horſe; when he was fallen, the *Engliſh* ran away, and were ſlain in the Purſuit even till Night. This Battel was fought the Day before *Eaſter*, when the Days are ſhort in cold Countries, a little after the *Vernal Equinox*. There fell of the *Engliſh* in the Fight above 2000, amongſt which were twenty ſix of eminent Rank. Many Priſoners were taken of good Account in their own Country; and eſpecially ſome of the Duke's Allies: Few of the *Scots* or *French* were loſt, and thoſe of no great Note neither: This is the moſt common Report concerning the Death of *Clarence*, but the *Pluſcarty Book* ſays, that he was ſlain by *Alexander Maccaſland*, a Knight of *Lennox*, who took off the aforeſaid Diadem from his Head, and ſold it to *John Stuart* of *Derneley*, for 1000 Angels of Gold; and

and he again pawned it to *Robert Huſton*, to whom he owed 5000 Angels; this he ſays was the vulgar Opinion: The chief Praiſe of this Victory was aſcribed to the *Scots*, neither could their greateſt Detractors deny it. Whereupon *Charles* the Dauphin created the Earl of *Buchan* Lord High Conſtable, which is the higheſt Office in *France* next the King: The reſt of the Commanders had alſo Honours beſtowed on them, according to their Ranks and Valour.

WHILST theſe Things were acted in *France* in the Year 1420, *Robert*, Governor of *Scotland*, died the ſame Year, on the third of *September*, and fifteen Years after the Death of King *Robert* the Third: His Son *Murdo* ſucceeded in his place, a Man of a ſluggiſh Diſpoſition, and ſcarce fit to govern his private Family, much leſs the Common-wealth: So that either by his Slothfulneſs, or elſe his too much Indulgence, he ſo ſpoiled his Children (for he had three) that in a ſhort time he brought both them and himſelf into great Calamity, and at laſt to Deſtruction. This Change of domeſtick Affairs cauſed the Earls of *Buchan* and *Wigton*, with many of their Kindred, to return from *France*: But Matters being ſoon ſettled at home, the *Dauphin* recalled the Earl of *Buchan*, who with his Son in Law *Archibald*, *James* his Son, and the Flower of the *Scotiſh* Soldiers ſailed into *France*, leaving his other Son the *Earl* of *Wigton* behind him, who being grievouſly ſick, could not follow him: They landed with 5000 Soldiers at *Rochel*, and ſo came to the *Dauphin* at *Poicton*, where they were joyfully received, and *Douglas* was made Duke of *Turein*.

WHEN *Henry* of *England* heard of the Death of *Clarence*, he ſubſtituted *John* Earl of *Bedford*, his other Brother, in his place, and ſent him before into *France* with 4000 Horſe and 10000 Foot. He himſelf followed ſoon after, and took with him *James* King of *Scots* in the Expedition: Thinking by that means either to inſinuate himſelf with the *Scots*, who fought againſt him in *France*; or elſe to render them ſuſpected to the *French*: But he obtained neither of his Ends, nor could he prevail with them at the Deſire of their own King, ſo much as to return home, and to ſtand Neuters and be Spectators only of the War: For addreſſing to all the Garriſons held there by the *Scots*, they made him one general Anſwer, *That they could not acknowledge him for their King, who was under the Power of another Man*: *Henry* being offended at their Peremptorineſs and Conſtancy, having taken the Town of *Meaux* by Storm, hanged up twenty *Scots* that he found there, alledging; *That they bore Arms againſt their own King*. Soon after, he and *Charles* the

Sixth,

Sixth, King of *France*, died, immediately one after another. About two Years after, the *Engliſh* prevailed in a Battel at *Vernevil*, where there were ſlain of the prime *Scots*, the Earl of *Buchan* and *Douglas*, one Duke of *Turein*, the other Maſter of the Horſe to the *French* King; and alſo *James Douglas* his Son; *Alexander Lindſay*, *Robert Stuart*, and *Thomas Swinton*; and of common Soldiers above 2000. And about three Years after, the Auxiliary *Scots* received another great Overthrow at *Beaux*, when they were carrying Proviſions to *Orleans*. They ſet upon the *Engliſh* in the Way, in which Fight there were ſlain of *Scots* of Note, *William Stuart* with his Brother, and two eminent Knights of the Family of the *Douglaſſes*, whoſe Poſterities do yet enjoy two Caſtles, and large Poſſeſſions about them in *Scotland*, *viz.* one of them the Caſtle of *Drumlanerick*, and the other the Caſtle of *Lough Levin* in *Fife*. Thus have I briefly touched upon the Actions of the *Scots*, performed in a few Years in *France*, as external and foreign Occurrences; the farther Explication of them is to be had in the *French* Annals, which though they be not quite alien from the Affairs of *Scotland*, yet I had not ſtepped out of my way to mention them, if the Calumny of ſome *Engliſh* Writers had not compelled me to it: For they endeavour to undervalue and ſpeak Evil of what they do not deny; if Hiſtories did not mention their Atchievements, yet the Munificence of the Kings, the Decrees of the Cities, and the honourable Monument at *Orleance* and *Turein* do ſufficiently declare them; what I pray can they here object? The *Scots*, ſay they, are too poor to maintain ſo great a Force in a foreign Country: I anſwer, Firſt, That if they be poor, it is the Fault of the *Soil*, not of the Men; neither would I have taken this for a Reproach, if it did not appear by their Writings, that the *Engliſh* intended it for ſuch; and therefore I ſhall only anſwer them with this: That theſe poor and indigent *Scots* (as they call them) have got many great and famous Victories over the opulent and wealthy *Engliſh*: And if they do not believe me in this point, let them conſult their own Hiſtories; and if they ſuſpend their Belief of them alſo, let them not require of us to receive them for true in other things. But to return to the Affairs of *Scotland*.

MURDO being ſet up, as I ſaid but now, in the place of his Father, he kept a very looſe kind of Diſcipline in his own Houſe; his Children (whoſe Names were *Walter*, *Alexander* and *James*) deſpiſe their Inferiors, and conſequently oppreſſed them with many Injuries, and they infected

ted the Youth with thoſe Vices, to which they themſelves were addicted; and ſeeing their Father did not curb nor reſtrain them, at laſt he was puniſhed himſelf for giving them ſuch bad Education. The old Man highly prized a certain Bird he had of that ſort of *Hawks*, which they call *Falcons*: *Walter* had often beg'd him of his Father, and was as often denied; ſo that upon a time, he catched it out of his Father's Hand, and wrung off its Neck. To whom his Father replied, *Becauſe thou can'ſt not find in thy Heart to obey me, I will bring in another, that both thou and I too ſhall be forced to obey.* And from that time forward, he bent his Thoughts to reſtore his Kinſman *James*; and there was an eminent Man of *Argyle*, Chief of the Country, named *Calen Cambel*, whom before *Walter* had affronted and wronged, who approved of this his Deſign; ſo that he aſſembled the Eſtates at *Perth*, and a Conſultation being held concerning the Revocation of their King; they all, either out of Favour to the true Heir of the Kingdom, or out of Wearineſs of the preſent Poſture of Affairs, willingly agreed to ſend an Embaſſy about his Reſtitution: Some Nobles were choſen Embaſſadors, who coming into *England*, found the *Engliſh* more inclinable to it, than they expected: For the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who, in the King's Minority, governed the Affairs of *England*, called the Council together, and eaſily perſuaded them, that *James*, Son to the King of *Scotland*, ſhould be ſent back at the Deſire of his People into his own Country; ſeeing he was not in his preſent Poſture, of ſo great Authority amongſt them, as to be able to recal the *Scots* Auxiliaries out of *France*, or to draw any part of the Kingdom to an Alliance with *England*. And beſides, he thought to make another Advantage of him, that he would not only be his ſure and faſt Friend, but would always be under the Power and Influence of *England*, for he had married *Joan*, the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Daughter, the moſt beautiful Woman of her Time, (with whom he was mightily in Love at that time,) he perſuaded himſelf, that by her means, the League with *France* might be eaſily undermined; and if he was but freed, either he would be obliged by that Courteſy; or elſe, whilſt he was buſie in revenging the Wrongs his Kindred had done him, he would intangle his Country in a diſmal inteſtine War; and by that means it would come to paſs, that either the *Engliſh* would be made ſtronger by the Addition of ſuch a Friend; or if their *Scotiſh* Enemies diſagreed amongſt themſelves, yet they ſhould be more diſingaged, and readier for a foreign War. And indeed theſe were no imprudent Conſiderations, if they themſelves,

James the 1st.
King of Scotland.

ſelves, by the Narrowneſs of their Spirits, had not marred their own Market. For ſeeing they demanded a greater Sum of Money for his Redemption, than the *Scots* in their preſent Circumſtances, either durſt promiſe, or were able to pay, a Compromiſe was made, that the Dowry of his Wife ſhould be retained, as for one half, and that the Sons of ſome Noblemen ſhould be given in Hoſtage, for the Payment of the other. *James* being ſet at Liberty upon theſe Terms returned home, eighteen Years after he had been a Priſoner, in the Year of our *Lord* 1423.

AMIDST the great Concourſe of People which flocked in to ſee him, and to congratulate his Return, he was ſoon taken up with the Complaints of thoſe who grievouſly lamented what Wrongs they had ſuſtained ſince the laſt King's Death, partly by the Negligence, and partly by the Injuries of the late Governors: *Walter* the Son of *Murdo*, *Malcolm Fleming*, and *Thomas Boyd*, were highly accuſed, who to pacify the Commons for the preſent, were committed to ſeveral Priſons, until the next Convention of the Eſtates, which was appointed to be on the twenty ſeventh Day of *May*. But *Fleming* and *Boyd*, upon Payment of Damages, and ſome kind of Compenſation; and alſo upon laying down a round Sum, which they were fined at, into the King's Exchequer, were ſet at Liberty.

James I. *The hundred and ſecond King.*

IN the mean time, the King with the Queen was crowned on the 20th Day of *April*; he being placed in the Chair of State by his Couſin *Murdo*, (an Office belonging to the Earl of *Fife*:) A while after many profitable Laws were enacted for the Good of the Publick, but eſpecially to reſtrain Robberies; which by the Licentiouſneſs of former times, had grown to ſuch an heighth, that Laws and Magiſtrates were deſpiſed, as if all Right had only conſiſted in the Power of Arms. Afterwards they conſulted how to raiſe the King's Ranſom; for ſeeing the publick Treaſure was very low, by reaſon of ſo many Wars, the Governor's having pardoned the Offenders, and beſtowed Rewards on good Patriots, ſo that the King's Revenue being mortgaged, and Money taken up upon it, he could not pay it of his own, but was forced to crave Aid of his Subjects; and indeed, the Nobles, whoſe Sons were left Hoſtages, eaſily obtained, that an Act ſhould paſs to that purpoſe; but in the Payment of the Money there was not ſo ready an Obedience. For upon a Valuation of all Moveables, a twentieth

tieth Part was impoſed, which in ſo great a want of Money, yet Plenty, and conſequently, Cheapneſs of other things, ſeemed intolerable to Men, who were not accuſtomed to Taxes: And who alſo were more concerned at the Example that might prevail on future times, than for the preſent Damage: And moreover, the higher Sort were calumniated by the Vulgar, as if they had laid too much of the Burden upon the Shoulders of the Poor. But that which troubled the Commons moſt, was the ſhort Day appointed for the Payment of the Tax, for it was commanded to be brought in within fifteen Days; and if any one did not pay, his Cattel were to be ſeized upon, either by the Lord of the Manor, or the Sheriff of the County. And if any one alledged his being in Debt, or in Arrears of Rent to his Landlord, the Exception did not avail to abate his Contribution: And the Miſchief was increaſed by the Severity and Harſhneſs of the Collectors, who did not only thus vex the People; but by falſe Reckonings, or upon the account of Charges, they deducted a great part of the Money, which was collected for the Publick Uſe: Beſides, the Impoſition ſeemed more intolerable, becauſe the former Governors had been very remiſs and moderate in their Levies and Ceſſments, that ſo they might inſinuate themſelves into the Love of the Commons, and by that means keep them off from deſigning the Reſtitution of their lawful King: And for that Cauſe it was, that when the Aſſembly had given Liberty to *Robert* the King's Uncle, to levy a Tax, he, to ingratiate himſelf with the Commonalty, refuſed to let it paſs into an Act; affirming, *That he had rather pay down ſo much Money of his own, than that the Commons ſhould be burdened on ſuch an account.* When the King had exacted the firſt Payment, which came in very hardly, and with the Ill-will of the People, who complained, that beſides the Burden of the Wars, they had theſe new Taxes impoſed upon them, he forgave the reſt.

IN this Aſſembly, *Murdo* Duke of *Albany*, *Walter* and *Alexander* his Sons; *Dunac* Earl of *Lennox*, his Son-in-Law, and *Robert Grahme*, who ſome Years before had killed the King, were taken and committed to Priſon; ſo were twenty four more of the chief Nobility, but the reſt were in a little time after ſet at Liberty; *Murdo* only with his Son, and Son-in-Law, being retained in Cuſtody. The ſame Day that *Murdo* was taken, the King ſeized upon all his Caſtles, as *Falcoland* in *Fife*, and *Down* in *Menteith*, out of which his Wife was carried to the Caſtle of *Tintallon* in *Lothian*. *James* his youngeſt Son hearing of the Havock that was making

making among his Family, gathered a Band of Men together, and burnt the Town of *Dunbarton*, and ſlew *John Howard* (the King's Uncle) ſirnamed *Rufus*, and thirty two of his Followers; and then he fled into *Ireland*, where he dyed ſhortly after. *Finlaw* Biſhop of *Liſmore*, one of the *Dominican* Order who fled with him, and was his Counſellor in all his Affairs, departed this Life there. The Wife of *Walter*, with her two Sons, *Andrew*, and *Alexander*, and *Arthur* a baſe-born Son, fled likewiſe into *Ireland*, who in the Reign of *James* the Third returned again, and were endowed with great Honour. The ſame Year, in an Aſſembly of the Eſtates at *Sterling*, *Murdo*, with his two Sons, and Son-in-Law, were had out of Priſon to be tryed according to Law; the Proceedings were after the Cuſtom of the Country, which was this. Some Man eminent for Wiſdom and Authority is choſen out to be Preſident of the Court, and he hath at leaſt twelve Aſſeſſors joined with him, who are to hear the Crimes objected, and to paſs Sentence on the Priſoner, or Party accuſed, according to their Oaths. Theſe Judges are uſually of the ſame Quality with the Party accuſed: Or at leaſt, of the next Condition to him, as near as may be: The Priſoner hath Power to except againſt his Judges till the number of twelve, and ſometimes more, be compleated; and when the Crimes are weighed, the Sentence is pronounced according to the Majority of Voices. In this Caſe, Judges were choſen after the ſame manner, it is not much material to mention their Names, (but certainly they were Perſons of Repute, and ſome of them nearly related to the accuſed) but yet by them the Priſoners were condemned of High Treaſon. The two young Men were put to Death the ſame Day; their Father and Grandfather by the Mother's ſide, the Day after, on a little riſing Hill, over againſt the Caſtle of *Sterling*: There is a conſtant Report, tho' I find it not mentioned in Hiſtory, that the King ſent to *Iſabella*, Wife of his Couſin-German, the Heads of the Father, Husband, and Son, to try whether a fierce a Woman, out of Impatience of Grief (as it ſometimes comes to paſs) would not reveal the Secrets of her Mind: But tho' ſhe was much diſturbed at the ſuddain Spectacle, yet ſhe gave no intemperate Language, only anſwered, *That if the Crimes objected were true, that the King had done juſtly and according to Law.*

WHEN the Aſſembly was ended, *John Montgomery*, and *Humphry Cuningham*, were ſent by the King to take a Caſtle, which was held in the Name of *James Stuart* the Fugitive, and they reduced it accordingly. And not long after, *John*

Stuart of *Dernely*, (who when the *Scots* Commanders in *France* were ſeveral ways deſtroyed, was made General of the Horſe amongſt them) together with the Archbiſhop of *Rhemes* came into *Scotland*, to renew the ancient League with the *French*, and to contract a Marriage between *Lewis* the Son of *Charles* the Seventh, and *Margaret* Daughter of *James*, both of them but Children at that time. Theſe Matters being accompliſhed the next Year, which was 1426. all *Scotland* was ſubdued within the Mount *Grampius*: And the King took Heart to proceed farther in his Conqueſts. And firſt he cauſed the Caſtle of *Inverneſs* to be repaired, which is ſituate in a convenient Place in the fartheſt part of *Murray*. Two Years after he went thither to adminiſter Juſtice, and ſuppreſs Robberies; he ſent for the chief of all the Families thither, eſpecially of thoſe who were wont to iſſue out with great Troops, and fetch in Booties from the neighbouring Countries: And when he had ſubdued them, he laid Taxes on them, and made the Commonalty provide Victuals for them which were idle themſelves; ſome of thoſe Robbers had 1000, ſome 2000, ſome more Partizans at their Command, by which means good People were kept under for fear of Danger: And the bad, who found a ſure Refuge amongſt them, were made more bold to commit all manner of Wickedneſs: The King had perſuaded moſt of them, ſome by Threats, others by Flatteries, but he committed about forty of the chief of them to Priſon, and upon Tryal, two of the moſt eminent, *Alexander Macrory*, and *John Macarthur* were hanged up; *James Cambel* was likewiſe put to Death for the Murther of *John* the Iſlander, one of Note in his Country; the reſt were divided into ſeveral Priſons, of which ſome afterward ſuffered, and others were freely ſet at Liberty. Thus the Heads of the Faction being either ſlain or kept Priſoners, the King judged the common ſort, being deprived of their Leaders, would not ſtir, and therefore he perſuaded them by kind and gentle Words, to do what was juſt, and to place the Hopes of their Safety upon no other Baſis, as firm and ſecure, but the Innocency of their Lives. If they would do ſo, he would be always ready to honour and reward them; if not, they might take Example by the Puniſhment of others, and moſt certainly expect the like themſelves.

WHEN other Matters were thus compoſed; yet the King had ſtill with him *Alexander* the Iſlander, one of the moſt potent Perſons in the Land, next the King himſelf; for he commanded over all the *Æbudæ*; and beſides, he had an Acceſſion of the fertile County of *Roſs*, by means of his Mother,

Mother, who was Daughter to *Walter Leſly*, Earl of *Roſs*. He having committed many cruel and flagitious Acts, was thereupon in great Fear of the King, whom yet he found very exorable by the Mediation of his Friends; inſomuch that he was courteouſly invited to Court, and kindly entertained there; and having obtained an *Amneſty* for what was paſt, great Hopes of Favour were propounded to him, if he would inure himſelf to a more quiet and obedient Carriage and Deportment for the time to come, and ſo he was ſent home. But he was ſo far from being thankful to the King for his Pardon, and afterwards for his Liberty, that he thought he had great Wrong done him, that he was kept ſome Days in Priſon. And therefore, as ſoon as he was returned to his old Comrades, he gathered a Company of them together, who were accuſtomed to live upon the Spoil, and went to *Inverneſs*, in a ſeemingly peaceable manner; where being hoſpitably entertained, he ſuffered his Followers to pillage the Town, and after he had ſet fire to the Houſes, he laid Siege to the Caſtle; but hearing of a Force coming againſt him, was compelled to raiſe his Siege, and marched in great Haſte to *Loch-Abyr:* There, by reaſon of the Opportunity of the Place, he reſolves to put himſelf upon the Fortune of a Battel, with that Army which he had with him, which were ten thouſand Men, hardned to the Wars. But two Tribes or Clans, of thoſe who followed him chearfully to the Plunder, when they heard of the King's Preparations made againſt them, deſerted him; to wit, the *Catans* and the *Camerons*, called vulgarly, *Clan-Chattan*, and *Clan-Cameron*.

BEING thus deprived of Part of his Strength, and having no great Confidence in the Fidelity of the reſt, he began to think of hiding himſelf again; and ſo diſmiſſing his Army, he retired with ſome few into the *Æbudæ*, and there conſulted concerning his Flight into *Ireland*. But preſuming, that even *there* he could not be ſafe from the Wrath of the King, he thought it beſt to fly to his laſt Refuge, *viz.* the King's Mercy and Clemency, which before he had ſo largely experienced. But here his Thoughts were at a Loſs, betwixt Hope and Fear, when he conſidered, what Miſchiefs he had done at his firſt Revolt; and after the King had graciouſly pardoned him, with what Perfidiouſneſs and Cruelty he had again broke forth, and ſo had cut off all Hopes of farther Indempnity; and therefore was in great Doubt and Perplexity, whether he ſhould commit himſelf, his Life and his Fortunes, to the King's Anger, that was ſo juſtly grounded againſt him. In theſe Circumſtances he reſolved to take a middle Courſe, between being a Fugitive and a Surrenderer,

which was, to ſend Agents to Court to beg Pardon for his Offences, and to incline the King's Heart to Lenity towards him. And for this Service he choſe quiet, moderate Men, and not at all infected with the ſame contagious Villanies of which he himſelf had been guilty; and, on that account, not unacceptable to the King; yet notwithſtanding they could obtain no other Anſwer from him, but that he would hear nothing unleſs he would put himſelf into his Hands; neither would he treat with him as long as he was abſent. *Alexander* caſt up all his Dangers in his Mind, and foreſeeing that he could be ſafe no where from the King's Fury, reſolv'd to chooſe a fit Time and Place, and ſo to throw himſelf upon his Mercy; for he thought he would count it a Shame to injure, or puniſh, an humble Supplicant. Accordingly he comes privately to *Edinburgh*, where the King then was, and on *Eaſter* Day, when our *Lord's Reſurrection* is celebrated with great Solemnity, he threw himſelf at the King's Feet, having a Linen Cloak, or Plad about him, with which he was rather cover'd than cloth'd, and in a Speech compoſed to excite Compaſſion, put himſelf into his Hands, and begg'd his Life and Eſtate. His Habit, the Place and Time, and ſo great and ſudden a Change of Fortune, much affected the Perſons then preſent. The Queen and the Nobles, who were there, interceded with the King for him, and did ſo far incline and affect his Mind, that they were commanded to ſtay, till their Devotions were ended. In the interim, the King pondered every thing with himſelf, and thought it not ſafe to diſmiſs ſo perfidious, ſo potent, and ſo factious a Perſon, without any Puniſhment at all; and yet, on the other hand, to make ſome Gratification to the Requeſt of the Queen, he thought it beſt to keep him alive in ſafe Cuſtody; for by this means, he might gain an Opinion of Clemency; and, at the ſame time, prevent his Opportunity to do farther Miſchief; provide for the Security of the common People, and withal terrify others by his Example. Upon this he was ſent Priſoner to *Tintallon*-Caſtle, and his Mother, a fierce Woman, was baniſhed into the Iſle of *Inch-colm*. For it was thought, that ſhe would have excited him to new Attempts.

THE Licentiouſneſs of *Alexander* being thus repreſſed, yet were not all things quiet in the Northern Countries. For the Men of *Caithnes* and *Cameron*, who, the Year before, had deſerted *Alexander*, fell out grievouſly amongſt themſelves; and fought one another with ſo great Eagerneſs, that many of *Caithnes* were ſlain, but the *Cameronians* almoſt all loſt. In the *Ebudæ* likewiſe, where 'twas thought Things would

would be quiet by reaſon of *Alexander*'s Exile, new Commotions were raiſed by *Donald Balock*, Couſin-German to *Alexander*, on Pretence of revenging the Wrong done to his Kinſman. To queſl this Inſurrection, *Alexander* and *Alan*, both *Stuarts*, one Earl of *Caithnes*, the other of *Mar*, gathered ſome of their Countrymen together, and went into *Loch-Abyr* to meet *Donald*, (for the Report was, that he would make his Deſcent there) where they waited his coming. He perceiving that they kept no Order, but were without Tents or Guard, in the fourth Watch landed his Men without any Noiſe, and ſo ſet upon them unexpectedly, whilſt they were half aſleep, and made a great Slaughter amongſt them. *Alan*, with almoſt all his Brigade, was loſt there; and *Alexander*, with a few, ſaved his Life by Flight. *Donald* was exalted with this Succeſs, and ſo waſted all *Loch-Abyr* with Fire and Sword, no Man daring to oppoſe him; but at length, hearing that the King was making towards him with a greater Force, he pack'd up his large Bundles of Pillage, ſent them a Shipboard, and returned into the *Ebudæ*. The King marched as far as *Dunſtafnage* after him, and there ſaw the Ruin and fearful Devaſtation which had been made: It put him into an Exceſs of Rage, and he was about to paſs over into the *Iſlands*; but the Chiefs of their Families came with their humble Supplications to him, alledging, that there was no general Guilt in the Caſe, becauſe nothing had been acted by publick Advice, but all the Fault lay at the door of *Alexander*, and of ſome indigent and lewd Perſons that ſided with him. The King anſwer'd, he would not admit of their Excuſe, unleſs they would apprehend the Authors of thoſe wicked and pernicious Practices, and deliver them up to him to be puniſhed; when they had promiſed to do their Endeavour in it, the King let ſome of them go to find out the Robbers; the reſt he kept in the Nature of Hoſtages: Thoſe who were diſmiſſed, ſlew many of the Thieves, and brought three hundred of them Priſoners to the King, (*Donald* himſelf, for Fear of Puniſhment, being fled away) who cauſed them all to be hang'd.

Tho' this Puniſhment of the Robbers made things a little more quiet in the *Ebudæ*, and the neighbouring Parts juſt for the preſent; yet the unquiet Diſpoſitions of ſome wicked and turbulent Men would not ſuffer that Calm to be long-liv'd. The King, at the Deſire of his Nobles, had releaſed two of the *Angus's*, *Duffus*, and *Murdo*, Commanders of the Thieves. Theſe turned their Fury upon one another, meeting in equal Numbers (for each of them maintained about 1500 Partiſans out of the Rapines of the People.)

They fought ſo obſtinately, that there was ſcarce any one left on either ſide, to be Meſſengers of the Slaughter made; for 'tis ſaid, that on the one ſide there were but twelve, on the other but nine left alive; ſo that the King, who was equally angry with both, had ſcarce any of them left to inflict a Puniſhment upon.

AND yet their Calamity did not reſtrain one *Macdonald* from the wonted Savageneſs of his Nature. He was a noted Robber, born in *Roſs*, whoſe wicked Diſpoſition was excited by the Impunity of the former Times; ſo that he (as we ſay) king'd it a long time among his Neighbours. Amongſt the reſt, they ſay, he committed one Fact ſuperlatively cruel. A Widow Woman that was robbed by him, bemoaned her Caſe in a moſt lamentable manner, and ever and anon cry'd out, that ſhe would complain to the King: Wilt thou ſo, ſays he? Then to the Intent thou mayſt better compaſs thy Journey, I my ſelf will aſſiſt thee, and ſo calling a Smith, he cauſed him to nail Horſe-ſhoes to the Soles of her Feet; and not contented with that Act of Cruelty, he added contumelious Speeches, and play'd upon her with Words of Mockery and Contempt telling her, that ſhe was now more fenced againſt the Roughneſs of the Ways; and he ſhewed her thus ſhod as a Laughing-ſtock to thoſe that paſſed by. The Woman being of a fierce and ſtern Diſpoſition, and rather enraged than terrified by his Reproaches, as ſoon as ſhe was able to go, went to the King, and laid before him the whole Matter of Fact. The King had heard the ſame before from others; and he having then the Authors in Priſon, bid the Woman be of good Heart; for ſhe ſhould ſpeedily ſee the ſame Puniſhment inflicted on the Inventors of it; and accordingly, he cauſed *Macdonald*, and twelve of his Complices, to be brought out of Priſon, and to have their Feet ſhod with Iron-Nails, and ſo to be carried three Days about the City, a *Cryer* going before, and declaring the Cauſe of this new Puniſhment; then the Captain was beheaded, and his twelve Aſſociates hang'd, all their Bodies being ſet upon Gibbets in the Highways.

THESE new Crimes, which a Pardon once obtained had not prevented, made the King more eager to find out *Donald* the Iſlander. And therefore, being informed that he lay concealed in a Nobleman's Houſe in *Ireland*, he ſent Meſſengers to him to deliver him up to Puniſhment: The Nobleman fearing, that if he ſhould ſend him away alive, thro' ſo long a Tract both by Land and Sea, he might poſſibly make his Eſcape, and then his Enemies might alledge, that it was done by his Connivence, cauſed him to be ſlain, and ſent his

Head to the King by his own Meſſenger. Open Robberies being thus diligently ſuppreſſed, the King endeavoured to extirpate ſome ſecret Crimes and evil underhand Practices; and in order to accompliſh this great and good Work, he made choice of eminent Perſons, much commended for their Prudence and Sanctity, giving them Power to travel all over the Kingdom to hear Complaints; and if there were any Offences complained of to them, which ordinary Judges, either for Fear durſt not, or for Favour and Affection would not intermeddle with, then they themſelves ſhould hear the Caſe, and determine it. And moreover, he added one to their Number, who was to correct and rectify Weights and Meaſures, a Thing very neceſſary; ſeeing then, not only every City, but almoſt every Houſe, uſed a different kind of Meaſure: In a Parliament he made wholeſome Laws to this purpoſe, and cauſed Iron Meaſures to be ſet up in certain Places, and ſent out one to all Markets and Fairs, who was to regulate all the Meaſures according to that Standard, and a heavy Puniſhment was to be inflicted on him, who uſed any other Meaſure, than that which was thus ſigned with a publick Mark.

WHILST he was tranſacting theſe Things for the publick Good, in the Year 1430, the 14th Day of *October*, his Queen was brought to Bed of Twins, which occaſion'd a Day of publick Rejoycing; and the King, to add ſomething to the popular Mirth, forgave former Offences to ſome Noblemen, the Chief of whom were *Archibald Douglas*, and *John Kennedy*, who, becauſe they had ſpoken too raſhly and unadviſedly concerning the State and Government of the Realm, had been made Priſoners, *Douglas* in the Caſtle of *Loch-Levin*, and *Kennedy* in the Caſtle of *Sterling*. And as a farther Teſtimony of his Reconciliation to *Douglas*, he made him *Godfather* (as we call him) at the baptizing of his Children, which is wont to be accounted a Matter of great Honour, and a Token of intimate Friendſhip; and moreover, he made his Son one of the Knights, which were created, as ſo many Witneſſes of the publick Joy on this Occaſion. The other Parts of his Kingdom being thus purged and amended, he next turn'd his Thoughts to the reforming of the *Eccleſiaſtical* State; but the Prieſts could not be corrected by the Civil Magiſtrate, for the Kings of *Europe* having been long engaged in mutual Wars, the *Eccleſiaſtical* Order had, by little and little, withdrawn themſelves from their Obedience, and obeyed only the Pope of *Rome*; and he indulged their Vices, partly becauſe he was a Gainer by them, and partly becauſe he might make Kings the more

ſubject to his Pleaſure, by reaſon of the great Power of the Clergy in their Kingdoms. Hence it was he reſolved to prevent their Tyranny the beſt and only Way he was able; for ſeeing it was not in his Power to amend what was paſt; nor to turn out unworthy Men from thoſe Preferments which they once enjoyed; he thought to provide the beſt he could for the future, which was to ſet up publick Schools for Learning, and liberally to endow them; becauſe theſe would be Seminaries for all Orders of Men; and whoſoever were eminent or noble in any Commonwealth, took from thence their Origin as from a Fountain. Thus he drew learned Men to him by Rewards, nay, he himſelf would be ſometimes preſent at their Diſputations; and when he had any Vacation from Civil Affairs, he delighted to hear the Conferences of the Learned; endeavouring by that Means to eradicate the falſe Opinion which many Nobles had imbibed, *viz.* That Learning drew Men off from Action to Sloth and Idleneſs, and ſoften'd military Spirits, either breaking, or, at leaſt, weakning all their vigorous Efforts of Action; ſo that the Study of Letters was only fit for *Monks*, who were immured as it were in a Priſon, and good for no other Uſe. But alas, the Monks, as they had degenerated from the Simplicity and Parſimony of their Anceſtors, ſo they had turned themſelves wholly from the Culture of their *Minds*, to the Care of their *Bodies*; and Learning was as much neglected by the reſt of the Prieſthood alſo; and eſpecially for this Cauſe, *That Benefices were beſtowed on the moſt ſlothful and worſt Perſons of Noblemens Families, which were unfit for other Employments, or elſe they were intercepted by the Fraud of the* Romaniſts; *ſo that a Parſonage was nothing elſe but a Reward for ſome piece of Service, and that commonly none of the beſt.* And beſides, there was another Miſchief which added much to the corrupting of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and that was the Orders of *Begging-Friers.* Theſe Friers, at the beginning, pretended greater Sanctity of Life, and ſo eaſily impoſed upon the People, to hear them rather than their Pariſh-Prieſts, who were commonly groſs-bodied and heavy-headed Fellows Nay, thoſe Pariſh-Curates or Prieſts, as they grew rich, did ſcorn to do their own Work themſelves, but would hire theſe Friers (for ſo they called themſelves) for a ſmall yearly Stipend, to preach a few Sermons, in the Year, to the People: In the interim, they withdrew into Cities, and there chaunted out their idle Songs, as it were, after a magical Manner, not knowing what they ſaid; and there was none of them that hardly ever turned an Eye towards his own Pariſh, but

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when his Tithes were in the Caſe. By degrees, they even withdrew themſelves from this Office of Singing at certain Hours in Cathedrals and Churches too; which though it were but a light, was yet a daily Service; and hired ſome thread-bare beardleſs Drudges, to ſupply their Places in Singing Maſſes and other Prayers; and ſo by muttering and mumbling out a certain Task and Jargon of *Pſalms*, which was appointed every Day, they made a colluſive kind of a Tragedy; ſometimes contending in alternate Verſes and Reſponſes, other whiles making a *Chorus* between the Acts, which at laſt cloſed with the Image or Repreſentation of the Death of *Chriſt*: And the Friers, their Hirelings, on the one ſide, did not dare to offend their Maſters, on whom their Livelihood depended; neither yet on the other, could they bear their Inſolence, conjoined with ſo much Avarice; ſo that they pitched upon a middle way, that they might engage them to make eaſier Payment of their Penſions: they oftentimes bitterly inveighed againſt their Luſt and Avarice before the People, who gave ear to their Doctrine; and when they had raved enough in their Sermons to keep them in Fear, and alſo to conciliate the Minds of the Vulgar, they took up and conſulted for themſelves alſo in time, ſeeing they were likewiſe in Eccleſiaſtical Orders. They told them, that whatever Diſorders were, yet the Order of Prieſthood was a *Sacred* thing, and that the Temporal or Civil Magiſtrate had no Power to puniſh them; they were only reſponſible to *God* and to the *Pope*, (who had almoſt equal Power with God;) and becauſe their Avarice encreaſing with their Luxury, they thought they ſhould not ſqueeze Gain enough from the People, therefore thoſe Fryers ſet up a new kind of Tyranny, holding forth in their Sermons the Merit of Works. Hence aroſe *Purgatory*, and the *Luſtration* of Souls (which the *Pope* was pleaſed to detain there) by the *Sacrifices* (forſooth) of the *Maſs*, by the ſprinkling of *Holy Water*, by *Alms* and *Penſions* given or offered, by *Indulgencies*, *Pilgrimages*, and *Worſhipping* of *Reliques*; the Fryers being exerciſed in this kind of bartering Trade and Chaffer, in a little time claimed the Power to themſelves, both over the *Living* and the *Dead* too.

IN this ill Condition *James* the Firſt found Church-Affairs in *Scotland*; and therefore he thought it the moſt compendious Way to reſtore the old Diſcipline, if Good and Learned Men were admitted to Benefices. And to increaſe the Emulations of young Scholars, he told the Maſters and Governors of Univerſities and Schools, that becauſe he himſelf was hindred by the Publick Affairs of State, ſo that he

could not consider every Student's particular Merit, they should therefore be very careful to commend Learned and Virtuous young Scholars to him, that he might gratify them with Church-Preferments; who being thus advanced, might not only be useful to the People by their Doctrine and Example, but also might assist the meaner and poorer Sort of those that were designed for Church Men with their Substance; and so far to relieve their Poverty, that good Wits might not be compelled for Want, to break off their Studies and Course of Learning, and betake themselves to mechanick, sordid, or mercenary Trades and Employments. And to the End, that good Men might with more Diligence apply themselves to Learning, and the Slothful might know that their only way to Preferment was by Virtue, he distinguish'd degrees of Studies, that so he might know who were fit for such or such Promotions; and truly if succeeding Kings had followed this Course, we had never fallen into these times, when the People cannot endure the Vices of the Priests, nor the Priests the Remedy of those Vices. Neither was the King ignorant, that the Church was incumber'd with those great Mischiefs under which it then labour'd, by reason of its immoderate Wealth, and therefore he did not approve the Prodigality of former Kings in exhausting their Treasury to inrich Monasteries, so that he often said, *That though* David *was otherwise the best of Kings, yet his profuse Piety so praised by many, was prejudicial to the Kingdom*; but however, he himself, as if he had been carry'd away by the rapid Torrent of evil Custom, could not withhold his Hand from building a Monastery for the *Carthusians*, near *Perth*, nor from endowing it with large Revenues. One thing was very admirable in him, that amidst the greatest Cares for the high Affairs of the Publick, he thought the most inferior and private Matters not unworthy of his Royal Notice, provided any Benefit accrued to the Publick from them. For as *Scotland* had been exercised with continual Wars, after the Death of *Alexander* the Third, for almost 150 Years together, during which long space of time, her Cities had been so often spoil'd and burnt, and her Youth generally made Soldiers, so that other Trades were much neglected, he invited Tradesmen of all sorts to come over from *Flanders*, proposing great Rewards and Immunities to them; by which means he filled his Cities, (almost empty before, in regard the Nobility resided for the most part in the Country) with this sort of Artificers; neither did he only by this Means render the Towns apparently more populous; but he likewise ingag'd a great

a great number of Idlers and Vagabonds to return to the Works of Induſtry and honeſt Labour; and it came from hence to paſs, that what was with ſmall Coſt made at home, need not with far greater be fetch't from abroad.

YET while he was thus ſtrengthning all the weak parts of his Kingdom by proper Remedies, he got the Diſlike of his Subjects to a great degree, eſpecially for two Reaſons. The *one* ſeem'd light in Appearance, yet 'twas that, which is the beginning of almoſt all Calamity to a People. For when Peace was univerſally ſettled, Idleneſs, Luxury, and Luſt, to the Deſtruction, firſt of ones ſelf, and then of others, were its immediate ill Conſequences. Hence aroſe ſumptuous Feaſtings, Drinking, Careſſes by Day and Night, perſonated Masks, delight in ſtrange Apparel, Statelineſs of Houſes, not for neceſſary Uſe, but to pleaſe the Eye; a Corruption of Manners, falſely called Politeneſs, and in all things a general Neglect of the Country Cuſtoms; ſo that nothing forſooth was accounted handſom or comely enough, but that which was perfectly novel and out of the Way. The Commonalty were willing to ſhew, that the fault of theſe Innovations lay not at their Door, they put the Blame on the *Engliſh* Courtiers who followed the King, and yet they did not inveigh againſt ſuch wanton and pleaſurable Courſes, more bitterly in their Words, than they ſtudiouſly practis'd them in their Lives. But the King obviated this Miſchief as much as he could, both by wholſom Laws, and alſo by his own Good Example, for he kept himſelf in his Apparel and Frugality, within the rate of the richer ſort of private Men; and if he ſaw any thing of Immoderation in extravagant Superfluity in any body's way of living, he ſhew'd by his Countenance, and ſometimes by his Words, that it was diſpleaſing to him. By this means, the courſe of increaſing Luxury was ſomewhat reſtrain'd, rather than the new Intemperance extinguiſh'd, and the old Parſimony reſtored. His *other* Fault was bruited abroad by his Enemies, and afterwards broke forth into a publick Miſchief. *Robert* the King's Uncle, and *Murdo* his Couſin-German, who had the Regency of the Kingdom for many Years, ſeeing they themſelves aſpir'd to the Throne, and yet knew not how to remove *James* out of the way, they did what was next to it, *i. e.* ſo engage the Affections of Men to them, that the better ſort might not miſs a King very much, nor have any ardent Deſires after him: For they us'd ſuch great Moderation in the Management of Affairs, that their Government ſeem'd to many, not only tolerable, but very deſirable, if *Walter*, *Murdo*'s Son, had but carried it with the like

like Popularity and Moderation. For they ſo engaged the Nobles to them, by their Liberality and Munificence, that ſome enjoyed the Lands belonging to the King by Connivence. To others they gave them, and, in favour of ſome particular Men, they cancell'd Proceedings and Judgments in Law, and reſtor'd ſome who had been baniſh'd, and amongſt them, one eminent and potent Perſon, *George Dunbar* Earl of *Merch*; who, during his Exile, had done much Miſchief to his Country; and by this means they hop'd to ingratiate themſelves to ſuch a Degree with the Nobility, that they would never ſo much as think of calling home the King; and then if *James* dy'd without Iſſue, the Kingdom would come to them without any Competitor; but if he ſhould chance to return from his Baniſhment, yet their Faction would be ſo powerful, that if the King bore them a Grudge, yet they were able to defend themſelves by force againſt him; but when the King did actually return, the old Favour and Reſpect born to the Uncle, ſeem'd to be quite extinguiſh'd by the new Injury and Flagitiouſneſs of *Murdo*, ſo that it plainly appear'd that *nothing was more popular than Juſtice*. And therefore the People were not only conſenting, but alſo contributed their Aſſiſtance to the Execution of *Murdo*, the Father and his two Sons; and to the Baniſhment of a third, ſo that the King's Revenue was augmented by the Confiſcation of their Eſtates: And alſo by the Acceſſion of the Eſtates of *John* Earl of *Buchan*, who dyed childleſs in *France*, and of *Alexander* Earl of *Merch*, who was alſo childleſs and a Baſtard, who dy'd at home, concerning whom I ſhall ſpeak a few Words by way of Digreſſion.

THIS *Alexander* was the Son of *Alexander*, Son to King *Robert*; in his Youth, by the ill Advice of ſome bad Men, he turn'd to be a Commander amongſt Thieves; but when he came to Man's Eſtate, he was ſo reform'd, that he ſeem'd plainly to be quite another Man; ſo that his Vices gradually decreaſing, by the Benefit of wholſom Counſel, he ſo manag'd things, both at home and abroad, that he left a Memory behind him precious to Poſterity. For at home he quell'd the Inſurrection of the *Iſlanders* at *Harlaw*, making great Slaughter of them: And ſo he extinguiſh'd a dangerous War, in the very riſe and bud; and though he had great Wealth well gotten, and had bought many ſtately Seats, inſomuch, that he much exceeded his Neighbours, yet he addicted not himſelf to Idleneſs or Pleaſure, but went with a good Party of his Countrymen into *Flanders*, where he follow'd *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, againſt

againſt the *Luick-landers*; in which War he got both Eſtate and Honour, and beſides, he married richly in *Holland*, an Iſland of the *Batavians*; but the *Hollanders* not being able to bear the Government of a Stranger, he return'd back, and provided a ſtately Fleet with great Coſt, yet no great Benefit, becauſe it was againſt Men, who were very well provided both with Land and Sea Forces. At length he fell upon their numerous Fleet, returning from *Dantzic*, which he took and pillaged, and ſlew the Mariners, and burnt the Ships, ſo that he repaid the Enemy for the Loſs he receiv'd from them, with very great Intereſt; nay, he ſo ſubdued the Fierceneſs of their Minds, that they deſired a Truce for an hundred Years, and obtain'd it; he alſo caus'd a noble Breed of Mares to be brought as far as from *Hungary* into *Scotland*, whoſe Race continu'd there for many Years after.

THESE rich Earls dying without Iſſue, *Buchan* and *Mar*, their Patrimonial Inheritances deſcended rightfully to the King. And moreover, he alone enjoy'd all the Poſſeſſions of the three Brothers, Sons to King *Robert* the Second, by his laſt Wife; but not without the Grudges of the Nobility (who had been accuſtomed to Largeſſes,) that he alone ſhould enjoy all the Prey, without ſharing any Part of it amongſt them. Further they conceiv'd another, and a freſher Cauſe of Offence, that the King had revok'd ſome Grants made by *Robert* and *Murdo*, the laſt Regents, as unjuſt. Amongſt thoſe Grants there were two very remarkable, *George Dunbar*, who was declared a publick Enemy, was afterwards recall'd by *Robert*, and part of his Eſtate reſtor'd to him. His Son *George* ſucceeded him in it, to the Joy of many; who were well pleas'd, that ſuch an ancient and noble Family, which had ſo often deſerv'd well of their Country, were reſtor'd to their ancient Dignity. But the King who look'd narrowly (and perhaps too pryingly) into his Revenue, was of Opinion, that the Power to reſtore Incapacities, to recal Exiles, and to give back their Goods forfeited for Treaſon, and ſo brought into the King's *Exchequer*, was too great for one that was but a Guardian of another Man's Kingdom, and choſen but as a Tutor only, to claim and uſe; eſpecially, ſince Largeſſes made in the Minority of Princes, by the old Laws of *Scotland*, might be recalled, if not confirm'd by their reſpective Kings, when they came to be of Age. And therefore *James*, that he might reduce the *Merch-men* into his Power without Noiſe, in regard they were a Martial People, and Borderers upon *England*, detains *George* with him, and ſends Letters to the Governor

Governor of the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, commanding him on Receipt of them, immediately to ſurrender it up to *William Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, and *Alexander Hepborn* of *Hales*, whom he had ſent to take Poſſeſſion of it. *George* took from hence a handle to complain, that he was wrongfully diſpoſſeſt of his ancient Patrimony for another's Fault; and ſuch a Fault too as was forgiven by him, who then had the ſupreme Power. The King to pacify him, and to proclaim his Clemency amongſt the Vulgar, beſtowed *Buchan* upon him. This Fact of the King's was variouſly ſpoken of, as every ones Humour and Diſpoſition led him. And moreover, there was alſo another Action, which much haſtned his End, the beginning whereof is to be fetcht a little higher.

I SAID before, that King *Robert* the Second had three Sons by his Concubine, he had alſo two by his Wife *Euſemia*, *Walter* Earl of *Athol*, and *David* Earl of *Strathern*; yet when their Mother the Queen was dead, he married the Concubine before mentioned, that ſo he might by that Marriage legitimate the Children he had by her, and leave them Heirs to the Crown; and accordingly at his Death he left the Kingdom to the eldeſt of them. To the ſecond he gave great Wealth, and the Regency alſo. The third was made Earl of ſeveral Counties. In this matter, though his other Wife's Children thought themſelves wrong'd, yet being younger, and not ſo powerful as they, they ſmothered their Anger for the preſent. And beſides their Power was ſomewhat abated, by the Death of the Earl of *Strathern*, who left but only one Daughter behind him, afterwards married to *Patrick Graham*, a young Nobleman, and one of a potent Family in that Age, by whom he had *Meliſs Graham*; his Parents liv'd not long after, and the Child after a few Years, being yet a Stripling, was ſent as an Hoſtage into *England*, till the Money for the King's Ranſom was paid. But the Earl of *Athol*, tho' every way too weak for the adverſe Faction, yet never gave over his Project to cut off his Kindred, nor laid aſide his Hopes of recovering the Kingdom; and becauſe he was inferior in open Force, he craftily fomented their Diviſions and Diſcords, and invidiouſly made Uſe of their Dangers, to promote his own Ends, ſo that by his Advice that large Family was reduc'd to a few. For many were of Opinion, that he gave the Counſel to take off *David*, King *Robert*'s Son; and *James* had not eſcap'd him neither, unleſs he had paſt a good part of his Life in *England* far from home; for he gave Advice to the Earl of *Fife*, that ſeeing his Brother was a Drone,

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he himſelf ſhould ſeize on the Kingdom. When the King loſt all his Children, and was obnoxious to his Brother's Will, and not long after dyed of Grief himſelf; there was then only the Regent of the Kingdom with his Children, that ſtood in bar to his Hopes, in regard he was an active Man, of great Wealth, Power, and Authority, and moreover very popular, and had a great many Children. Theſe Conſiderations in ſome Meaſure retarded his Counſels; but when *Robert* dyed of a natural Death, and his Son *John* was ſlain in the Battel of *Vernevil*, then he reſum'd his former Project with greater Earneſtneſs than ever, and bent all his Mind and Endeavours how to free *James*, and ſet him at Variance with *Murdo*, and his Children. And ſeeing they could not all of them ſtand ſafe together, which ſoever of them fell, he foreſaw, that his Hope would be advanced one ſtep higher to the Kingdom. And when *James* was returned into his Country, he turn'd every Stone to haſten *Murdo*'s Deſtruction, he ſuborn'd Men fit for the turn, to forge Crimes againſt him, and he himſelf ſate Judge upon him and his Sons. And when they were cut off, there was only *James* left, and one little Son, a Child not then ſix Years old. And if he was but ſlain by the Conſpiracy of the Nobles, he did not doubt but himſelf, who was then the only remaining Branch of the Royal Stock, ſhould be advanc'd to the Throne. *Athol* was taken up with theſe Thoughts Night and Day, yet he conceal'd his ſecret Purpoſes, and made a great ſhew of Loyalty to the King, in helping to rid his Allies out of the way; for that was his only Contrivance, that by the Offences of others, he might increaſe his own Power, and diminiſh his Enemies.

IN the mean time, *Meliſs Graham* (who, as I ſaid before, was given in Hoſtage to the *Engliſh*) was depriv'd of *Strathern*; becauſe the King making a diligent Enquiry into his Revenue, found that 'twas given to his Grandfather, by the Mother's ſide, upon Condition, that if the Male-Line fail'd, it ſhould return to the King, in regard 'twas a Male-Feo, as the Lawyers are pleaſed to term it. This young Man's Loſs, who was abſent, and alſo an Hoſtage, moved many to commiſerate his Caſe; but *Robert* his Tutor took it ſo heinouſly, that it made him almoſt mad. For he, taking the Caſe of his Kinſman more impatiently than others, ceaſed not to accuſe the King openly of Injuſtice; and being ſummon'd to Anſwer for it in Law, he appear'd not, and was for that reaſon baniſh'd the Land. This made his fierce Mind more enrag'd for Revenge, as being irritated by a new Injury; ſo that he joyn'd ſecret Counſels with thoſe,

thoſe, who had their Eſtates confiſcated as well as he; or who took the Puniſhments of their Friends, tho' juſtly inflicted, in great Diſdain; or who accus'd the King as a covetous Man, becauſe he was ſo intent upon his Gain, that he had not rewarded them according to their Expectations: And beſides, he bewailed, that not only many noble Families were brought to Ruin, but that the Wardſhips of young Nobles, which were wont to be the Rewards of valiant Men, were now altogether in the King's Hands, ſo that all the Wealth of the Kingdom was almoſt in one Hand, and others might ſtarve for Miſery and Want, under one who was ſo unjuſt and unequal, in putting a Value upon their Labours.

Now that for which he upbraided him, concerning Wardſhips, was this, 'tis the Cuſtom in *Scotland*, *England*, and ſome Countries of *France*, that young Gentlemen or Nobles, when their Parents dye, ſhould remain under the Care of thoſe, whoſe Feudataries they are, till they arrive at the Age of twenty one Years, and all the Profits of their Eſtates, (beſides the Charges neceſſary for their Education) and alſo the Dowry given with their Wives, comes to ſuch their Tutors and Guardians. Now theſe Tutelages, or (as they are commonly call'd) *Wardſhips*, were wont to be ſold to the next of Kin, for a great Sum of Money; or ſometimes, well deſerving Men were gratify'd with them; ſo that they expected Benefit upon the Sale of ſuch Wardſhips or Incomes, for a Reward by their keeping of them. But now they were much vex'd, that the King took them all to himſelf, neither did they conceal their Vexation and Diſpleaſure. When the King heard of theſe Murmurings and Complaints, he excus'd the thing, as done by Neceſſity, becauſe the publick Revenue had been ſo leſſen'd by former Kings and Governors, that the King could not maintain his Family like himſelf, nor be decently guarded and attended, nor yet give any magnificent Entertainment to Ambaſſadors without them. Beſides, he alledged, that this Parſimony and Care of the King, in providing Money in all juſt and honeſt Ways, was not unprofitable to the Nobility themſelves; whoſe greateſt Damage was, to have the King's Exchequer low. For then Kings were wont to extort by Force from the Rich, what they could not be without; nay ſometimes, they were forced to burden and vex the Commons too, by exacting Taxes and Payments from them, and that the Parſimony of the King was far leſs prejudicial to the Publick, by putting a Medium upon immoderate Donations, than his Profuſeneſs was

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wont to be, for then he was ſtill forc'd to ſeize on other Mens Eſtates, when his own was conſum'd. This Anſwer ſatisfy'd all thoſe who were moderate, but thoſe who were more violent, and who rather ſought after Occaſions of Complaint, than were willing to hear any juſt Excuſe for an imputed Crime, were more vehemently enraged by it.

THIS was the State of *Scotland*, when Embaſſadors arrived out of *France* to fetch *Margaret*, *James* his Daughter, who had before been betrothed to *Lewis*, Son of *Charles* the Seventh, home to her Husband; that Embaſſy brought on another from the *Engliſh*; for ſeeing that the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Friendſhip was removed from them, and that he meditated a Revolt, and that *Paris* and other tranſmarine Provinces were up in a Tumult, leſt, when all the Strength of the Kingdom was drawn out to the *French* War, the *Scots* ſhould invade them on the other ſide; the *Engliſh* ſent Embaſſadors into *Scotland*, to hinder the Renovation of the League with *France*, and the Conſummation of the Marriage, but rather to perſuade a perpetual League with them, who were born in the ſame Iſland, and us'd the ſame Language. And if they would do ſo, and ſolemnly ſwear, that they would have the ſame Friends and Enemies with the *Engliſh*, then they promis'd that their King would quit his Claim to *Berwick*, *Roxburgh*, and other Places and Countries, which were, before, in Controverſy betwixt the Nations.

JAMES referr'd the Demand or Requeſt of the *Engliſh* to the Aſſembly of the Eſtates then met at *Perth*; where, after a long Debate upon it, the Eccleſiaſticks were divided into two Factions; but the Nobility cry'd out, that they knew well enough the Fraud of the *Engliſh*; who by this new League, ſought to break their old Band of Alliance with the *French*, that ſo when the *Scots* had loſt their ancient Friend, they might be more obnoxious to them, if at any time they were freed from other Cares, and could wholly intend a War with *Scotland*; and that the liberal Promiſes of the *Engliſh* were for no other End; but as for themſelves, they would ſtand to their old League, and not violate the Faith which they had given. The *Engliſh* being thus repuls'd, turn from Petitions to Threats, and ſeeing they refus'd to embrace their Friendſhips, they declared War; telling the *Scots*, that if their King ſent over his betroth'd Daughter into *France*, one that was an Enemy to the *Engliſh*, the *Engliſh* would hinder their Paſſage if they could, and even take them Priſoners, and their Retinue too, having a Fleet ready fitted for that purpoſe. This Com-

mination of the Embaſſadors was ſo far from terrifying *James*, that he rigg'd his Navy, and ſhipped a great Company of Noblemen and Ladies for her Train, and ſo caus'd his Daughter to ſet ſail ſooner than he had determin'd, that he might prevent the Deſigns of the *Engliſh*. And yet notwithſtanding all this Precaution, it was rather to be attributed to God's Providence, than to the Care of Men, that ſhe came not into the Enemy's Hands; for when they were not far from the Place, where the *Engliſh*, concealing themſelves, waited for their coming; behold! upon a ſudden a Fleet of *Hollanders* appear'd, laden with Wine from *Rochel* to *Flanders*. The *Engliſh* Fleet made after them with all their Sail, (becauſe the *Burgundians* being a little before reconciled to the *French*, oppoſed their Enemies with all their Might) and their Ships being ſwift Sailors, they preſently came up with them, being heavy laden and unarm'd, and as eaſily took them; but before they could bring them into Port, the *Spaniards* ſet upon them unawares, and took away their Prey, and ſent the *Flandrians* ſafe home. Amidſt ſuch changeable Fortune betwixt three Nations, the *Scots* landed at *Rochel* without ſeeing any Enemy: They were met with many Nobles of the *French* Court, and were brought to *Tours*, where the Marriage was celebrated, to the great Joy and mutual Gratulation of both Nations.

UPON this Occaſion, the *Engliſh* Writers, eſpecially *Edward Hall*, and he that pilfers from him, *Graſton*, inveigh mightily againſt *James*, as ungrateful, perfidious, and forgetful of ancient Courteſies, who being nobly entertain'd among the *Engliſh* for ſo many Years, honoured with a Royal Match, and large Dowry, and beſides reſtor'd to Liberty from a long Impriſonment, ſuffer'd all theſe Obligations to be poſt-pon'd, and preferr'd the Alliance with *France*, before that with *England*; but the thing it ſelf doth eaſily refute their Slanders. For, firſt, their detaining of him, when he landed on their Coaſt, being againſt their League, and alſo the Law of Nations, 'twas a Wrong, not a Courteſy; next as to their not killing him, but putting him to a Ranſom for Money, rather than imbrue their Hands in the Blood, not of an Enemy, but of a Gueſt, that was to be attributed, not ſo much to their Love or Mercy toward him, as to their Avarice of Temper; and grant there were any Courteſy in it, yet what was it elſe but like that of Thieves, who would ſeem to give the Life, which they took not away? And if he was engag'd to the *Engliſh* on that account, 'twas a private, not a publick Debt. As for their beſtowing Education upon him who was innocent, by

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reaſon of his Age, a Suppliant by his Fortune, and a King by Deſcent, tho' moſt unrighteouſly detain'd, it bears, indeed, ſome Shew of Humanity, which, if they had neglected, they might have been juſtly blamed; and indeed, it had been a commendable Piece of Kindneſs, if the Injury going before, and the Covetouſneſs following after, had not marr'd it; unleſs you will ſay, that if you purpoſely wound a Man, you may require him to give you Thanks for his Cure, and ſo you imagine a light Compenſation for a great Loſs, is to be eſteem'd as a Courteſy; or, becauſe you have done ſome part of your Duty, that therefore you ſhould expect the Reward in full of a Benefit beſtow'd on another. For he that takes care that his Captive ſhould be educated in Learning, either for his own Pleaſure, or that he may yield him a better Price; tho' ſome Advantage accrue hereby to the Party educated, yet the Maſter doth not aim at the Good of the Slave, in his Inſtitution, but at his own. But (ſays he) *the King honoured him with the Marriage of his Kinſwoman, and thus the royal young Man was as royally beſtowed.* But, what if that Affinity was as honourable to the Father, as the Son-in-Law? He would elſe have marry'd her to a private Man, but now he made her a Queen, and ingrafted her by Marriage into that Family, on which the moſt famous of the *Engliſh* Kings had often before beſtowed their Children, and from whom ſo many former Kings had deſcended. But, *he gave a very large Dowry with her:* To whom, I pray, was it given, but to the *Engliſh* themſelves, who took it away, before it was paid, and made a Shew of it in Words to the Husband, but indeed, kept it for their own Uſe? So that the Dowry was only ſpoken of, not given; and ſo ſpoken of, that they would have the young Man, whom they alſo had otherwiſe unſufferably wrong'd, much indebted to them, that he carried his Wife away with him, without a Dowry. But, *they ſent him home a Freeman*, ſay they; yes, as a Pirate doth diſcharge his Captive, when his Ranſom is paid: But how free, I pray? Even if we may believe the *Engliſh* Writers themſelves, under the forc'd Obligation of an Oath, always to obey the *Engliſh* King, as his Lord, and ſo to bring a Kingdom, which he did yet enjoy, into a perpetual Servitude, which, if he had actually injoyed, he could not alienate; and yet he muſt mancipate it, forſooth, before he receiv'd it. This is not to ſet one free, but to turn him looſe with a longer Chain, and that, not as a *King*, but as a *Steward* only, or *Vicegerent* of another Man's Kingdom. I forbear to urge, that they compell'd a Man in Captivity, and as yet under the Power of another, to

make a Promiſe; nay, a Promiſe of that, which he could not perform; neither could he compel thoſe to perform it, who had no Power ſo to do. This is that high piece of Liberality, which, they ſay, *James* was unmindful of: But let us ſuffer theſe unskilful Writers, and forgetful of all Moderation and Modeſty in their Stories, to account *Profits receiv'd* as *Courteſies given*: How great muſt we think, that Liberty of falſifying, or elſe Deſire of evil ſpeaking to be, which they uſe againſt the Daughter of the aforeſaid King? For (whereas ſuch Men, otherwiſe impudent enough, had nothing to alledge againſt her Manners) they write, that ſhe was unacceptable to her Husband, becauſe of her ſtinking Breath? Whereas *Monſtrelet*, a contemporary Writer of thoſe Days, doth affirm, that ſhe was very faithful and beautiful, and he who wrote the *Pluſcartin Book*, who accompanied that Queen, both at Sea, and at her Death, hath left it on Record, that as long as ſhe lived, ſhe was very dear to her Father and Mother-in-Law, and to her Husband too; as appeared by the Inſcription and Epitaph in *French* Verſes at *Chalons*, by the River *Matrona*, where ſhe dy'd, which ſound much to her Praiſe; 'twas then publiſhed, and afterwards turned into the *Scotiſh* Language, which ſome of our Countrymen have by them to this Day. But I will leave theſe Men, who do ſo calumniate other Mens Credits, and neglect their own, that they care little what they ſay of others, or what others think of them, and return to the Matter.

WHEN the King, having been at the Charge to equip his Fleet, had try'd to exact a Tax from the People, and the greateſt Part plainly refuſed to pay a Penny, a few indeed paid a ſmall Matter, and that grudgingly too, he commanded his Collectors, to deſiſt from levying the reſt, and to reſtore what they had already receiv'd. And yet he did not hereby ſhun the Clamours of the People, for ſome Male-contents who were angry at ſome private Loſs, incited, every Day, ſeditious Perſons againſt him. At the ſame time, the *Engliſh* began to plunder *Scotland*, ravaging it both by Land and Sea, under the Command of *Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *William Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, was ſent againſt him, with near an equal Number of Forces, for they were about four thouſand on either ſide; of the *Scots*, there fell *Alexander Johnſton* of *Lothian*, a Perſon of Quality, and of known Valour; ſome write that two hundred, others, that only forty were ſlain of both Armies, and about fifteen hundred *Engliſh* taken Priſoners.

JAMES

JAMES having been twice provoked by the *Engliſh*, firſt, by their Fleet, which lay in wait to intercept his Daughter; and next, by the late ravaging of his Country, reſolves to proclaim open War againſt them; whereupon he liſted as great an Army as he could, and made a fierce Aſſault on *Roxburgh*, and, in a ſhort time, he expected its Surrender, when the Queen came poſting to him in as long Journeys, as ever ſhe was able to perform, to inform him of very diſagreeable News, which was, that there was a dreadful Conſpiracy form'd againſt his Life, and unleſs he took ſpecial Care, his Deſtruction was unavoidable. The King being diſmay'd at this ſudden News, disbanded his Army, and return'd home, but was very ill ſpoken of amongſt the Popular, becauſe, juſt upon the Point of Surrender, at the Perſuaſion of a Woman, he retir'd after the Kingdom had been at ſo much Charge and Trouble; ſo that, to them he ſeem'd to have fought for nothing by his Arms but Diſgrace. After he return'd, he went to the Convent of the *Dominicans* near the Walls of *Perth*, to make a private Enquiry into the Conſpiracy, as well as he was able; but his Deſign was found out, by Perſons that watch'd all Opportunities to do Miſchief; for one of the King's Domeſticks, who was in the Plot, (Hiſtorians call him *John*, but his Sirname is not mention'd) diſcover'd to his Complices what was doing at Court, which made them haſten their Deſign, leſt their ſecret Cabals ſhould be diſcover'd, and proper Remedies applied againſt them. *Walter*, Earl of *Athol*, the King's Uncle, tho' he was the Ringleader of the Conſpiracy, yet did what he could to avert all Suſpicion from himſelf: He ſent for his Kinſman, *Robert Graham*, (of whom I have ſpoken before) as fit for Execution, but raſh in Counſel, and who bore an old Grudge to the King, becauſe of his former Impriſonment and Baniſhment, and alſo upon the Account of his Brother's Son (to whom he was Guardian in Expectancy) who had *Strathern* taken from him; he takes with him *Robert* his Grandſon, an active young Gentleman, he informs them what he would have them to do, and that when the Fact was committed, he ſhould be in high Authority, and then he would provide for their Safety well enough; they freely promiſe to do their Endeavour, and accordingly haſten to perpetrate the Fact, before the whole Series of the Plot was made known to the King. Upon this they privately gathered their Company together, and knowing the King had but a few about him in the Convent of the *Dominicans*, he thought he might

with as little Noiſe as poſſible, cut him off; and that they might ſurprize him unawares, they adviſe *John* his Servant, above-mentioned, whom they had drawn to their Party, to be aſſiſtant to them; according to his Promiſe, he brings the Conſpirators in the midſt of the Night into the Court, and placed them privately near the King's Bed-Chamber, and ſhews them the Door, which they might eaſily break, ſince he had taken away the Bar: Some think, that they were receiv'd into the Palace by *Robert*, Nephew of the Earl of *Athol*.

IN the mean time, whilſt they waited there, being ſolicitous how to break the Door, which they thought would be their greateſt Obſtacle, Fortune did the Work without their Help; for *Walter Straton*, who, a little before, had carried in Wine, coming out, and perceiving Men in Arms, endeavoured to get in again, and cry'd out with as loud a Voice as he could, *Traitors*, *Traitors*. Whilſt the Conſpirators were diſpatching him, a young Lady of the Family of the *Douglas*'s, as moſt ſay, tho' ſome write ſhe was a *Lovel*, ſhut the Door, and not finding the Bar, which was fraudulently laid aſide by the Servant, ſhe thruſt her Arm into the Hole or Staple, inſtead of a Bolt, but they quickly brake that, and ſo ruſh'd in upon the King. The Queen threw herſelf upon his Body, to defend him; and when he was thrown down, ſhe ſpread herſelf over him, and after ſhe had receiv'd two Wounds, ſhe could hardly be forc'd off. And then, when he was abandoned by all, they gave him twenty eight Wounds, and ſome of them juſt in his Heart, and ſo he expir'd. Thus this good King came to his End, (and that a moſt cruel one too, and much lamented by all good Men) by the Conſpiracy of moſt wicked Aſſaſſins and Robbers; when his Death was divulg'd by the Noiſe and Lamentation which was made, a great Concourſe of People came preſently into the Court, and there paſt the reſt of the Night (for the Parricides had made their Eſcape in the Dark) in ſad Complaints. There, every one ſpoke variouſly according to their ſeveral Diſpoſitions, either ſeverely in Order to raiſe a greater Odium againſt the Parricides, or in lamentable Accents, to increaſe the Grief of their Friends; every one reckon'd up what Proſperities or Adverſities he had undergone. In his Childhood, he was expos'd to the Treacheries of his Uncle; and endeavouring to eſcape them, he was precipitated into his Enemy's Hands: Afterwards his Father dy'd, and the reſt of his Youth was ſpent in Exile among his Enemies. Then Fortune chang'd,

chang'd, and he had an unlook'd for Reſtoration; and after his Return, in a few Years, he ſo govern'd, that the turbulent State of the Kingdom was chang'd into a perfect Calm. And again, having a ſudden Change of Affairs, he, whom his Enemies had ſpar'd abroad, was now ſlain by the Treachery of his Relations at home; and that in the Flower of his Age, and in the midſt of his intended Courſe, to ſettle good Laws and Cuſtoms in his Kingdom. Then they gave him his deſerved Elogies for all his rich Endowments both of Body and Mind, for Mens Envy and Rancour was extinguiſh'd towards him now he was dead. For tho' his Stature was ſcarce of a full Size, yet he was robuſt and ſtrong; inſomuch that he exceeded all his Equals in thoſe Exerciſes of Agility and Manhood; and as to his Mind, he was endued with that Quickneſs and Vigour of Wit, that he was ignorant of no Art, worthy the Knowledge of a Perſon of a fine Genius; and could compoſe plain *Latin* Verſes, according to that Age, *Ex Tempore:* Some Poems of his, written in the *Engliſh* Tongue, are yet extant, in which there appears Excellency of Wit, tho', perhaps, ſome more polite Learning may be wanting; he was excellently well skill'd in Muſick, more than was indeed fit or expedient for a King; for there was no Inſtrument, but he could readily play upon it, and ſo adapt his Voice to it, that he might have been compar'd with the beſt Maſters of that Art in thoſe Days. But, perhaps, ſome will ſay, theſe are but the Flowers of his Studies, where is the Fruit? Theſe are more for Ornament, than Inſtruction or Uſe, to ſtrengthen a Man for doing of Buſineſs: Know then, that after he had learn'd other Parts of Philoſophy, he was alſo skill'd in *Politicks*, concerning the Regulation of Kingdoms, and of the Manners of Men. How great, and how ripe Abilities for civil Government were in him, ſufficiently appears by the Order of thoſe Acts perform'd by him, and by the Laws which he made; by which he not only much benefited his own Age, but Poſterity. And his Death declar'd, that there is nothing more popular than Juſtice; for they who were wont to detract from him, whilſt he was alive; now he was dead, paſſionately revered his Memory. Inſomuch, that the Nobles, as ſoon as they heard he was murder'd, came in of their own Accord from their reſpective Countries, and, before a Trial was appointed, they voluntarily ſent out into all Parts, to apprehend the Murderers, and bring them to Juſtice; very many of them were taken. The principal of them were put to new and exquiſite Kinds of

of Death: The reſt were hang'd. The chief Heads in perpetrating this Villainy were reckon'd to be, *Walter*, Earl of *Athol*, *Robert* his Grandſon, and their Kinſman *Robert Graham*; the Puniſhment of *Walter* (becauſe he was the chief Author, and Inſtigator of the whole Plot) ſuffered three Days ſucceſſively. In the firſt, he was put on a Cart, wherein a ſtork-like Swipe or Engine was erected, and by Ropes let thro' Pullies, was hoiſted up on high, and then the Ropes being ſuddainly loos'd, he was let down again almoſt to the Ground, with intolerable Pains, by reaſon of the Laxation of the Joints. Then he was ſet on a Pillory that every one might ſee him, and a red hot Iron-Crown ſet on his Head, with this Inſcription, that he ſhould be called *King of all Traitors*. They ſay, the Cauſe of this Puniſhment, was, that *Walter* had been ſometimes told, by ſome Female Witches, (as *Athol* was always ſaid to have ſuch about him) that he ſhould be crown'd King in a mighty Concourſe of People; for, by this means, that Prophecy was either fulfill'd or eluded, as indeed, ſuch kind of Predictions do commonly meet with no other Events. The Day after he was bound upon a Hurdle, and drawn at a Horſe's Tail thro' the greateſt Street in *Edinburgh*. The third Day, he was laid along upon a Plank in a conſpicuous Place, and his Bowels were cut out, whilſt he was alive, caſt into the Fire, and burnt before his Face; afterwards, his Heart was pulled out, and caſt into the ſame Fire, then his Head was cut off, and expos'd to the View of all, being ſet upon a Poll in the higheſt Place of the City. His Body was divided into four Quarters, and ſent to be hang'd up in the moſt noted Places of the principal Cities of the Kingdom. After him his Grandſon was brought forth to ſuffer, but, becauſe of his Age, they would not put him to ſo much Pain; beſides, he was not the Author, but only an Accomplice in another Man's wicked Deſign, as having obey'd his Grandfather therein; ſo that he was only hang'd and quarter'd. But *Robert Graham*, who perpetrated the Villainy with his own Hand, was carried in a Cart thro' the City, and his Right Hand nail'd to a Gallows, which was ſet up in the Cart, and then came the Executioners, who continually run red hot Iron-Spikes into his Thighs, Shoulders, and thoſe Parts of his Body, which were moſt remote from the Vitals; and then he was quarter'd as his Grandfather. After this manner was the Death of *James* revenged; 'tis true, 'twas a barbarous one, but 'twas reveng'd by Puniſhments ſo cruel, that they ſeem'd to exceed the very Bounds of Humanity;

manity; for ſuch extreme Kinds of Puniſhment do not ſo reſtrain the Minds of the Vulgar, by the Fear of Severity, as make them enraged to do, or ſuffer any thing; neither do they ſo much deter wicked Men from committing ſuch barbarous Actions by their Cruelty, as leſſen their Terror, by often beholding them; eſpecially, if the Spirits of the Criminals be ſo hardened, that they flinch not at their Puniſhment. For among the unskilful Populace, *a ſtubborn Confidence is ſometimes prais'd for a firm and ſtable Conſtancy.* *James* departed this Life on the beginning of the Year 1437, the 12th Day of *February*, when he had reign'd thirteen Years, and in the forty fourth Year of his Age: So great Diligence was us'd in revenging his Death, that within forty Days all the Conſpirators were taken and put to Death. He left one Son behind him, the younger of the Twins, half of whoſe Face (ſee the various Operations of Nature) was perfect Scarlet.

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